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## GENEALOGY COLLECTION

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# HISTORICAL   COLLECTIONS

OF THE

## ESSEX   INSTITUTE.

v. 2

**Volume II.**

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SALEM:

Published for the Essex Institute.

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# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol II.]

February, 1860.

No. 1.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE present number commences the second volume of the Historical Collections, and the second year of its existence.

The original plan of this serial publication, was to issue numbers of thirty pages each, as circumstances should permit, without recognizing the obligation for their appearance at definite and stated periods of time. In this manner five consecutive numbers have been printed, constituting a volume of two hundred pages of local historical information, which, it is hoped, will prove a valuable addition to the history of this section of the State.

The encouragement that has been extended to our undertaking, authorizes some alteration in our plans, which, we trust, will add greatly to its value and importance as a medium of communication with the public, on all subjects consistent with the objects that may come into our possession.

The various records of the public offices of the County, together with those of the several towns, parishes and churches within its limits, are replete with valuable historic materials. These should be rendered more generally accessible, and should receive a greater degree of attention in our common school education.

To this end our efforts will be directed by the selection and arrangement for publication, of such portions and extracts from said records as will interest our readers and elucidate our local history.

Attention will also be directed to the many interesting items found among old family papers, already in possession of the Institute, or which may be loaned for the purpose. We feel confident that many important facts are locked up in such private repositories, and that publications like this may be the humble instruments of preserving them for the gratification and instruction of the curious reader, and of furnishing material for elaboration by the future historian. This County, being one of the earliest of the great historical centres of our country, must ever be a place of resort by the historian and genealogist, and by every lover of antiquarian and historic lore.

The increasing interest in relation to all matters connected with our early history, unequalled since the settlement of the country by the present generation, leads us to infer that the continuation of these Collections in a more permanent form, and issued at stated intervals, will be favorably received.

Acknowledgements are due to those friends, who, approving of the plan, have liberally aided in extending its circulation; as well as to those who have from time to time contributed to its columns interesting articles; from these, and from others in our immediate vicinity, known to be deeply interested in similar pursuits, we hope for a continuance of favors; and trust that our efforts will not be unavailing, but will receive a merited degree of public patronage.

## HISTORICAL NOTICES OF SALEM SCENERY.

BY G. L. STREETER.

*Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, Thursday,  
April 8, 1858.*

Nearly two hundred and thirty years ago, on Saturday, June 12, 1630, as the worthy Gov. John Winthrop and his companions, on board the *Arbella*—and with the noble lady *Arbella* on board—approached Salem Harbor, they stood in (so the Governor's account tells us) "and passed through the narrow strait between Baker's Isle and Little Isle [the Misery] and came to an anchor a little within the Islands." And in the afternoon, Gov. John Endicott having visited the ship, the chief gentlemen and some of the women of the company returned with him to Nahumkeak, where they "supped with good venison, pastry and good beer." Meanwhile the common people of the company went ashore on Beverly side—then called "Cape Ann side"—where they "gathered store of fine strawberries," which were very abundant there and very sweet. Having thus regaled themselves with the good things of the earth, and being warmly welcomed, not only by the townsfolk, but also by Masconomo, chief of the Agawams, who came aboard and spent the Sabbath with them in a friendly way, the first impressions of their new home must have been pleasing and satisfactory.

And we have evidence that these first impressions were subsequently confirmed, notwithstanding the many sad trials and hard experiences to which they were called. After a short sojourn, Gov. Winthrop wrote home to his wife, who remained in England:

"We are here in a paradise. Though we have not beef and mutton, &c., yet (God be praised) we need them not; our Indian corn answers for all. Yet here is fowl and fish in abundance."

They had had early proof of the abundance of fish, for Gov. Winthrop's journal informs us that just before the *Arbella* reached the

harbor of Salem, they caught with a few hooks, in two hours, no less than 76 codfish, "some a yard and a half long and a yard in compass."

All the accounts returned to England by the pioneer emigrants concurred in extravagant praise of the new country, and we now read their quaint and highly-colored narratives as amusing curiosities of literature. Turn for instance to Wood's *New England Prospect*, or the *New England's Plantation*, by Higginson, the worthy pastor of the Salem church. A perusal of these and other writings in a similar strain would almost persuade us that this is indeed a land "where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile."

Mr. Higginson wrote that "the fertility of the soil is to be admired at," and "the abundant increase of corn proves this country to be a wonderment." Also that "it abounds naturally with store of roots of great varietie and good to eat," and with "divers excellent pot-herbs." "The abundance of sea-fish, (he says) is almost beyond believing, and sure I should scarce have believed it, except I had seen it with mine own eyes." He had seen hundreds of bass seined at one time in our own waters, and mentions lobsters as being so abundant that even boys could catch them. But of the lobsters, he says, "as for myself I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and luscious." For wood, there was no better country in the world.

As for the trees, the author of the *N. E. Prospect* cannot contain his delight in plain prose, but launches forth in rhyme. Let us give a specimen of Wood on trees:

"Trees both in hills and plaines, in plenty be,  
The long liv'd Oake, and mournful Cypress tree,  
Skie-towering Pines, and Chesnuts coated rough,  
The lasting Cedar, with the Walnut tough;  
The rosin-dropping Firre for masts in use;  
The Boatmen seek for Oares, light, neate grown  
Sprowse,

The brittle Ash, the ever-trembling Aspes,  
The broad-spread Elme, whose concave harbors  
waspes;

The water-spongie Alder, good for naught,

Small Elderne by th' Indian Fletchers sought,  
 The knottie Maple, pallid Birtch, Hawthornes,  
 The Horabound tree that to be cloven seornes,  
 Which, from the tender Vine oft takes its spouse,  
 Who twin's imbracing arms about his boughes.  
 With'n this Indian Orchard fruits be some,  
 The ruddie Cherrie and the jettie Plumbe,  
 Snake murdering Hazell, with sweet Saxaphrage,  
 Whose spurnes in beere allays hot fevers rage,  
 The Diars Shumach, with more trees there be,  
 That are both good to use and rare to see."

The author of *N. E. Prospect* preferred the soil to that of *Surry* and *Middlesex* in England, which, he said, without manure "would be less fertile than the meanest ground in New England." The birds and beasts extorted equal admiration from these appreciative writers. There were turkeys, geese, and ducks in abundance, besides the smaller birds in great variety. Of the useful and valuable animals, the deer, beaver, otter, and martin, were most prized, and the bears and wolves most dreaded. Both Wood and Higginson mention reports of Lions at Cape Ann, though neither had had visible evidence thereof. But Wood expresses his confident belief that certain fearful noises heard in Plymouth, were made either by "lions or devils," "there being," he says, "no other creatures which use to roar saving Beares, which have not such a terrible kind of roaring."

Even the common spring water in the country was averred to be superior by these zealous historians, whose pens were dipped in rose water. Wood says, "it is farre different from the waters of England, being not so sharp but of a fatter substance, and of a more jettie color; it is thought there can be no better water in the world, yet dare I not prefer it before good Beere, as some have done, but any man will choose it before bad Beere, Whey, or Buttermilk." And Higginson wrote, pursuing a similar comparison, but with more grace, that "a sup of New England's aire is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale."

\* \* \* \* \*

Our local pride may well assure itself that

the early colonists of Salem found it a fair and goodly place to look upon, and one in which it was pleasant to dwell. It was not merely "the good venizon, pastry, and good beer," or "the virgin milk with blushing strawberries strewn" which were the chief delights of this place. On the contrary every aspect of nature seemed to invite settlement and improvement. The harbor was capacious and easy of access. The islands at its entrance, covered with a primitive growth of trees and shrubs, presented, in combination with the densely wooded shore, a picture of beauty, such as is still preserved in the famous scenery of Casco Bay. The several rivers, the North, and South, Forest River, Bass River and the Essex Branch, divided the main land into distinct and prominent peninsulas, whose fertile slopes favored the desires of the planter. The numerous coves, formed by the indentations of the shore, offered shelter to the light shallops in rough weather, and were convenient for the prosecution of the Fisheries. The country around was everywhere clothed with an exuberant vegetation. Trees of various value in the arts crowned the surrounding hills and bordered the sea-shore. Game abounded in the woods, fish in the sea, and birds in the air. In a word, there seemed to be provision for every urgent necessity of a new and self-helping people.

#### THE NECK.

Of the early settlers of Salem proper, those who came with Roger Conant located at "the Planter's Marsh," on the tongue of land where Bridge street is, which, from its proximity to North river on one side and Collins' Cove—then called Shallop Cove—on the other, was convenient for the pursuit of the fisheries. Another portion, subsequent settlers, preferred the rocky and sterile Neck, where for many years the fisheries were prosecuted with considerable success. Settlements were early made and houses erected on Cat and Abbott's Coves, the former lying on the South side of the causeway to Winter Island, and the latter on the North side, toward Juniper Point. Cat



Cove was then called Winter Harbor, and the main harbor of Salem was Summer Harbor. The settlement at Cat Cove was on the point of Rocks just below the Hathorne farm, and was so considerable as to receive the distinctive name of Watertown. "The Point," says Dr. Bentley, "was covered with houses, stores, and the shops of artificers." Winter Island was also occupied. Houses were erected there, wharves constructed, vessels built, and a public way established, known as "Fish street." Last, not least, there was a licensed victualler on the Island.

But the subsequent population of the town moved westward, and occupied the peninsula between the North and South rivers, where we now are, and which has always contained the chief body of the inhabitants. This was then a low, level, sandy tract, nowhere over twenty feet above the level of the sea. "The form of the earth here," says Higginson, "in the superficies of it it is neither too flat in its plainness, or too high in hills, but partakes of both in a mediocrity, and is fit for pasture or for plow and meadow land." We may presume that its sparse vegetation was cleared off, as necessity required, with little labor and expense; while its frequent swamps were allowed to remain until the wants of the settlers suggested their removal. A few of the inhabitants took farms in North and South fields, where the soil was better, and passed to and fro in canoes scooped out of the trunks of trees. Wood writes, in 1635, "Although their land be none of the best, yet beyond these rivers is a very good soyle, where they have taken farmes and get their hay and plant their corne; there they crosse these rivers with small canowes which are made of whole pine trees 2½ ft. over and 20 ft. long; \* \* there be more canowes in this towne than in all the whole patent; every household having a water-horse or two."

Of all the spots of early habitation probably none preserves its ancient form and features more perfectly than our rocky and deserted

Neck. Though many interesting and not unimportant incidents have transpired there to connect it with the history of our town, it has undergone no essential changes either by the hand of man or the tooth of time. Its rough and rugged aspect seems always to have discouraged settlement and improvement, though there is good land there which would repay more labor than has ever been bestowed upon it. Frequent attempts have been made by the town authorities to induce population hither, but the desolate appearance of its granite hills, its remoteness from the general centre, and its bleak exposure, have condemned it to comparative uselessness.

Yet it is one of the pleasant portions of our territory, so far as mere sightliness of position is concerned, affording extensive and delightful views of our water and coast scenery. The broad bay, as seen from Fort Lee and Bentley Hill and other heights of land, the Beverly shore with its picturesque outline and background of deep, dense woods, the pleasant prospect towards Pine Grove and Forest River, the near view of our city and the neighboring towns, and especially the exquisite and charming river-vista towards Danvers, altogether present a scene of beauty, which, observed any where in the world, would leave a pleasing impress upon the memory.

But our poor, despised Neck contains, also, some things of *material* value and interest, after all. It is rich in the very things which make it despised. Those hard, repulsive hills contain a store of fine granite, some of which, carefully dressed, has taken a superior polish. The granites of the Neck are of various colors and densities, and some unusually handsome. Some years since, a fire-frame, highly wrought and finished from a choice block was considered as rivaling marble in its elegance. The geology of the Neck is a study for the naturalist, and its minerals are also worthy of observation. A noticeable variety of *foliated black mica* occurs here, associated with *feldspar* and *foliated hornblende*. *Crystals of hornblende* also occur.

A rare and fine blue variety of *sodalite* was found near the Almshouse, recently, by members of the Institute. There is, in fact, more of interest in this department upon the Neck and the Islands off our harbor than in all other parts of our territory.

#### NORTH FIELDS.

When Lyford, Conant, Endicott, Higginson, and other fathers of the town first settled here, and named the place Salem because of the heavenly peace enjoyed in it, they found but feeble remains of the Indian tribe which had improved the hunting grounds and fishing-places. The Naumkeags, once, doubtless, a considerable people, had been reduced by the recent plague to a few unhappy families. And these original Native Americans extended a glad welcome to the Puritan immigrants, who could and did protect them against the hostility of stronger tribes.

In 1614, just before the settlement, when the renowned Capt. John Smith coasted along this bay, he found, he said, "a multitude of people" at Agawam, but a less number at Naumkeag; but we are justified in inferring from his language that a large number of Indians resided at this point. And all the probabilities favor this inference. Rev. John Higginson remembered in his old age that when he came to Salem with his father, the Rev. Francis Higginson, of the First Church, in 1629, there was an old Indian woman here named Squaw Sachem, and one of her sons named Sagamore George, who also rejoiced in the triplicate names of "Winnapurkitt," "George Rumney Marsh," and "No Nose." These two were interesting personages in our history. Squaw Sachem was relict of Nanepashemet, who had been chief of the Naumkeags in their better days. It is supposed that this chief frequently resided in some part of North Salem, in accordance with the interesting testimony of Higginson, who says that "ye Indian towne of Wigwams was on ye North side of ye North River, not far from Simondes." Nanepashemet was killed about

1619, in a fort, on the summit of Castle Hill, near the Mill Pond. Two years after his death, (in 1621) Mr. Mourt, a traveller from Plymouth, visited this vicinity, and mentions a fort "seated on top of an hill," and adds, "here Nanepashemet was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death." The annalist of Salem surmises that Castle Hill is here referred to, and it is not improbable. Sagamore George, son of the Naumkeag chief, succeeded to his father's position, and claimed all the land between our North River and the Mystic River. It was from his descendants that the Indian deed of our town was obtained in 1686.

We have mentioned that North Salem was probably a favorite resort of the Indians of these parts. In 1680, Wm. Dixy, of Beverly, testified that when he came to Salem, in 1629, the new settlers were "kindly entertained [by the natives,] \* \* \* and the English and Indians had a field in common fenced in together." As we know from Wood's statement that the settlers had, at an early date, taken farms in North Salem, we may hence infer that there this pleasant instance of fraternity was exhibited. Indeed we could readily accept the supposition, even were there no evidence to confirm it, that this portion of our territory was the Indian's favorite haunt. In its wild and native aspect it doubtless presented peculiar attractions to the child of nature. Its diversified surface of hill and dale, was made picturesque by an exuberant growth of the forest. The woods were alive with game, and the rivers bounding its two sides and by their creeks and inlets cutting the territory into convenient tongues of land, furnished a bountiful supply of fish. This part of our city still preserves in a degree its old rural aspect, and there is still many a quiet woodland scene within its limits, to remind us of its ancient uses, and of the people who roamed over its surface. That the ancient "Towne of Wigwams" was located here, tradition assures us, and we see no reason to doubt that it was

here also that our fathers planted their corn in friendly co-operation with the Indian in one field, and perhaps on the same acres which in our day, under the skillful culture of Manning, Ives, Putnam, Lee, and others have yielded such choice returns of the fruits of peaceful industry.

Some years since Indian remains were found near the foot of Buffum street, and Indian implements, we are told, have been found near a grove in the vicinity of Cold Spring.

Fancy prompts the suggestion that Cold Spring *must* have been a favorite Indian resort. It is to this day one of the most charming spots in our environs, and a familiar retreat for the lover of the beautiful in nature. A copious, bubbling, refreshing spring,—a winding water-course through the valley toward the remoter river—hills and fresh green groves on either side—a village in the distance—with a background of swelling hills beyond—furnish all the elements of the picturesque, and are all embraced in this fine view. An attempt is made to embody the features of the scenery in this vicinity in the following stanzas :

#### TO COLD SPRING IN NORTH SALEM.

O, sweet, refreshing, bubbling fount!

The tribute to this ancient hill.

No human heart can hope to count

How long has flowed thy generous rill.

Perchance this aged oak o'er head,

Now bending as a sheltering friend,

Once lay an acorn in its bed,

And sought the strength thy waters lend.

These pleasant groves on either side;

This time-worn inlet of the sea;

Yon swelling hills that stay the tide;

All share their life and years with thee.

Here once the Indian loved to quaff

Thy cooling bowl, in summer's day;

To see thy wavelets dance and laugh;

And watch thy sands in mimic play.

Yet now, as then,—so long ago—

Thy tiny fountains flood the brim;

Thy singing waters seaward go,—

A rill of praise, a constant hymn.

Thou art a joy, a gift divine,

Thy cup o'erflows for every lip;

The timid bird, the thirsty kine,

The weary traveler, stoop to sip.

Gush ever forth, thou ancient Spring!

Refresh, delight, inspire the heart.

Thou art, indeed, a lowly thing,

But faithful to thy humble part.

As we stand upon Liberty Hill, above the Spring, and look out towards the North, the eye takes in some spots of historic as well as of scenic interest. Liberty Hill, itself, has its history as the common property of the original proprietors of North Fields, descended to the present generation as a choice local reservation. On the right, to the North, is Orne's Woods, and on the opposite side, Leavitt's Woods, a patch of fine oaks surrounded by a smooth shaven lawn. Beyond Orne's Woods is Kernwood, the slightly and beautiful estate of Col. F. Peabody, occupying the neck once known as Horse Pasture Point, a name more suggestive of its practical uses than of its rural features and delightful aspects. No other situation within our limits perhaps affords as pleasing a prospect of our harbor and river scenery. Opposite to Kernwood, is Peters' Neck, originally granted to Hugh Peters, and preserving the name of that stern servant of God and the Long Parliament, who once possessed it.

Beyond Kernwood, in the distance, is the neck of land projecting into the river, which under the name of "Birchwood," or "*Wahqua me seh cok*," as the Indians called it, was granted to Gov. Endicott by the General Court in 1632, and where he planted the famous pear tree now living. It is bounded on the South by Waters River, upon which the Danvers Iron Factory is located, and which was known in Colony times as "Cow House River," and by the Indians as "*Soe wan pe ne sett*." It is bounded on the North by Crane's River, running up to Danversport, and called by the early settlers, "Duck River," and by the Indians, "*Co nam abs quoon cant*." Next be-



yond, to the North, we see Skelton's Neck, or Danversport, bounded northerly by still another river,—Porter's River,—or "*Po nom en neuh cant*," in the Indian tongue.

This extensive outlook embraces also that noble elevation, Browne's Hill, in Beverly, which is a part of Salem scenery though not of its territory. Its southern base lies along Woolston's River, or Essex Branch, called by the Indians, "*Ork-hus sunt*." From the summit of the hill the visitor obtains a prospect of the surrounding country of great extent and variety, and comparable in beauty and interest with the grandest views in New England.

This hill was once the property of William Browne, of Salem, an opulent merchant, and of that family whose benefactions to our churches and schools, will cause the memory of their name to be forever cherished. On the summit of this grand eminence he erected a spacious and elegant mansion, called "Browne Hall," in commemoration of a family seat in Lancashire, England. For several years subsequent to 1750 this airy home was celebrated for the large hospitality of its owner, and at one of the entertainments offered there an ox was roasted whole and served up to the guests.

To return to Cold Spring. We may mention that its vicinity is also a favorite haunt of the floral tribes; and the botanist gathers some of his choicest specimens in the adjoining groves and meadows. In Leavitt's Woods we find the Soapwort Gentian (*Gentiana Saponaria*), the *Erigeron Philadelphicum*, and many other plants more common than these. In the meadow, near the Spring, we have the Marsh Lathyrus (*Lathyrus palustris*), and Grass Pink (*Cymbidium pulchellum*). Upon the surface of a ledge, in another locality, we find a few plants of the delicate and tender *Corydalis glauca*, erecting its fragile form and displaying its tiny brilliant flowers year after year on this one rock, though not found elsewhere within a circuit of miles. In the neighborhood of Kernwood all the flowers of spring bloom abundantly, the Hepatica, Bloodroot,

Wind Anemone, Dog's Tooth Violet, Indian Turnip, and all the floral train, with such flowering shrubs as are familiar in our landscape.

#### THE GREAT PASTURE.

There are certain portions of our territory which were held for a long series of years as common undivided lands, in the hands of special proprietors, and hence known as Proprietaries. North Fields were once held in this way. The only rights of this description now remaining, are a few in the Sheep pasture, and one in Osborn's pasture, near Aborn street.

The tract familiarly known as the Great Pasture, came down to the present time in this form, but recently the proprietors have organized as a corporation, under an act passed by the Legislature in 1855. The Great Pasture was anciently of large extent, as its name indicates, but various portions have been from time to time set off, so that only some 350 acres remained at the time of the incorporation, in the hands of a few proprietors.

The section of territory formerly included in the Great Pasture, we regard as one of the most interesting tracts within our domain. Its barren, rocky hills, dotted with a straggling growth of cedars, savins, and pines, its alder swamps, with an occasional clump of maples, birches, or oaks, in its low lands, make up an unique landscape, attractive from its very wildness and seeming uselessness. There is something peculiarly pleasant and attractive in its rude, untamed scenery. We confess that we delight again and again to toil over its rough, swelling hills, to force the difficult way through its craggy ravines, clogged with wild vegetation, and to leap its frequent brooks. And it seems always to have been a favorite resort of our town's people, as we judge from the familiar names which have long attached to its prominent localities.

The general contour of the Great Pasture is that of a series of hill-ranges of greenstone, running from N. E. to S. W. with deep ravines and swamps between. From the higher

summits of these hills the eye takes in a far-sweeping panorama of the surrounding country. The towns of Salem, Danvers, Beverly, Marblehead, the promontory of Nahant, Milton Hills, conspicuous objects around Boston, the glistening bay from Cape Ann to the South Shore, and the high hills of the interior country in all directions, are embraced in this extensive landscape. Indeed, not only from these summits, but also from those nearer town, from Castle Hill, Prospect, and Gallows Hills, from Forest River Hill and others, delightful views of Salem and its suburbs are afforded, some of which are worthy the pencil of the artist.

The highest Pasture Hill is Lord's Hill, now private property. It obtains its name from a primitive settler who retreated to this distant spot to cultivate its unpromising acres, but of whose operations no traces now remain. Lord's Hill is situated at the intersection of the Swampscot road with the turnpike. The next highest is Monument Hill, which adjoins Lord's to the eastward, and is distinguished by a pile of stones at its summit.

Of the swamps in this section, the chief is Great Swamp, on the line of the Eastern Railroad, two miles out. Half a century ago it contained 55 acres, and was in a wild, untamed condition. During the war of 1812, when wood was high in price, it furnished a great quantity of fuel to our town's people. Its owner, Judge Samuel Putnam, permitted persons who desired to do so, to remove the submerged trunks and roots of its ancient forest, and large quantities were raised and carried away,—the ditching and drainage thus obtained being his compensation. Judge Putnam also erected a mill at its northern end, the dam and sluice-way of which may still be seen, at the foot of Pine Hill, on the line of the railroad. The water-power was insufficient for the purpose, and the mill was taken down. The swamp is now a reclaimed meadow under successful cultivation.

Long Swamp, mentioned in Bentley's De-

scription of Salem, seems to have occupied the low land westward of Great Swamp, toward the Turnpike, now the route of the Swampscot road. Its waters empty into Great Swamp, and both discharge into Forest River around Pine Hill. Half a mile nearer Salem, on the line of the Eastern Railroad, opposite the Old Hospital Burying Ground, is what was formerly known as Round Swamp, now a reclaimed meadow, whose water-course empties into the Mill Pond, by Clay Brook, through Derby's Marsh. In the border of Round Swamp, issue Cold Spring Brook, Split Rock Spring, and Flat Rock Spring, the waters of which join in Clay Brook. The latter receives also the waters of Acorn Brook, the largest run of water remaining in that direction. Acorn Brook forms in the sheep pasture, above Mills's farm, crosses the turnpike a quarter of a mile beyond the Toll-house, courses across the Great Pasture, and through Round Swamp into Clay Brook, and thus into the Mill Pond. Acorn Brook receives the springs and drainage of the swamps to the east of Lord's Hill. The waters of the pastures nearer town, discharge through Frost Fish Brook into the Mill Pond, just above the cliffs in Stearns's Pasture, opposite Castle Hill. Thus the waters of the upper part of the Pasture run into Forest River, and those of the lower part into South River; and near Pine Hill they are separated by a narrow neck of land which Dr. Bentley proposed should be channeled, so that the waters of Great Swamp and that section might be brought into Clay Brook and the Mill Pond, to increase the mill-power on the South River.

We are thus minute and particular in describing these comparatively trivial things, in order that the names anciently applied to these localities may not pass out of mind, and have been at some trouble to identify the places which few or none have cared to remember.

It has been remarked that the vegetation of Salem is remarkably foreign. This peculiarity is nowhere more noticeable than in our Great Pasture. We especially observe that the Wood



Wax (*Ginista tinctoria*), and the White Weed (*Crysanthemum*), those "wide-wasting pests" of our fields, "rage unconfined" in this region and paint the landscape with their blossoms, in the season of their flowering. Both of these strangers were perhaps introduced as desirable additions to our floral circle, but have proved, in the end, most unwelcome visitors. Tradition says that the White Weed was first cultivated by Gov. Endicott, at his seat at "Birchwood," or "Orchard," mentioned in our notice of North Salem scenery. Besides these exotics, the common Barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*), and Tree Prinrose (*Eurotia biennis*), also foreigners, are abundant in this section of our territory. Our native plants, as well as exotics, are found in great variety in the moist valleys, and on the sunny sides of the Great Pastures, and the botanist obtains here an ample herbarium of our local flora. In particular, the brilliant and favorite Columbine (*Aquilegia Canadensis*) "makes the wild landscape with its beauty gay" in the pleasant days of Spring. It seems to have made these rude hills its choice dwelling-place,

"Nodding its honey-bells 'mid pliant grass

In which the bee, half hid, his time employs"

There are many warm, moist, secluded nooks in these pastures, where a wonderful variety of plants occur in their season; and other more rare flowers are found in occasional localities. In Round Swamp, the eye is delighted by the dense purple masses of the Willow Herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), and the yellow patches of the Touch-me-not, (*Impatiens noli tangere*). In Acorn Brook we find the tiny delicate Forget-me-not (*Myosotis palustris*), overhung by festoons of the feathery Virgin's Bower (*Clematis Virginiana*) and the rich verdure of the Roxbury Wax-Work (*Celastrus scandens*). In Blackberry Swamp the curious *Huttonia inflata*, and in the swamp north of Acorn Brook, the elegant and singular Sun Dew (*Drosera rotundifolia*). Near Acorn Brook, where it crosses the Turnpike, we gather the beautiful *Rhodora Canadensis*.

"Spreading its leafless blooms in a damp nook,

To please the desert and the sluggish brook.  
The purple petals, fallen in the pool,  
Make the black water with their beauty gay;  
Here might the red-bird come his plumes to cool,  
And court the flower that cheapens his array."

In Concoa-nut Hollow the Blood-root (*Sanguinaria canadensis*) blossoms in abundance. Concoa-nut Hollow, so called from a grove of concoa-nut trees there, is on the N. W. side of Great Swamp.

One of the spots most delightful to visit, in this direction, is a little round meadow of a couple of acres, at the head of Great Swamp, and a part of it, but separated by the Swamp-seot road. It is a choice locality for the botanist and the lover of fine scenery. In it and around it, upon the hills and cliffs which beautify and shelter it, we find a varied and luxuriant growth of plants which love moist and sunny places, and of the trees and shrubs which are most pleasing in our local scenery. Throughout the season of vegetation it presents a succession of our favorite native flowers. In early spring the brave and beautiful *Hepatica triloba*, the familiar harbinger of the vernal year, flecks the hill-side with the abundance of its bright blue blossoms. In mid-summer the purple *Cymbidium pulchellum* peoples the meadow with a crowd of its showy blooms. And in autumn the Fringed Gentian (*Gentiana crinata*) lingers here until the early frost, to adorn the spot with its rare beauty. A numerous company of other plants are found in their proper season. The Bulbous Arethusa (*Arethusa bulbosa*) has chosen this as one of its few haunts within our vicinity. The Veined Neottia, or Rattlesnake Plantain (*neottia pubescens*) also, with its rich dark leaves and delicate tracery of white veins; the splendid Cardinal Flower, (*Lobelia cardinalis*); the Snake Head (*Chelone glabra*); the tiny fragrant Mitchellia (*repens*); the fine white Aconite, the snow-white blooms of the Blood-root, and a hundred others, might be added to the catalogue of this prolific flower-garden.

The beautiful evergreens which clothe the surrounding hills, are interspersed with oaks

and maples, and various shrubs, which give interest to the place and concentrate many objects of study within a small compass. The *Lycopodium*, or running evergreen of Christmas time, spreads over the hill-side beneath the trees and shrubbery, and occasional patches of the Tree Pine, or Prince's Pine, add to the infinite variety.

If we follow up the little run of water which comes down between the hills, we enter damp and shady places with a rank growth of herbaceous things. Here are moist rocks and craggy places, mantled with mosses and lichens of a thousand forms of beauty, and thick impenetrable tangles of vines and shrubbery.

From the summits of the hills extensive views are obtained of the landscape towards Swampscot and Lynn, as well as on this side; and in the valleys and over the hills to the east, towards the Turnpike, we have one of the wildest, ruggedest and most romantic regions yet remaining uncleared in this part of the county. This is the district formerly known as the Timber Hills. And if any one is desirous of a wild, lonely walk, which will enlist all his strength and energy, let us commend to him a ramble over this region, from Great Swamp to the floating Bridge. But neither dense thickets, nor treacherous swamps, nor craggy hills, must deter or alarm the adventurer.

#### THE FOREST RIVER SECTION.

Attention was early directed to the rich land beyond Forest River, now included within the limits of Marblehead, and known as Marblehead Farms. In 1635, when the energy of Hugh Peters had given such an impulse to Salem's prosperity that hopes were entertained that this town might become the capitol, a lot of land was selected on this plain and proposed as the site of a College. But the ambitious purposes of our townsmen were not realized, and Boston became the capitol, and Cambridge the seat of the College. Overlooking this plain is Legg's Hill, too familiarly known to permit description. On its western side are

Coy and Deep Ponds, and eastward, a little pond or pool, sometimes called Silver Hole. Coy and Deep Ponds were sold in 1638 to Emanuel Downing, for Duck ponds, he having brought over from England "at great charges, all things fitting for taking wild fowl by way of Duck Coy," and who accordingly obtained leave from the General Court to set his traps in these ponds. It was ordained that no man "should shoote in any gunn within a half mile of the ponds, nor use any other means for the disturbance of the Fowle there."

Mr. Downing was a prominent man in Salem in his day. He represented the town in the General Court for several years. He was related to Gov. Winthrop by marriage of his sister, and his daughter was second wife of Gov. Bradstreet—the last governor which Salem ever furnished. He was father of the celebrated Sir George Downing, who served as ambassador to Holland under both Cromwell and Charles 2d. He resided on the premises where the old Pickering house now is, in Broad street.

The Coy and Deep ponds are in the direction of that narrow strip of Salem territory, wedge-shaped, which, separating the towns of Swampscot and Marblehead, runs down to *Phillips's Beach*. Through this gore of land, and by way of Coy and Deep Ponds, it was proposed by Gen. Glover and others, soon after the Revolution, to cut a canal, in order to avoid doubling Marblehead Point in stormy weather! This project was seriously urged even later than this, and was favorably regarded by Dr. Bentley.

Eastward of Legg's Hill, on the Marblehead side of Forest River, occur those curious hollows in the surface of the earth, popularly known as "Dungeons," and by the Geologist termed Diluvial Depressions. There are a dozen or more of them on the river border of that great diluvial plain of sand and gravel. The largest is about 300 feet in diameter, and 40 or 50 feet in depth. Seen from the river, this curious tract has the appearance of being

rounded up into steep hills, unusually smooth and regular in outline. From the plain they appear as great circular cavities scooped out as if by a giant's hand. There are also several of these depressions to the westward and southward of Legg's Hill. Deep Pond occupies one of them, being of small circumference, but 28 feet in depth.

Why the cavities were called "Dungeons" we cannot imagine, unless it was from the circumstance that they sometimes imprison small pools of water which collect at the bottom from the drainage of their grass-grown sides. The geologist considers them to be Diluvial Depressions, caused by the action of running water, perhaps in combination with the movement of vast blocks of ice. Similar depressions and corresponding elevations are common in various parts of the State. They are found in Barnstable, Plymouth, Hampshire, Franklin, Worcester, and Middlesex counties. In the town of Truro they are so numerous, that Prof. Hitchcock compares the aspect of the country to the appearance of a "chopped sea," where the waves dash against each other in contrary directions. The hills there are sometimes 200 feet high, with corresponding cavities.

Prof. Hitchcock considers that these remarkable forms were originated by running water, which agency alone could give them their peculiar characteristics. But he can hardly believe that they are attributable solely to the action of water, unless it was poured over the surface with a power and a violence vastly exceeding anything now witnessed. He suggests that ice was also an agent in this work; and a fact noticed in the Deerfield meadows, strengthens his supposition. It was noticed that when these meadows were overflowed by the spring floods, blocks of ice remained in fixed positions, so that the water eddying about among them, formed cavities in the ground similar to these, sometimes four or five feet deep. "Let us suppose (he says) that large blocks of ice were arrested by some narrow gorge, and as the diluvial waters subsided,

they settled down upon the diluvium that had accumulated. The current would now be compelled to follow many a devious course among the irregular blocks. Its velocity, also, would in some places be much increased; and a natural effect would be, that it would wear away the gravel and sand around some of the blocks of ice. They would be gradually undermined and settle down; and perhaps cavities as deep as we now witness, might be scooped out."

These forces, he suggests, operating upon a grand scale, caused such hollows as these Dungeons, which form the most striking feature in the Forest River landscape. The theory, he admits, is not without difficulties, but it is certainly worthy of examination.

The Forest River was called by the Indians *Mash ab e quash*, and remains of the works of that people are still observed in this vicinity. The most interesting of these remains of the former lords of our soil, is an old Indian Fort, the outlines of which are observable on the summit of a hill overlooking the Forest River Plain. It is the only thing of the kind in this vicinity. The hill which the Fort occupies, stands at the intersection of the Lynn road, with a new cross-road recently built. A new school-house stands within a stone's throw of the spot. This small defence was mentioned as an "old Indian Fort," in the County Records, as early as 1658. It is nearly circular in form, and about 30 feet in diameter within the ditch which surrounded it. It is a great curiosity, and well worth a visit.

Not far from here, half a mile to the northward, is a great deposit of shells, marking the former seat of Indian habitation. It is at the head of Throgmorton's Cove, which makes in from Salem Harbor near the Forest River Mills, and is just east of Pine Grove. This cove commemorates John Throgmorton, one of the early settlers of the town. He came over with Roger Williams in the ship *Lyon* in 1630, and settled in Salem with his pastor, and was granted land here. He had the honor of being excommunicated with Williams from



the Salem Church, and went with him to Rhode Island. Throgmorton was one of those of whom Hugh Peters wrote, that "these wholly refused to hear the church, denying it and all the churches in the Bay to be true churches, and, except two, all re-baptized."

The monstrous heap of half-decayed and broken clam shells at Throgmorton's Cove, renders it certain that this charming and secluded spot was often visited by the Indians as a favorite fishing-place, or a sort of aboriginal summer watering-place. The shells now remain as when cast aside by the Indian families, who must have devoured shell-fish in immense quantities. Some thirty cords have been taken away as manure, but yet a great collection remains. Following up the valley to the South, in the direction of the Fort, frequent traces of shell deposits are noticed. Fragments of the peculiar kind of stone of which Indian arrow-heads were made, are also frequently seen. We observe, also, frequent rings of Barberry bushes, whose circular mode of growth Mr. Gregory\* thinks indicates the site of a wigwam. One instance of this occurs on the eastern slope near the summit of the great hill behind the Forest River Lead Factory. Shells are also observable here in the soil. Indeed the whole Forest River section abounds in Indian relics, which are turned up very frequently by the plow. This great plain must have been an Indian roving place for many long years.

Details of Indian life within our limits we do not possess. The few facts which have been handed down by tradition and history, concerning the tribe located here when our fathers arrived, give us no clear and definite idea of their numbers or character. We only obtain an impression that there were a few straggling families, the prey of stronger tribes. In earlier times, and probably not long before the settlement, we may believe that the Naum-

keags were more numerous and perhaps more efficient. But as we actually know nothing of this, we must leave it to our imaginations, when we visit the ancient Indian localities, to supply the facts of Indian life, which must make up the romance of the spot.

And as we leave the subject of Indian remains, we here leave also the topic of this paper. Our purpose has been to collect briefly, and in an off-hand manner, some of the incidents which group themselves around the chief points of our local scenery, when we think of their historic associations or their present aspects. Yet we have not attempted to sketch fully the history, the scenery, or other matters of interest connected with either of them.—The object has been simply to mention such things as would naturally fall into the current of a conversation upon either of the sections noticed, and conversation never wholly satisfies either the converser or the conversee.

The civil history of Salem is full of interest, and rich in materials illustrative of nearly every social, political, and religious change which has occurred in Massachusetts since the foundation of the Colony; and this history has happily been well preserved in written and printed records. The natural history of Salem is also copious and various, and yields constant delight and instruction to its students, and even its desultory reader. Nature is everywhere rich in facts and phenomena of the highest and most beautiful significance; and whenever a Gilbert White or a Miss Cooper records the life of nature, in some quiet, unobtrusive town, the whole world is pleased and surprised to know that one small spot contains so much to wonder at and admire. Happily for our neighborhood the Institute observes and preserves its natural history; and though no one has yet written it in a book with that simplicity and grace which mark the naturalist of Selbourne, yet we often have detached portions of it in living speech, in the familiar and delightful conversations of the first Vice-President of the Institute (Rev. John

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\*Mr. J. J. H. Gregory, of Marblehead, who has given great attention to Indian relics, and is an authority upon the subject.

Lewis Russell) ; and the more we thus hear, the more we desire that the whole story may thus be told.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

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*Continued from Vol. 1, Page 183.*

*Henry Bulloch, 4 mo. 1664.*

Will of Henry Bulloch, of Salem, dated Dec, 21, 1663, wife Eliz'h, son Tho's Bulloch, grandchild, John, son of son Henry Bulloch, deceased, and his sister Eliz'h, wife Eliz'h ex'ix. Wm. Flint & Nath'l Felton, overseers. Proved 29, 4, '64.

Inventory of above estate taken Jan. 4, 1663, by Thos. Gardner, sr., Nath'l Felton, amount 99, 15, 0, list of debts due to the estate, 23, 2, 0: debts, 3, 0, 0,. Allowed 29, 4, 1664,

*Wm. Stewart, 4 mo., 1664.*

Inventory of estate of Wm. Stewart, amount 39, 3, 11, returned by Sara, relict of dec'd, and allowed 29, 4, 1664, and widow appt adm'x.

*Eliz. Cockerell, 4 mo, 1664.*

Inventory of estate of Eliz. Cockerell taken 27 June, 1664, by Jeffrey Massey and Henry Skerry; amount 102, 02, 0, allowed 28, 4, 1664, and Edward Clap, Francis Collins and Andrew Woodbury appt'd adm'rs.

*Wm. Goose, 4 mo, 1664.*

The Court being informed that Mr. Goose, dying many years ago, leaving no will, and no admin. being granted, and that Mrs. Goose is distracted and not able to provide for herself. The Towne of Salem having been at great expense about her for several years, the Court do grant admin. to the Selectmen of Salem, they to return an inventory. The Selectmen being, Wm. Hathorne, Wm. Browne, George Corwin, Nath. Prince and Henry Bartholomew.

Inventory of above estate taken 28 June, 1664, by Jeffrey Massey, Thomas Jiggles and John Pickering, amounting to £54 16s. Charge of Salem for relief of the widow since 1656 to 1662, £39, 18s, returned 29, 4 mo, 1664.

*Grace Sallows, 4 mo. 1664.*

Inventory of Grace Sallows taken Jan. 29, '64, by Tho's Hutton, and Tho's Rootes, amount 113, 13, 3; list of debts, 34, 15, 10. allowed 29, 4, 1664.

*R'd White, 4 mo 1664.*

Inventory of estate of R'd White, amount 2, 14, 0, returned and allowed 30, 4, 1663, and widow Smith appt'd adm'x.

*Geo. Fraile, 4 mo., 1664.*

Inventory of estate of George Fraile of Lynn, who deceased 9 of 10 mo. 1663, taken by Thos. Houghton, Thos. Putnam, John Putnam, and John Tarbox, amount 184, 14, 0, returned and allowed 29 Mar. 1664.

At Court held 29 Mar. 1664, Eliz'h, relict of George Fraile, appt'd adm'x, mentions that he left 1 son and 4 daughters.

List of debts due to estate, 6, 12, 8.

“ “ “ from “ 7, 14, 9.

Returned 28, 4, 1664.

*Thos. Spooner, 9 mo, 1664.*

Inventory of estate of Thos. Spooner, taken 15 9 mo, 1664, by Edmond Batter, and Hilyard Very: amount 333, 03, 03, allowed 29 9 mo, 1664, and Eliz'h, his widow, appt'd adm'x.

*Nich. Tucker, 9 mo, 1664.*

Inventory of estate of Nicholas Tucker, taken and returned by Andrew Tucker.

*John Bartoll, 9 mo., 1664.*

Inventory of estate of John Bartoll taken 16 November, 1664, Moses Maverick and Wm. Chuz, amount 71 10, 0, allowed 29, 9, '64. Returned by Dan'l Bartoll who is appt'd adm'r.

List of debts amount 64, 18, 5.

*John Coleman, 4 mo., 1665.*

Inventory of estate of John Coleman; amount 8, 12, 0. Returned by Peter Duncan.

List of debts and charges, - - 7. 10, 3.  
Allowed in Court, 27, 4, 1665.

*Ric'd Windowe, 4 mo., 1665.*

Will of Rich'd Windowe, of Gloucester, 2 May, 1665, mentions daughter Ann, (Rich'd Gedney to have the sword and belt he traineth with), (Anthony Bennet, son-in-law, to have the great bible which was his father's), Eliz. Bennet his dau. in law. Sarah Davis to have his fowling piece and shot-moulds. Wife Bridget, James Travis, app'ts Wm. Haskell, er., James Stevens and Jacob Davis of Gloucester, to be overseers. Proved 27, 4, 1665.

Inventory of above estate amount 211, 19, 6, taken by Philip Stanwood, John Davis, and Wm. Sargent, 26 4 mo., 1665.

*Jno. Slater, 4 mo., 1665.*

Inventory of estate of John Slater, jr., taken 18 May, 1665, by Wm. Pitt, John Peach, and John Codner; amount 50, 15, 0.

Capt. George Corwin, and Eliz'h Slater, relict of above John, app'd adm's of his estate, 27 4 mo, 1665.

*Jona. Witt, 4 mo., 1665.*

Inventory of estate of Jona. Witt, of Lynn, deceased, taken 30 11 mo., 1664, by Oliver Parchis and Thomas; amount 54, 19, 0, allowed; mentions his father Darian.

Mary Witt, relict of John, is appt'd adm'x 27, 4, 1665.

*Rob't Moulton, 9 mo., 1665.*

Will of Rob't Moulton, sr., of Salem, dated 5 Sept. 1665, his wife ex'x; son Robert, daughter Abigaile, son Samuel to enjoy all his land within Reading bounds, butting on Ipswich River, 16 acres more or less, dau. Hannah, £20 in neat cattle when she is married, two younger sons, John and Joseph, two younger daughters, Miriam & Mary.

Witness: Henry Bartholomew, George Gardner, and Sam'l Gardner. Proved 28, 9, 1665.

Inventory of above estate taken 3, 8, 1665,

by Samuel Gardner, Job Swimmerton, jr., amount 294 10 0; a list of debts, 20 12 0½, allowed 28, 9, '65.

*Andrew Hodges, Mar. 1666.*

Will of Andrew Hodges of Ipswich, dated Oct. 11, 1665, mentions his beloved wife, he give £5 to the custody of Cambridge for the good of some fellow, Henry Bennet £5, Good-wife Walden 40s, Mary Quitter 40s, Mr. Cobbit, 40s, cousin Esther Birdly, she to be administrator, and Dea. Thomas Knowlton and Theophilus Wilson, overseers. Probated 27, 1, 1666.

Inventory of above estate taken 16 Jan., 1665, by Robert Lord and Jacob Foster, amounting 226, 19—allowed 27 Mar., 1666.

*Rich'd Window, June, 1666.*

Petition of Bridget. widow of Ric'd Window of Gloucester, wherein she mentions that she lived with her husband after they were married 7 years; that when he died he left estate valued at £212, which were by some person got away from the petitioner that she had nothing to support her, and whereas one James James Stephens, one of the overseers of the will of her husband, confesseth that he (by word of mouth) left her one cow, yet she has not got that either; therefore she ptition that the Court will see to the case, that the estate may be regularly divided. May 23, 1666.

*John Farrington, June, 1666.*

Inventory of John Farrington, taken May 14, 1666, by John Hathorne and Joseph Jenks, amounting to 243, 6, 6, returned by the widow, 27, 4, 1666.

*Humphrey Gilbert, June, 1666.*

The deposition of Ellen Hathorne, aged 25 yrs, who testifies to a gift to Hannah Gilbert by her mother on her death bed.

The depos. of the wife of Wm. Grave to the same.

The deposition of Eliz'h Hutton to the same, and to the giving of the same gift by Humphrey Gilbert on his sick bed.



*Edw. Estuich, June, 1666.*

Inventory of Edw. Estuich to be taken June 1666, by Edmond Batter, Francis Nourse, amounting to 70, 03, 00; amount of debts, 38, 02, 09, returned by Esther, widow, 29, 4, '66.

Elizabeth Estuich, age 14 yrs,	} The ages of Edw. Estuich children.
Sarah Estuich, " 12 "	
Hannah Estuich " 10 "	
Esther Estuich " 7 "	
Edward Estuich. " 4 "	

*Wm. Trask, 4th mo., 1666, Salem.*

Will of Wm. Trask, sen., of Salem, dated May 15, 1666, mentions Sarah his wife, sons William, John, daughters Sarah, Susan and Mary, grandchildren, £10 apiece. Wm. & John, his sons, to be ex'ors. Proved 28, 4, 1666.

Inventory of above estate taken June 15, 1666, by Ths. Robbins & John Hill, amounting 364, 0, 0, returned by William & J'm'e Trask, 24 4 mo., 1666.

*Francis Laurie, June, 1666.*

Will of Francis Laurie of Salem, dated Nov. 6. 1665, mentioned his son-in-law, John Neale and Mary his wife, Jeremiah, son of son-in-law John, Jonathan, son of said John, Joseph, son of said John, his five grandchildren, Jeremiah, John, Jonathan, Joseph and Lydia, children of my son-in-law John, and Mary Neale, John Neale, his son-in-law, and Mary his wife, to be executors. Proved 28 4 mo., 1666. Witness, Hilyard Veren & Bartholomew Gedney. An inventory of above estate taken June 28, 1666, by Edmond Batter and Barthlo Gedney, amount 192, 00, 00, returned by John Neale and Mary his wife, 24 4 mo., 1666.

*Wm. Guttersons, Sept., 1666.*

An inventory of estate of Wm. Gutterson, (deceased July 12, 1666,) amounting to £56, 6, 0, returned by Elizabeth Gutterson Sept. 25, 1666.

*Sam'l Sharps, 9th mo., 1666.*

An inventory of the estate of Samuel Sharps, taken June 18, 1664, by John Browne, sen'r

and Hillyard Veren amount ———. In debt 20, 00, 00, returned 27 6, 1666.

*Obadiah Antrum, Nov., 1666.*

An Inventory of the estate of Obadiah Antrum, taken Nov. 29. 1666, by John Neale, John Pickering and Giles Corey, amounting 332, 18, 00; debt, 36, 0, 0, returned by Martha, widow of Obadiah, and she is appt'd adm'r, 29 9, 1666.

*Benj. Hermayes, Nov., 1666.*

Inventory of estate of Benj. Hermayes' estate, taken at the request of Widow Estich, 26 9 mo., 1666, by George Gardner & Francis Nurse, amount £14.

Deposition of Francis Nursé, aged about 45 years, sworn in Court, 29, 9, 1666.

*Thos. James, 9th mo., 1666.*

An inventory of the estate of Thomas James taken 20 September 1666, by Machael Shaffin and Nathaniel Felton, amount 122 09 06; Debts, 9, 12, 03, returned Jeremiah Meachum, admr., 28 4, 1666.

*Eliz. Scudder, 9th mo., 1666.*

An Inventory of the estate of Eliz. Scudder, widow, taken by Henry Bartholomew & Hillyard Veren, a'nt 33 7 6, debt, 10 12 9, returned 29 9, '66.

*Ric. Johnson, 9 mo., 1666.*

Will of Ric'd Johnson of Lynn, dated 20 Aug., 1666, sons Daniel, Samuel, daughters Abigail Collins & Elizabeth Tolman, appts. his wife sole extx. app'ts Tho. Laughton, James Axey, and Andrew Mansfield, overseers. Proved 27, 9, 1666.

Inventory of above estate taken 18 7 mo., 1666, by Thos. Laughton, James Axey, Henry Collins, amount 368 17 6; debts 22 0 0. Allowed 27, 9, 1666.

*Ralph Tompkins, Nov. 1666.*

Inventory of Estate of Ralph Tompkins, of Salem, taken 12, 9, 1666, by Thomas Gardner, and John Kitchen, amount 20 19 0; debts, 5 0 0, allowed, and administration given to John, son of the deceased, the land to be to the

said John, and after the debts are paid the rest to go to Mary the daughter of John Foster.

Deposition of Ann Small, aged about 50 years. Do. do. Edward do. aged 40 years, "sayth yt In ye day of disceorce wtt Ralph Tomkins did heare him seauereall times say that itt was his will yt Mary ffoster should have his kow and all his houshold goods. After his decease in regard she Had ben such a good nurs vnto him for said Hee she Has don more for mee and my poore wife than any body else would Have don."

Samuel Aborne, aged 52 years, saith the substance of above.

Nathaniel Felton, aged 50 years, saith the same also.

*Rob't Lemon, June, 1667.*

Will of Rob't Lemon, dated August 2, 1665, mentions wife Mary, daughters Sary, Hannah, Mary, Matthew. Mentions debts which are due to Thomas Sallows, Richard Sallows, Mary Sallows. Proved 25 4 mo., '67. Mary, the widow, appointed administratrix.

Inventory of above estate taken 3d 2d mo, 1667, by Hilliard Veren, Thos. Rootes. Amt. £241 7, 0; debts, £9, 12, 0. Allowed 25 4 mo., 1667.

*Roger Hascoll, 4 mo., 1667.*

Will of Roger Hascoll, dated 27 of May, 1667, mentions wife Elizabeth, son-in-law, William Dodge, threc youngest sons, Roger, Joseph and Samuell, daughters Hannah and Sarah, sons, Mark, William, John, sister Jane, son Josiah, daughter Elizabeth, 2 Brothers, William and Mark Haskall. Witness, Thomas Pickson and John Hill. Proved 26, 4, '67. Wife Elizabeth, Executrix.

Inventory of above estate taken 11 June, 1667, by John Rayment, Hugh Woodberry, John Dodge; amount £616, 18, 00: allowed in Court 25, 4, 67.

*Arthur Saundin, 4 mo. 1667.*

Inventory of estate of Arthur Sandin taken April 8, 1667 by Moses Maverick, George Corwin, Samuel Ward; amount 248, 13, 02; debts 120, 9, 11. Allowed 25, 4, '67.

*Alexander Seers, 4 mo., 1667.*

Inventory of the estate of Alexander Seers taken June 7. 1667, by Hilliard Veren, Thos. Rootes; am't 133, 14; debts 71, 15, 06; allowed 25, 4, 67.

*Thos. Read, 4 mo., 1667.*

Inventory of Thos. Read's estate taken 5 of April, 1667, by Jno. Neale, Edmond Batter; amount 87 07; debts 17. Allowed 25 4 mo, '67.

*Joseph Pope, June, 1667.*

Will of Joseph Pope, dated Sept. 10th, 1666, mentions wife Gertrude Pope, executrix, two eldest sons, Joseph and Benjamin Pope, two youngest sons, Enos and Samuell, daughter Damaris Buffum, Hannah Pope; brothers George and Richard, Joseph Gardner and Samuell Shatok the elder, are appointed overseers. Allowed 27, 4, 1667.

*Jona. Brown, Nov. 1667.*

Inventory of estate of Jona. Brown, taken 16th April, 1667, by Hillyard Veren, Samuell Gardner; amount, 68, 08, 08; allowed 28 July 1667.

List of debts 240, 0, 04½; allowed and an order of Court to pay 5 shillings to the pound, dated 27, 9, 1667.

Account between James Allen and Jona. Brown. Account between John Brown, sen'r, and Jona. Brown. Petition of John Brown sen'r, for the Court to appoint some person to decide what proportion to be paid on the debts of estate of Jona. Brown and his agreement to pay the same.

These presents witness that whereas there was twentie and nine hogsheds of tobacco shipped upon the John's adventure in Virginia, in March, 1666, Richard Greene being master of the said vessel, and as tobaccos were consigned for the accompt of mr. Abraham Browne, Edmond Downs and company.—Signed Jonathan Brown, dated seventeenth Nov. 1666.



Power of attorney from Jas Allen to Hill-yard Veren to prosecute a debt against Est. of Jona. Brown, deceased.

Boston, Novemb'r 1st, 1667.

Mr. John Brown, Senior:

I sometime since Acquainted that att the frequent And Earnest request of yo'r Sonn Johnathan Brown, Pretending to me Extreme necessity, I lent him and by his desires Paid for him severall sums of monies and English Goods at mony Price, to the value of thirty-four Pound, fifteen shillings & 7d, of wch I rec'd but eleven pound fifteen shilling & he promised me money in a very short space, butt fayled off Performin. I never had any dealings before to oblige me to do that favor, but only with respect to yor self as his father and my serv't Jerimie Dumer as his Brother I intreat you to undertake the Consideration of this my debt, & also the managem't thereof, that iff it my be I might have the whole; though I give you what by me you desire, or iff not the whole; then what Proportion is in equity due. I Committ all unto you being well satisfied both in your and yor wives desire that right may be done. I wrote to you three months Ago; my letter is with yor wife, for it seemeth you were newly gone to sea, wherein is tee Acct wch I have again here also transcribed out of my booko:-

Mr. Johnathan Browne is d'r		Contr Cr.	
1666, May 31.	To monyes lent & c	5 0 0	1666, July 7th.
" June 7,	by Mr. Scott,	3 0 0	by Tobb. rec'd.
" June 22	To Goods del to xer		£11 15d
	money or Virginia		
	Tobb. at 2½	16 15 7	Balance rest-
	To Benj. Massey	10 0 0	ing in mony.
		34 15 7	23 01 1.

I hope I need not say any more to Prevail with you to do this business for me, for far as as it Conserneth both as reling to what must be done in Cort or any other wayes. If you or any other concerned do scruple the Truth of my acct I shall be ready when called thereunto to give my oath that It is as I have presented it to A penny; and If yor self please to call at my house I suppose I have yor sonns hand for most part off it. Salem being a place that my

occasions will not permit me to Come into I committ all to yourself,

who Am yor Loving friend And Brother in Cht,

JOHN HULL.

A guaranty from Jona. Brown to Robert Allen, of Choptank, in province of Maryland, that he will pay for three thousand nine hundred sixty-two pounds of tobacco, purchased of Allen by his father, John Brown.

Dated 13 of July, 1666.

Signed JONA BROWN.

Nath'l Green, aged about 39 years, deposeth, &c., 16, 8 mo., 1667.

Rich'd Green, aged about 39 years, deposeth, &c., 16, 8 mo., 1667.

Thos. Randall, 9th mo., 1667.

An Inventory of goods of Thos. Randall; deceased, taken 20th Nov., 1667, by Moses Mav-erieke and Erasmus James; Amt £6 9 0. Allowed 26 9, 67.

Samuel Sharpe, Nov., 1667.

Whereas there was a Letter of Administration granted to Nathaniel Sharpe by the County Court, held at Ipswich in September last, concerning the Estate left by his mother lately deceased, wherein ye Division of ye said Estate among the Children was ordered by ye said Court be left to themselves to be agreed upon, and ye said agreement to be presented to the next County Court held at Salem in November to be Confirmed, These are to Certify, that it is jointly and unanimously agreed amongst them all, that ye said Nathaniel Sharpe, Administrator aforesaid, shall have a double portion of ye said Estate, the Remainder to be equally divided between the rest of the Children, now wittnes our hands, this 29 of November, 1667.

Agreement allowed 26 9 mo., 1667.

NATHANIEL SHARPE,

THOMAS JEGGELLS,

the marke P of CHRISTOPHER PHELPS,

JOHN MORTON,

the marke H of HANNAH SHARPE.

Geo. Wheeler, 4th mo., 1668.

An Inventory of the estate of George Wheel-

er taken May 28th, 1668, by Anthony Somerby and William Titcomb, Amount 29 1 0.— Allowed At Salem 30 4, '68. Administration granted to Susanna, wife of the deceased.

*John Perkins, 4th mo., 1668.*

An inventory of the estate of John Perkins, taken at Topsfield June 12th, 1668, by Francis Peabody and Edmon Town, amount 48 15 0. Allowed at Salem 30 4, '68. Administration granted to Deborah, wife of the deceased.

*Robert Andrews, 4th mo., 1668.*

An Inventory of the estate of Robert Andrews, Sen'r, of Rowley village, taken by Francis Peabody, Isask Commings, Sen'r, and Edmon Townes, Amount 728 4 0. Allowed 1 5, '68. Administration granted to Grace Andrews, wife of the deceased.

*Thomas Brackett, 4th mo., 1668.*

An inventory of the estate of Thomas Brackett, taken by Edmond Batter 1 5, 1668, Amount 32 00 6. Allowed at Salem, 1 5 mo., 1668. Administration granted to Thomas Brackett, father of the deceased—the estate is to be to the use of said Thomas Brackett and of Alce his now wife.

*Thomas Dill, 4th mo., 1668.*

An inventory of the estate of Thomas Dill, late of Marblehead, taken 2 July, 1668, by Christopher Lattemer, Amount 113 10 00. Allowed at Salem 30 4, '68. The above Inventory was sent into the court by Mr. Bartholomew Gedney and Richard Dill, administrators, and is allowed.

*Philip Knight, 9th mo., 1668.*

An inventory of the estate of Phillip Knight taken by John Putnam and Thomas Fuller, Amount 106 18 0. Allowed 23 9 mo-, 1668. Administration granted to Margery, relict of said Phillip. The eldest son is about 26 years old, Philip, the 2d, about 23 years old, Rebecca, the 3d, about 17 years old, Eliza, the 4th, about 13 years old, Mary, the 5th, about 11 years old.

*Wm. Walton, 9th mo., 1668.*

An inventory of the estate of William Walton, late of Marblehead, Taken 23 November, 1668, by John Peach, Sen'r and Samuel Ward, Amount 287 10 6. Allowed 27th 9 mo., 1668. Administration granted to Elizabeth, relict of the deceased.

*Timothy Robinson, 11th mo., 1668.*

An inventory of the estate of Timothy Robinson, taken 29th June, 1668, by Thomas Robbins and Richard Croad, Amount 134 4 00. Allowed 26 11 mo., 1668. Administration granted to the widow. The house and ground to be security for the child's portion, the rest to the widow.

*Christopher Linsey, 4th mo., 1669.*

Will of Christopher Linsey of Lynn, dated April 2d, 1669, and probated 29 4 mo., mentions son Eliazer, John, daug. Nahomie, Widow. Witnesses, Joseph Wardwell, Andrew Mansfield. Codicill dated April 2nd, 1669. mentions son Eliazer, Executor, to which is added an agreement of the children John, Eliazer and Nahomie Lynsey, that the estate is to be divided equally between them, dated 19th 2 mo., 1669. Also the Inventory of the estate of Christopher Linsey, who died the 11th April, 1669, taken 12th April, 1669, by Joseph Wardwell, Andrew Mansfield, William Bassett.

*Wm. Walton, 4th mo., 1669.*

A 2nd Inventory of the estate of William Walton of Marblehead, taken June 25th, 1669, by John Peach, sen'r, Sam'l Ward, Am't 20 00 00.

A 3d Inventory of the estate of William Walton of Marblehead, taken June 29, 1669, by Moses Maverick & Samuel Ward, Amt 8 00 00.

*Wm. Whitteredge, 4th mo., 1669.*

At the Court held at Ipswich the 28 April, 1669, William Whiteridge dyeing intestate and administration being formerly granted unto Thomas Whiteridge, and an inventory of the

estate being brought into this court, which falls short of paying the debts a great deale and more debts still appearing, The Court orders that all William Whitteredge's creditors shall within one month make their debts to be instantly due, to the clerk of the court or else be excluded from any after claim, notice in writing to be set up at Salem and ye Ipswich meeting houses.

*Wm. Whitteredge, 4th mo., 1669.*

An Inventory of William Whitteredge deceased, (prysed by us the 16th of December, 1668,) who departed this life the 9th of Dec., 1669. Amount 84 13 10, Allowed 28 June, 1669; presented by Thomas Whitteredge, son of the deceased.

A List of debts due from the above estate amount 111 13 7.

The above said estate appearing to be less than the Credit, Ordered by the Court at Salem, 2 July, 1669, that the sum of 15 shillings on the pound be paid each creditor.

The Testimony of Neienabed Foster, Jr., Taken June 28th, 1669.

The Testimony of Elizabeth Foster, Taken June 28th, 1669.

The Deposition of John Choat, aged about 40 years, taken June 28th, 1669.

*Sam'l Archard, 4th, 1669.*

At a County Court held at Salem 30th, 4th mo., 1668, Susanna Archard and Samuel Archard. Administrators of the estate of Samuel Archard, deed, brought an inventory of the estate amounting to 176 3 6, the estate being debtor 295 14 2, the widows thirds of the housing and land being £39, the rest of the estate is 137 3 6, and will pay the debts at the rate of 24d per pound; and there being an order of Ipswich Court to signify that all Creditors should come in to make there just debts appear at or before this court at Salem, which order was posted up at the meeting house in Salem, and after the debts were proved it was ordered that the sum of 24d on each pound proved be paid, provided and it is to be understood that at the widows decease her third of

the estate be divided proportionally among the creditors.

At Court at Salem, 24th, 4th mo., 1669, Samuel Archer Sen'r dying intestate and there being administration on the estate granted to Susanna, the relict of sd Archard, and to Samuel Archard, his son, who were to bring an Inventory of the said estate to the next court at Ipswich, March, '67-'68, which Inventory shoves that the Debts exceed the value of the estate therefore it is ordered that by this court that Mag'r William Hathorne, Mr. William Browne and Hilliard Veren do survey and examine all those debts not yet paid.

Whereas the County Court held at Salem ye 24, 9 mo., 1668, did desire and impower William Hathorne, William Browne and Hilliard Veren to Joyn with and assist the Administrators to the estate of Sam'l Archer dec'd, to settle the estate and pay all the creditors 15 shillings on the pound, only Mr. Phillip Cromwell and George Ropes at the rate of 18 shillings on the pound. Approved and Allowed at Court at Salem 29 4 69.

Deposition of William Oeman, aged 35 years, taken 24, 7 mo., 1668.

Deposition of George Alley, aged 42 years, taken 25, 7 mo, 1668.

Deposition of Thomas Dow, aged 37 years, taken 30, 4, 1669; mentions William Knowlton and his brother Samuel Knowlton, (Thos. Wells?)

An Account between Samuel Archard and William Browne from 12th of 12 mo., 1657, to 28th of 9 mo, 1663, a balance in favor of Browne of 120 16 6d. A List of Debts due against the estate of Samuel Archard am't 195 14 01.

*Jane James, 4th mo., 1669.*

An inventory of the estate of Jane James taken by Moses Mavericke, John Peach and Christopher Latamer. Amount 85 00 00. It is mutually agreed in the court 30, 4 mo., 1669, by Evasmusi James and Richard Road and Hester his wife that the estate left by their mother, Jane James deceased, be divided be-



tween them, to say the house and 4 acres of land valued at £40 to *Erasmus*? and the house and land at the ferry ground by the pound at £40 to Hester, and the Cow Common is £5 equally divided between them, also equally sharing the rest of the estate.

*Wm. Woodcock, 9th mo., 1669.*

An Inventory of the estate of Doctor William Woodcock taken by ——— Putnam, William Flint, Isack Williams. Amount 107 08 5. Allowed 2d, 10 mo., 1669, Administration granted (Hanna the relict) to Eleazer Hathorne and Mr. John Corwin.

At a court held at Salem the 30, 10 mo., 1669, Mr. Eleazer Hathorne and Mr. John Corwin, administrators of the estate of Mr. William Woodcock dec'd, present that the said estate is Dr. to Capt. George Corwin, Capt. Walter Price, Mr. William Browne sen'r, Mr. John Gedney sen'r and Mr. Phillip Cromwell.

*John Marsh, 9th mo., 1669.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Marsh jr., taken 2d, 10th mo., 1669, by Henry Bartholomew, George Gardner, Joseph Grafton jr. Amount 300 01 00. Allowed 2d, 10, 1669. Administration granted to Sarah, relict of the deceased, mentions ye two children, viz., Sarah and Ruth to have £60 each when they arrive at the age of 18 years or at their marriage.

*Samuel Symonds, 9th mo., 1699.*

Will of Samuel Symonds jr. of Ipswich, dated 18 December, 1668, probated 30, 9, 1669. I give unto each of my sisters, viz., wife of my brother Daniel Epps, Martha, wife of my brother John Denison, Ruth, wife of my brother John Emerson, Mary, wife of my brother Peter Duncan, and Pricillia Symonds, eight pounds. All the rest of my estate I give to my Honored Father, Samuel Symonds, and I also appoint him executor of my estate. Witnesses, James Chute, Daniel Eppes jun.

Inventory of the above estate, am't £70 17 0; mentions money owing in England £95 10s 7d. Dated 29 Nov., 1669. Allowed 30, 9, 1699.

*Robert Buffum, November, 1669*

An Inventory of the estate of Robert Buffum, taken 15th Nov'r, 1669, by George Gardner, John Kitchen. Amount 270 19 00. Allowed at Salfin 2 10 1669. Administration granted unto Tamson, relict of the deceased.

The Testimony of Gertrude Pope, widow, being at ye house of Robert Buffum when he lay on his death bed. Robert Buffum would have me and Elizabeth Kitchen take notice that what he had as to his estate he would leve to his wife, for she helped to get it and ye children were hers. Signed, Gertrude Pope.

The Testimony of Elizabeth Kitchen, (the same in substance as above.)

*Henry Coombs, 9th mo., 1669.*

An Inventory of the estate of Henry Coombs, taken 16 September, 1669, by Henry Bartholomew, Moses Maverick, Illiard Veren. Amount 85 5 6. Allowed at Salem 2, 10 mo., 1669. Administration granted to the widow; mentions the children.

A List of the debts amounting to 57 02 5.

*Sam'l Roberts, 4th mo., 1670.*

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Roberts late of Ipswich, dec'd, taken the 21st June, 1670, by Robert ———, James Chute.— Amount 43 18 9. Allowed at Salem 29, 4, 1670.

*Thomas Day, 4th mo., 1670.*

An Inventory of Thomas Day. 9, 4 mo., 1670, by John Gardner, Richard Prince, Henry Bartholomew. Amount 23 7 2. Allowed 29, 4, 1670. Administration granted unto Mary, ye relict of the deceased.

*John Kenney, 9th mo., 1670.*

Will of John Kenney of Salem, dated Allowed 30, 9, 1670; mentions, I give A piece of two year old vantage, well known to John Pickman of Salem, to John Flint, grandchild to William Flint; I give 40 shillings to John Backsteer of Salem; I give 40 shillings to Alexander Gillman of Marblehead; I give the

rest of my estate to my beloved wife, Sarah Kenney. I appoint my friends Henry Bartholomew and John Pickman of Salem overseers. Witnesses, William Flint, William Beale, John ———, John Bayley.

## PHILIP ENGLISH.

### PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

In order to give a somewhat clear idea of this prosecution or persecution, we have deemed it best to make it a distinct article, and cast it into the shape of a second part of the Sketch of Philip English. By this means, the subject can be disconnected from the extraneous matter of the text, and be more clearly and effectually treated. The Salem witchcraft persecution is a study, and almost apart from the general history of that age; for its causes, existence, continuance and effects seem to have been outside the ordinary circle of human experience. Our endeavor will be to give some idea of those causes, as gathered from various authorities, together with certain documents illustrative of our more particular subject; and such general observations on the nature of witchcraft, as may appear pertinent, and susceptible of proof.

A belief in *witchcraft* was no new thing, of course, with the men of 1692. From the earliest days of history such a belief has haunted the minds and souls of men. Witchcraft was denounced, indeed, in the Old Testament, but then the witchcraft of that day is believed by some to have been *\*Idolatry*—the forsaking

*\*It is evident from the Old Testament, that witchcraft, sorcery, and the like, were practised by the heathen nations, who surrounded the Israelites; though this practice among those nations seems to have partaken of a religious character—the worship of the Devil or false Gods—with peculiar rites and ceremonies appertaining thereto. Wizards, dreamers, sorcerers, astrologers, magicians, enchanters, diviners, charmers, soothsayers, consultants with*

of the true God to worship the false Gods or Devils of the Heathens, by whom the Israelites were surrounded. A belief in evil spirits, whose habitation is in the air, in deserts, ruins, and the waste places of the earth, forms a part of the creed of about all nations. In the days of Moses, deserts were considered the dwelling places of devils. The Saviour was led up of the spirit into the *wilderness* to be tempted of the Devil. Whether we construe this as a literal wilderness, or desert, or a retirement into the solitude of his own mind, wherein to examine his own thoughts and reflections, to meet and rebuke and conquer all the worldly questionings and ambitions which could be suggested to him, still we see the same belief, as in the days of Moses, viz., that the Devil inhabited the wilderness, that is, solitude.—The two men possessed of the Devil, whom the Saviour met in the country of the Gergesenes, came out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, and were dwellers, no doubt, in those lonely and desolate places. The man, whom he met and cured in the country of the Gadarenes, was a dweller in the tombs and in the mountains. The old Magicians retired to places destitute of inhabitants, where the Spirits told them those things which they should write. Lucian tells of a famous Magician who, with his companions, betook themselves into a desert, woody, shady region for a conversation with Spirits. It is evident that solitudes, deserts and waste places were ever believed to be the haunts of

familiar spirits, false prophets, and necromancers,—all seem to have been known to the heathen nations, and to be included in the general condemnation of the Jewish Law, and as different branches only of one crime, viz., the forsaking of the true God for the worship of false ones. See Hale's "Modest Enquiry into the nature of withcraft," Chap. 13, for the Scripture authorities on this point; and for reference to various modern New England cases of witchcraft, see Calef's "More Wonders of the Invisible World," and particularly the authorities quoted by Cotton Mather in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," also in his "*Magnalia*," Book 7, Chap. 6, and in Upham's Lectures on Witchcraft.

Spirits, and of a wide order and of various degrees; and that those who sought familiar spirits and intercourse with the Devil, or demons, went into the solitudes to seek them; while the possessed of the Devil were often driven into those solitudes, so congenial to the powers afflicting them.

At the time the Pilgrims and Puritans sought these shores, the country was a *wilderness* of woods—the “*American Deserts*,” as Cotton Mather describes them—and the natives were regarded as Heathens, and their Gods Devils. Our Fathers ran the parallel with, and were pleased to note the resemblance between themselves and the ancient Israelites. As the Jews had their Exodus of old, so had our Fathers in the latter day. As the heathens surrounded the latter, so did the Indians their own little band. If the Israelites had the old Canaan, they had the new. In the rites and ceremonies and worshipped Deities of the Indians, they beheld a resemblance to those of the ancient heathen, who begirt Israel. The Indians were \*polytheists and practitioners of witchcraft, as were the old Heathen; and in their “*Hobbamock*”† our Fath-

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\*“They (the Indians inhabiting these parts of America) generally acknowledged and worshipped *many Gods*; therefore greatly esteemed and revered their *priests, powaws, or wizards*, who were esteemed as having immediate converse with the Gods.” Cotton Mather, *History of New England*, Book 6, p. 52.

“That the *Powaws*, by the infernal spirits, often killed persons, caused lameness and impotency, as well as showed their art in performing things beyond humane, by diabolical skill; such who have conversed among them have had no reason to question.” *Idem*.

†*Hobbamock*,—who appears to have been the Devil of the Indians, and far more worshipped when our fathers landed in New England, than *Kichtan*, their good God, from whose worship they are said to have declined—according to the priests, chief warriors, powaws, and Panieses, (counsellors of the King,) often appeared to them in the shape of a man, fawn or eagle, but generally of a *snake*, who gave them advice in their difficult undertakings.

The powaws, (the Indian wizards) according to the

ers detected a close resemblance to the Devil of the Scriptures. The Indian Powaws prayed to Hobbamock for the removal of evils, and the common people joined or said Amen, sometimes breaking out in songs to him. It has been said that the Indians sometimes sacrificed even their own children to him. Such scenes reminded our Fathers of the old Heathens, and strengthened the parallel they drew. This wilderness had been given them of the Lord, as was Canaan to the Jews, and as wrested from the dominion of the Heathen, and more especially of the *Devil* they served; and whose reign, so long undisputed here, was now invaded by the Church of Christ. The solitudes which he had so long possessed and been worshipped in, were now to resound with the songs of Zion—a hateful music to his rebellious ear. The strict puritanism of the early settlers was supposed to be peculiarly offensive to him; and when *witchcraft* was discovered in New England, it was thought not strange that the Devil should endeavor to afflict a people who most hated, him and whom he most hated. At the date of 1692 there became mixed with the general belief in witchcraft, an awful belief in the darkest possible plot of Satan to destroy \*Salem and the

report of the Indians, could make water burn, rocks move, trees dance, and change themselves into blazing men. What was more marvellous, they could burn an old tree to ashes in the winter, when there was not a green leaf in the whole country, put the ashes into water, and take thence a green leaf, which you could carry away. They would change a dry snake skin into a living snake, to be seen, felt, and heard.

It is obvious that the Indian powaws of America were fully equal, if not superior, to the wizards and wonder-workers of the East Indies.

Cotton Mather says these “Powaws” often employed their demons to smite their neighbors with blindness, lameness, and other mischiefs, and sometimes to kill them, and sometimes to cure their maladies.

\*Cotton Mather, who thought himself, perhaps, the champion of the Lord against the sin of witchcraft in 1692, thus states what reasons Satan had for vexing New England, and especially Salem, with



Colony; and, as an incentive to this belief, a credence in certain quarters in the fulfilment of the grand prophecies of Scripture, which added a religious or rather fanatical furor to the excitement, hard for us to realize, or even imagine. The Salem Witchcraft stands alone in history for the gravity of its illusions and delusions—having a breadth and depth and significance which were deemed truly appalling at the time, and revealing to our later eyes a host of terrible and gloomy and sombre imaginations, only surpassed by the mysteries and horrors and wonders of the Apocalypse.

If Salem has had to bear the whole burden of the witchcraft tragedy, which first broke out at its village (now Danvers) in 1692, it is because that affair is not well understood. Various able writers have shown, that neither the

his arts at that period. "The *New Englanders* are a people of God settled in those which were once the *Devil's* territories; and it may easily be supposed that the *Devil* was exceedingly disturbed when he perceived that a people here accomplishing the promise of old made unto our blessed Jesus, *That he should have the utmost parts of the earth for his possession*. There was not a greater uproar among the Ephesians when the Gospel was first brought among them, than there was among the Powers of the Air (after whom the Ephesians walked) when first the silver trumpets of the Gospel here made the joyful sound. The Devil thus irritated, immediately tried all sorts of methods to overturn this poor Plantation, &c." Again he says:—"We have been advised, by some Credible Christians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of *Witchcraft* as well as *Murder*, and Executed in this place [Boston] more than forty years ago, [that is before 1653] did then give Notice of an horrible PLOT against the Country, by WITCHCRAFT and a foundation of WITCHCRAFT then Laid, which if it were not Seasonably Discovered, would probably Blow up and pull down all the Churches in the Country. And we have now with Horror Seen the Discovery of Such a Witchcraft! An Army of Devils is horribly broke in upon the place, [Salem] which is the Center, and after a sort, the First-born of our English Settlements, and the Houses of the good People there, are filled with doleful shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by Invisible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After

belief in witchcraft, nor its punishment originated with us, nor even in our Colony; and that witchcraft was a crime against which statutes had been enacted in England, and persons punished for the crime there before our fathers enacted laws against it in the Colony. Various parties had been punished for that \*crime in the Colony itself, ere the Salem

the Mischiefs there Endeavored, and since in part Conquered, the terrible plague, of *Evil Angels*, hath made its progress into some other places, where some other persons have been in like manner Diabolically handled."—Cotton Mather. *Wonders of Invisible World*—Article—"Enchantments Encountered."

It appears that Cotton Mather wrote a work some few years before 1692, in which he made mention of a few "Memorable Witchcrafts" committed in New England. The famous Richard Baxter graced the second edition of this work with words like these:—"If any are scandalized that New England, a place of as serious piety as any I can hear of under Heaven, should be troubled so much with witches, I think 'tis no wonder. Where will the Devil show most malice but where he is hated and hateth most." See "Enchantments Encountered." New England had been looked upon as "a true Utopia." Says Mather:—"A famous Person returning hence [from N. E.] could in a Sermon before the Parliament profess, *'I have now been seven years in a country where I never saw one man drunk, or heard one oath sworn, or beheld one beggar in the streets all the while.'*" Men like Mather believed that N. E. had degenerated from her early standard of purity—that the Devil had taken advantage of the fact—would be therefore authorized to torment her with all the more fury, and that he hated the Colony with all the more malice for the past, or the present godliness in it. We must therefore read the witchcraft matter, in part, through the theological belief of that day.

\*The following order of the Gen'l Court in 1648 can be found in the Records of Mass., vol. 2, page 242:

"The Corte desire the course wch hath bene taken in England for discovery of witches, by watching them a certaine time. It is ordred, that the best and surest way may forthwth be put in practice, to begin this night if it may be, being the 18th of the 3d mo., and that the husband may be confined to a private roome and be also watched."

Of this case, Deane in his Hist. of Scituate says:

tragedy began ; and eognizance had been taken of the offence, even in our own County, long before 1692, as we shall in due time prove. The Salem tragedy owed its importance in public estimation to a cause or causes apart from the mere origin of witchcraft in the Colony, as we shall endeavor to show ; and the severity of that tragedy, which gave it such a notoriety, was due to a combination of very extraordinary circumstances, which have given it also such a prominence, that all the other witchcrafts noted in New England are almost lost in the gigantic and deep shadow our Salem affair has cast over its history.

We have quoted from Cotton Mather, (who published his work in 1693 by the special command of the Governor, and the approbation of Stoughton, the Lieut. Gov.) to show what a belief was prevalent in high quarters at that day. We shall have occasion to quote again from Mather as to other causes for the strength and severity of the tragedy in 1692: and it should be borne in mind that a good part of Mather's work—"Wonders of the Invisible World"—is taken up by a sermon he preached in August, 1692, when the delusion was raging, and is reproduced with additions in 1693, and published with his trials of the witches in Sa-

"The accused was Margaret Jacob (alias Jones.) Winthrop describes her confinement and gives some details of the evidence. The persons who were appointed spies alleged that "they saw a little child coming in and going out from her repeatedly, and when they pursued the child, it vanished." On such testimony the poor woman was condemned and executed.

"The first indictment for witchcraft in New England was at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1647, when the first execution for that offence took place." The only two indictments in Plymouth Colony were in 1660 and 1676. In the first of these cases the accuser publicly retracted her charge. Both cases were discharged. See *Deane*.

Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, Book 6, Chap 7, gives several supposed examples of witchcraft in the Colony from 1662 to 1688, and doubtless believed in them as genuine, as did the generality of people at that day.

lem, and this by the special command of the Governor. His thoughts and his words are thus rendered a part of the official history of the times, and represent, we may therefore conclude, the prominent, prevailing belief of that day. A somewhat careful perusal of his work induces us to believe that our Salem tragedy was especially based upon a religious belief—then influential, and we may suppose prevalent in the Colony, and exculpates Salem from the main burden of the tragedy. It began here, but then that was an only accident. The same fury might have characterized it, had it broken out elsewhere. It was expected and dreaded—at least some great work or plot of Satan—and when it broke out at Salem, it was thought a peculiarly appropriate place for the first assault of Satan. The public mind—the body-politic were prepared for this contagion; which, like the visible plague, might indeed break out in one spot, but which found the whole community predisposed to the attack.

These things deserve to be said of the Salem Witchcraft, for many minds perhaps still believe that Salem ought to bear its burden, and that our witchcraft is the \*only, as it un-

\*Rev. Mr. Hale, of Beverly, who wrote his work (before quoted) in 1697, says, (page 16 17) "Several persons have been charged with and suffered for the crime of Witchcraft in the Governments of the Massachusetts, New Haven, Stratford or Connecticut from the year 1646 to the year 1692." He further says that the first was a woman of Charlestown in the year 1647 or 8. Mr. Hale himself went to her on the day of her execution, and with some neighbors, who endeavored to bring her to confession and to repentance. She denied that she was a witch to the last. Some time after this a Dorchester woman suffered for the same offence, steadily denying her guilt. A Cambridge woman also suffered by the name of Kendall, who denied her guilt to the last, and the principal accuser of whom was afterwards put in prison for adultery. In 1656 another was executed in Boston. Two or three were executed at Springfield—one of whom (Hale says) confessed. Hale mentions the cases of some *four* in New England who confessed, but says, "all others denied it unto the death," (page 20), and further says:—"But it is not my purpose to give a full relation of all-



questionably is the most important delusion of the Colony. Our Salem Witchcraft will never be forgotten, and never ought to be—as a lesson of caution and wisdom for the future; but while its locality has been rendered so notorious, the *causes* which produced it should also be as well known, that we may not bear any burden but that which rightfully belongs to us; and the share Salem ought to bear is only her common proportion of the ignorance and fanaticism of the Colony at that day. It is almost a sufficient sorrow that the Salem of 1692 was the chosen locality, for the deed and the place are indissolubly joined together; but Salem was not the *cause*. That lay behind her and around her, and the Colony shared with her the madness of the hour, and sympathized with her, and drew from her trouble and calamity fresh lessons of persecution and reproach. If the remainder of the Colony had been sane, and Salem only bereft of her reason, our old town might bear the burden; but the share taken in the matter by the Government, the Clergy, the Courts, and the remainder of the Colony, proves that our burden is their burden—our mistakes their mistakes—our penitence their penitence—our sorrow and shame theirs—theirs also.

There appears to have been joined to the Salem Tragedy a still deeper belief even than that of the mere temporary affliction of Salem or the Colony by the Devil. If we are to judge by Cotton Mather's sermon preached in August, 1692, there was a belief then prevalent, that the latter days were at hand, and that the second coming of the Lord might be soon expected.

that have suffered for that sin, or of all the particulars charged upon them, which probably now is impossible, many witnessing *viva voce* those particulars which were not fully recorded." (page 20).

By this quotation it would seem that not a few persons had suffered in N. E. prior to 1692 for witchcraft, and more, probably, than are generally supposed. It will be seen by Hale, that Salem Village did not originate the witchcraft persecution, though it culminated there.

That this may remain in no doubt, we shall make a few quotations\* from Cotton Mather's

\*At the witchcraft period of 1692 it was supposed the powers of the Devil and his angels had been enlarged and his chain lengthened. Cotton Mather in August of that year preached a discourse, in which he takes as his text Rev. 12 chap., 12 verse: "Wo to the inhabitants of the Earth and of the Sea, for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." Judging from the tenor of this discourse, which is inserted with additions in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," Mather supposed that at that day the Devil was to have dominion for a time over a woful and sinful world ere his eternal overthrow; that the second coming of the Lord was at hand, and that the church after fearful torments (witchcraft and the like) was to enter into its promised rest; and that as the Lord was about to set up His kingdom, Satan would "assay the like for himself with most apish imitation." Mather was suspicious "that that there will be again an unusual Range of the Devil among us a little before the *Second Coming* of our Lord, &c.," as there was at the first; and says further: "The Evening Wolves will be much abroad when we are near the Evening of the World." Mather thought that the Church was quite near its Golden Age—the thousand years of rest and peace. "Good news for the Israel of God, and particularly for His New England Israel. If the Devil's time were above a thousand years ago pronounced *short*, what may we suppose it now in our time? Surely we are not a *Thousand Years* distant from those Happy Thousand Years of rest and peace and [which is better] holiness reserved for the people of God in the latter days; and if we are not a Thousand Years yet short of that Golden Age, there is cause to think that we are not an *Hundred*. That the blessed *Thousand Years* are not yet begun is abundantly clear from this, *We do not see the Devil bound*. No, the Devil was never more let *Loose* than in our *Days*; and it is very much that any should imagine otherwise. But the same thing that proves the Thousand Years of Prosperity for the Church of God UNDER THE WHOLE HEAVEN to be not yet *Begun*, do's also prove that it is not very *far off*; and that is the prodigious *Wrath* with which the Devil do's in our Days Prosecute, Yea Desolate the World." Wonders of Invisible World, Edition of 1693, pp. 36—7.

Such extracts might be indefinitely made from Cotton Mather, and in part explain the furor of the

"Wonders of the Invisible World,"—a work published, as we have said, by the authority of the Governor himself, and in 1693, and which states (we should judge) the prevalent opinion and truth of that day. If so, the witchcraft which broke out at Salem Village was considered by about all the leading minds of that day, not as the simple bewitching of a few children, but as the first signs and symptoms of the outburst of a great *plot* of the Devil against the Church of Christ in New England,—which plot Cotton Mather (as we have stated in a previous note) intimates was foretold some *forty* years before. Not only was this plot so foretold, but the period at which it broke out, corresponded near enough with the then theological solution of the time when the New Heaven was to commence, and the Devil was to make his last, but short struggle for dominion in the world, and his rage and wrath to be in accord with his despair. Men like Cotton Mather believed that the Lord was then about "to set up His Kingdom in the most *sensible* and *visible* manner that ever was, and in a manner answering the *Transfiguration* on the Mount," (page 28) and the Devil was about to set up his kingdom

witchcraft persecution. Satan's reign had come, his last struggle for dominion upon earth, according to the interpretation of the Divines, who lost themselves amid the Prophecies of Daniel and the mysteries of the Apocalypse, where every word is a mystery; and who, by their zealous and misguided belief and action upon that belief, increased the flames and the fury. Just in the proportion that the reign of Satan was to be short, it was to be terrible; and in proportion to the shortness and severity of that reign was to be the unsparing zeal and labor and efforts of the Ministers to overcome Satan and his emissaries! Mather therefore called loudly for REFORMATION and *Extraordinary* efforts in the churches to meet this extraordinary crisis.

For the use of Cotton Mather's work—a very rare one—we are under great obligations to Dr. J. A. Batchelder and Mr. L. B. Brooks of Salem, in whose families a copy has been inherited from Isaiah Dunster, grandson of the first President of Harvard College.

also in imitation. We have seen that the eminent Baxter had thought it reasonable that the Devil should bear New England an especial wrath, as being a place *where he was hated and hated most*. It was thought, too, by Mather, and by men like him, that about all the civil and religious evils which had happened to New England from its settlement up to 1692, were clearly the works of the Devil. Says Mather in 1693, "I believe there never was a poor plantation more pursued by the wrath of the Devil, than our poor New England." (page 41.) In addition to this, he believed also that the wrath of God was poured out upon the Colony. Mather believed, and he so says, that the settlement of the Protestants and Puritans in New England gave the Devil "a Rowsing alarm," for it was an invasion of his ancient and hitherto undisputed dominions, and that therefore he had left no stone unturned to undermine this Church of Christ and force it out of the Country. He then enumerates the various trials of the Colony—the Indians, theological heresies, blasts upon grain, wasting sicknesses, the attempts of parties to deprive it of its liberties, Indian wars, desolating fires, and losses at sea, (the late French war having been more disastrous in proportion to the commerce of New England than to any part of the English nation,) and finally the Devil in person come down upon it with unheard of wrath—these, all these evils Mather sums up as the works of the Devil and the wrath of God, (pages 42-3,) and we can see by his statements and belief, which was, we doubt not, the belief of the age, that the great adversary of souls was suspected of evil against the Colony—was expected also, and that perhaps the only question was, when and where? At the date of 1691-2, the public mind was morbid, and unnaturally sensitive. Evil upon evil had fallen upon the Colony, and the religious forebodings of credulous men, as well as their enthusiastic expectations, saw both the reign of Satan as the cause of evil on the one hand, and the coming Kingdom of God on the other. They

themselves were plunged into the mystery enshrouding both.

Some of those, too, who were accused of witchcraft in 1692, confessed that their object was to destroy the Church of God in the Colony, (see Hale's *Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft*, page 38) and this confession was only a confirmation of the gloomy belief in the *plot*, which Mather informs us of. When, moreover, we consider the enormity of such a plot, and this confession of it, we shall be at no loss to perceive why the witchcraft affair at Salem assumed such a fearful interest in New England; for not only was it now known that that plot was a verity, but it was also known where and by whom it was to be consummated. So we perceive that the witchcraft at Salem became at once of immense and all-exciting interest—was a blow aimed at the very heart of the whole Church of Christ in New England, and the first development of the infernal plan of Satan against the very existence of Christianity in the land. It was this belief\* which gave to our Salem Tragedy its awful and appalling interest and alarm; and unless this fact is adhered to, we lose the key which unlocks the mystery. To ascribe to Salem the *origin* of the witchcraft here is a mistake, while the fury with which it raged,

\*Cotton Mather says, (and he is evidently sincere in the matter, however partial he may be,)—"Many of the persons thus represented (as witches) being examined, several of them have been convicted of a very damnable *Witchcraft*. Yea, more than *Twenty* have *Confessed* that they have 'Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil showed them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitching and Ruining* our Land.'" See "*Wonders of Invisible World*"—Article, "*Enchantments Encountered*," page 6.

This quotation from Mather is important, as showing what was the belief of those in authority, as well as himself and others, as to the *importance* of the witchcraft plot at Salem. It must not be forgotten that Mather printed this by the *special command* of the Governor of the State, and by the sanction also of *Stoughton*, the Dep. Gov.

We could quote farther from *Mather* in support of this view, if necessary.

was owing not to local causes, but general ones. The *whole* Colony was as deeply interested in the matter as Salem, and that it even occurred here was at the time thought to be very natural, as we shall show.

Cotton Mather states, what was undoubtedly thought a good reason, why Satan should have chosen Salem as the place of attack, and we shall quote him in the matter. In describing some of the acts of witchcraft, he says,—“We have also seen the Devil's *First Batteries* upon the town, where the *First Church* of our Lord in this Colony was gathered, producing those distractions which have almost ruined the town,” (pages 51-2). By the emphasis which Mather lays upon the *first* attack upon the *first* church in the Colony, we can readily see why, in his estimation, as in that of others, most probably, Salem was the place of all others which the Devil hated the most, and with good reason; and why it was especially and most fittingly chosen as the point of attack. As Cotton Mather believed, those in authority\* appear then to have believed, and so did multitudes of people in the Colony. No, the witchcraft tragedy in Salem dates back to a cause, far deeper than any mere local one. It was linked in with prior beliefs, with the supposed fulfilment even of sacred prophecy, with a particular plot of the Devil to ruin and subvert the Church of Christ in New England—was supported by confessions of those accused to that end—and as if to make the matter more ominous, it began in the family of a Minister of the Gospel—Satan thus showing the strength, the malignity, and the wisdom of his attack. Such, at least, seem to be the reflections of that day; which,

\**Calf* states that Sir William Phips, the Governor, was a parishioner of Cotton Mather, and it would appear that the former was much influenced during the witchcraft period by the counsel of his Pastor—as he sought the advice of the clergy in relation to witchcraft, and Cotton Mather was very prominent as an adviser, and is said even to have drawn up the advice on which the Gov. and his Council acted.



if it could not plainly foresee the thing, yet thought it knew how to explain it thoroughly and satisfactorily at the event; and doubtless was sincere in its attempt. The true history of the affair absolves Salem from bearing the whole burden, and lays it upon the general error and mistake of the Colony and of the most learned theologians in it.

We are also to consider that the affair at Salem exceeded in all its proportions any and all other cases of witchcraft that had ever happened before in the Colony. Whatever other witchcrafts had occurred previous to this were rather of a personal character—were isolated, detached cases, in which at times inferior Spirits or Demons might be concerned, even at times trifling Demons, as in the case at Newbury, (of which we shall presently make mention). This case at Salem was of a far different and weightier character. As the witchcraft at Salem was (believed to be) the final great plot of Satan for the overthrow of the church in New England, he came in person. It was Satan himself who now appeared, and who led in person the grand attack. No subordinates were now to be trusted; no trifling spirits or demons were to play their pranks of malice or mischief. These all gave way and retired before the presence of the great Arch-Fiend himself—who was in solemn and terrible earnest, as his time was, if Scripture told true, to be short. Soon, full soon the adamant chains might bind him, and the bottomless pit receive him. This was the fear upon him. Filled too with inextinguishable malice and rage against the Church of Christ which had invaded America, and thereby gained the land which had been so long his own, (for were not the heathen Indians his servants?) and hoping to overturn and extinguish that church or drive it from the soil, and so avoid the doom he feared—for not until the earth was the Lord's, could his own days be numbered—he, the Arch-Fiend, filled too with all the subtlety of ages of unhallowed wisdom, and cruel with all the mercilessness of a soul to whom evil was good, was descending in all his rage upon the Colony. He came too upon

the Church of Christ, and his purpose was to overthrow it, and *by and through its own members*. He came with his promises, which were soul-bewildering, and with his book, for his followers to sign, that none should be lost to him; and that book was appropriately signed in blood. He promised all manner of worldly prosperity—the command of time and space—vast spiritual power, by which all enemies could be put under foot, and tortured and punished, and turned even into obedient slaves; and last of all, he brought with him the rites and ceremonies of *his* church—set up in most blasphemous imitation of the true church—and with its meetings and baptisms and prayers and sacraments of Hell. Over this church—of the utmost conceivable blasphemy and wickedness—he presided; and worst of all, there were found at some of its gatherings, which took place in Salem, professed members of Christ's Church in S., acknowledging the Devil to be their God, praying to him, eating his sacramental bread and drinking his bloody wine. This was the flower and consummation of witchcraft. To torture poor souls with the arts of sorcery was an iniquity worthy of death; but what indignation and fate were due the professed disciples of the Christian Church, who thus in silence and secrecy were betraying that church to the Devil and their souls to eternal perdition—who were bringing a ruin upon the land, the extent of which no imagination could even conceive? Such persons would not fail to be tormentors of others, who could defy and deny their God and Saviour. Of all criminals these were the most dangerous; and unforgiven of God, why should they be spared of man? So ran the current of that day; and the fact remains, that of the twenty-eight condemned to death above a third part (*Calef*, page 233) were members of some of the churches in New England. More than half of them were of good conversation in general, and not one cleared. Nineteen were hanged and one pressed to death. (*Calef*, page 233.)

We see from history and the inferences deducible from it, how momentous was the

witchcraft affair at Salem, and how bewildering and exasperating the causes which lie at the bottom of it; and if that delusion be famous and most extraordinary, it is due not to any extraordinary frailty in our Salem people, but to a most extraordinary condition of the whole Colony, aggravated too by civil misfortunes; and that Salem was readily believed by about all, when the event came, to be the appropriate place for the first development of this infernal plot of Satan. Ought Salem to bear the whole burden? Was not this terrible tragedy, in part at least, thrust upon her? And when we consider how sincerely that plot was believed in—how horrible beyond all imagination its character—how utterly depraved and wicked the aiders and abettors of it must have appeared to be—how necessary it was to extinguish it; that the church should be saved and the Devil be foiled—that the rest of the church be secured—that it might be prepared for the second coming of the Lord—we can readily see why the exposure of the plot at Salem should have lashed the religious portion of the Colony into a fury and madness, which must ever be memorable in our local and public annals. It was a whirlwind of fanaticism which swept the Colony; and all the more terrible, as its motive power was the ignorant interpretation of those great mysteries—the Prophecies and the Revelations. It was the mystery of Iniquity which came upon it, and was mistaken for that of Godliness.

Surrounded, moreover, as our fathers were, with the Indians, who practised witchcraft, and whose wizards were so skillful and famous, we can readily perceive (with the Old Testament bias and leaning of the Puritans) how exciting to them was even the very subject itself. Fearful of its tendencies, with the history of the idolatries of old Israel before their eyes, anxious themselves not, as well as forbidden to err in such a way, and fearing always a lapse from the path of right—believing that the Satan of old was still around them, hating them worse and with greater reason than ever he did the Jews, and with a

determination to *destroy them*, body and soul—and their sudden awaking to the belief that he was to accomplish it by *witchcraft* and through their own church members—their fears, when in ignorance of the means to be employed, turned to hatred of the deepest and darkest dye when that ignorance became knowledge, and the plot became known and could be guarded against. And this supposed knowledge burst upon the Colony at once, and all the smothered fears and indignation and wrath of the Puritans against their great adversary and his emissaries exploded, as does the outburst from the volcano. Up came the burning indignation and molten and glowing rage from the very core of the Colony, overwhelming all that was fair and beautiful and good in its fiery tide, and leaving to history a gloomy, desolate, blackened mount of fanaticism, seamed upon its sides with a lava, hardly cool enough yet to walk upon, and buried in cinders and ashes.

It may not be unprofitable, as it certainly is but justice to Salem, to ascertain what had been done about witchcraft in our own county, ere the outburst at Salem itself. For that purpose we shall give abstracts of certain cases taken from our County Records on file at the office of the Clerk of the Courts.

It appears that as early as 1652, John Bradstreet was presented at Ipswich "for suspicion of haueing familiarity with the Devil." One or two of his stories proving false, he was sentenced to a fine of 20 shillings, "or else to be whipt." In November, 1669, Goodwife Burt (not of Salem) is accused, by no less than *eight* witnesses in our County Court, of divers acts of witchcraft, though no record of judgment remains against her.

In 1660—1 or thereabouts, Susannah Martin\*

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\*The evidence against Susannah Martin is given in detail by Cotton Mather in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," (pages 114 to 127). Mather gives the evidence, or the bulk of it, in *five* cases, viz., Rev. George Burroughs, Bridget Bishop, Susanna Martin, Elizabeth How and Martha Carrier, besides some information as to witchcraft matters under the head of his Four "*Curiosities*." It is very probable



of Amesbury was believed to have bewitched the wife of Wm. Browne of Salisbury. The Church in Salisbury "appointed a day of humility to seek God on her behalf," so great was the extremity. Then the troubles of Mrs. Browne ceased, and the Salisbury Church, (in consideration that Mrs. B. had seen Goodwife Martin no more—had not met her in journeyings, &c.) instead of the day of humiliation gave thanks for her Deliverance." (See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, Essex Co. Court, page 224.) Some thirty years after, this very affair is produced as evidence against Susannah Martin, when the great tragedy of 1692 was claiming its victims, and on the strength of this and other evidence she was condemned and executed.

In 1674 Christopher Brown was examined before our County Court on his own report, that he had been trafficking or discoursing with one whom he apprehended to be the Devil—"which came like a Gent in order to his binding himself to be a Servant to him." On that examination, "his discourse seeming inconsistent with truth, &c.," the Court gave him "good counsell and caution for the present", and dismissed him. In 1679-80 the famous case of the Morse family of Newbury\* against Abel and Caleb Powell occurred, and the evidence is on file in our Court Records. The old man,

that some of the evidence given by Mather cannot now be found on our Essex County Court Files, as some of the old papers connected with our witchcraft trials are missing. Mather's work itself appears now to be a great rarity, almost as great as the original Court documents.

\*Cotton Mather evidently had faith in the supernaturalism of the "Newbury" affair, since he says in his "Wonders," page 10, (speaking of the degrees of demons) "who can allow that such trifling Demons as that of *Mascon*, or those that once infested our *Newberry*, are of so much Grandeur as those Demons whose Games are mighty Kingdoms?"

We can see by this how much more important was considered the game at Salem, where the Devil himself—the Arch-Fiend—was supposed to be *personally* present, and who was believed to be playing for the entire subversion of the N. E. Church and the sole possession even of this whole Western World!

Wm. Morse, and his wife had a grandson, Abel Powell, living with them, who appears to have been a great rogue, and who threw all Newbury into an uproar with his sleight of hand. Wm. Morse and his wife detail the wonderful things which happened to them in their house, and which they thought must have been the works of the Devil: but Caleb Powell, (in Mary Tucker's deposition, Page 541—2 Records, Salem Witchcraft) broke somewhat of the charm of this case by looking in privately at the window of Morse's house, when the latter was at prayer, and there seeing young Abel *flinging a shoe at the head of his grandfather while at prayer*—who all the while supposed the Devil was tormenting him with such kinds of mischief. Caleb Powell himself, (the brother) for suggesting at first that the mysterious causes of those torments might be discovered by astrology or astronomy, was suspected of having been concerned in the mischief and was brought before the Court, who did not indeed find evidence enough to condemn him, but yet decided, that he had given such ground of suspicion that they could not so acquit him, but that he should bear his own shame and the costs of the prosecution. As for Abel Powell, (the cause) the Court decided (March 30, 1680) that they "do not see sufficient to charge further, yet find see much suspicion as that he pay the charges." This case doubtless was rumored abroad over the County, magnifying as it went, and strengthened perhaps the foundation for the superstructure of the witchcraft madness of 1692. In 1679-80\* we thus see whither

\*Rev. Mr. Hale says (page 21) "about 16 or 17 years since, (he wrote in 1697, and this brings the date about 1680-81,) was accused a woman of Newbury, (Essex County) and upon her tryal the Jury brought her in guilty. Yet the Governor, Simon Bradstreet, Esq., and some of the magistrates reprieved her, being unsatisfied in the verdict," and upon the grounds that they were not satisfied that a spectre, doing mischief in her likeness, should be imputed to her person as a ground of guilt, and that two single witnesses to different facts were two such witnesses as were needed against a person ac-

the belief in witchcraft was tending. It was then really believed that young Powell was a wizard, and he was then said to have been brought up under one Norwood, whom the people believed to have been a student of the Black Art. At that day even, though the Powells were not *convicted*, yet the County was *convinced* probably, and the very decision of the Court is a verdict in substance, if not in form, against witchcraft, its aiders and abettors.

In 1680, at the County Court sitting at Salem (29th 4th mo.,) Mr. Philip Reade made a complaint against Margaret Giffords for "suspicion of witchcraft," and presented several papers and evidences against her. The Court thought fit to enjoin the said Margaret to appear at the next Court at Ipswich, to answer to the complaint, and it is recorded that she did not appear at the September term, 1680, though then called to answer to the charge.

caused of a capital crime. After her reprieve she led a Christian life, and on her death bed denied her guilt of witchcraft.

It is not at all unlikely that the case of the Irish woman in Boston, who was condemned before 1692 for bewitching John Goodwin's children, and who was interpreted to condemn herself in her native tongue when on trial, and the history of whose case was given to the public by Cotton Mather in the year 1689, in his "Memorable Providences,"—it is not unlikely. We say, that this case, so publicly treated, had its effect upon Salem Village, where the tragedy began in the latter part of 1691, as it is well known, by the reported *bewitching of children*. Hale says (page 24) "they (the children at the village) were in all things afflicted as bad as *John Goodwin's* children at *Boston* in the year 1689. So that he that will read Mr. Mather's book of *Memorable Providences*, page 3, &c., may read part of what these children, and afterwards sundry grown persons, suffered by the hand of Satan, at Salem Village and parts adjacent, Anno 1691-2. Yet there was more in these sufferings than in those at Boston by pins invisibly stuck into their flesh, pricking with irons (as in part published in a book printed 1693, viz., the *Wonders of the Invisible World*.)"

The coincidence between the sufferings of the Parris children and those of Goodwin's children, we think deserves the notice given above.

In this case silence may have been taken as the tacit confession of guilt, and so strengthened the public belief in the existence and guilt of witchcraft. At all events, all these cases occurred before the outbreak at Salem Village, and clearly show, we think, whither the current of public fear and indignation was setting, when the Salem witchcraft commenced.

We now come to the epoch of 1691-92.—Early in that year, (1692) the Rev. Sam'l Parris\* of Salem Village, or Farms, (now Dan-

\*The Rev. Mr. Parris, in whose family this dreadful tragedy at Salem Village commenced, had been a settled minister according to *Calef*—("More wonders of the Invisible World," pages 184-5,) for some years at the village, was a man of liberal education, who first tried "merchandizing" for some time without much success, and then entered the ministry. When he had been settled about two years, he obtained a grant in fee simple from a part of the town of the house and land he occupied, and which had been allotted by the whole people to the ministry. This occasioned great division, both between the inhabitants themselves, and between a considerable part of them and Mr. Parris himself,— "which divisions," says Calef, "were but a beginning or *prelude* to what immediately followed," i. e., the witchcraft tragedy.

The people of the village procured the dismissal of Mr. Parris therefrom in 1697, though he had in 1694 acknowledged generally his errors (in the share he took in the persecution) before the dissenters of his church, who, in 1693, had stated their reasons for withdrawing from his ministrations, his share in the witchcraft matter being their prominent objection to him, and though also the elders and messengers of the churches who met at Salem Village April 3, 1695, had endeavored to reconcile his parish to him. Among these reconcilers, however, were Increase and Cotton Mather, whose sympathies were really with Mr. Parris. His parish could not, however, be reconciled to him. They charged him with having had an "easy and strong faith and belief" in the witchcraft accusations—in being partial in stifling some accusations and vigilantly promoting others—in the oaths he took against the lives of several, swearing that the prisoners with their looks knocked down the pretended sufferers—in his going to Mary Walcott and Abigail Williams, and directing others to them to know who afflicted the people in their

vers) had two children in his family—one a daughter, Elizabeth Parris, aged 9, and a niece, Abigail Williams, aged 11 years—"who were distressed with singular distempers." A physician, who was called in, gave various medicines without effect, and being puzzled at their symptoms—which consisted of creeping into holes, under benches and chairs, putting themselves into odd postures, uttering loud outcries, and strange, incoherent and unintelligible expressions—being sometimes dumb, and as if choked, and complaining of having pins thrust into their flesh, &c., &c.—came to the conclusion and opinion, rather than confess his own ignorance, that "*they were under an evil hand.*" This meant that they were bewitched, and the neighbors so understood and believed it. An Indian servant in the family and his wife made some private experiments, after the Indian fashion, to find out the witch. This coming to the ears of the children, they are said to have at once accused Tituba, the Indian woman, of pinching, pricking and tormenting them, and to have complained even that her appearance or shape, or apparition, was visible to them and tormented them, when she was not visible to the spectators. Ann Putnam, a young single woman in the neighborhood, was also similarly affected. So also was Elizabeth Hubbard or Hubbard, a maid living at Dr. Grig's at the village, and who was about 17 years old. So also were, not long after, Mary Warren, aged about 17, living at John Proctor's—Mercy Lewis, belonging to Thos. Putnam's family, aged about 19—Susannah Sheldon, about 18, and Mary Walcott, daughter of Capt. Jon-

illnesses—thus dealing with them that have a familiar spirit—in putting his own church in danger by his facility in listening to accusations—and said "that Mr. Parris by these practices and principles has been the beginner and procurer of the sorest afflictions, not to this village only, but to this whole country, that did ever befall them." See Calef, pages 121 to 126.

Mr. Parris had to leave the village, but how far he was to be blamed over and above others of his age, we do not profess to judge.

athan Walcott, of the village, aged about 17. A few others appear also to have joined the hue and cry at or about the same time as the last named.

The first warrants which appear on the Court Records are dated Feb'y 29, 1692, and were issued, one of them against Sarah Good, wife of Wm. Good of Salem Village, and the other\* against Sarah Osborne, wife of Alexander Osborne of Salem Village, and "*Titibe*," an Indian servant of Mr. Sam'l Parris of said place, (Salem Village) "for suspicion of witchcraft" by them committed and thereby much injury done to Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Anna Putnam and Elizabeth Hubert, (Hubbard) all of Salem Village, "sundry times within this two months," and lately also done at said Salem Village, &c. The complaint was made by Mrs. Joseph Hutcheson, Thomas Putnam, Edward Putnam and Thomas Preston of Salem Village, on behalf of their Majesties, and before John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, Cessitants; who, on hearing the complaint, issued their warrants for the arrest of the accused parties and their presentation upon the 1st of March, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the house of Lieut. Nath'l Ingersalls, at the village. Here seems to begin the judicial cognizance of, and action against witchcraft in 1692.

\*Sarah Good is mentioned by herself and as the only party accused in one warrant, while in the other Sarah Osborne and Tituba are *both* mentioned. It may be that Sarah Good was first accused, and then Sarah Osborne and Tituba. In the examination of Doreas Hoare for witchcraft, (a copy of which will appear in this article) Abigail Williams, one of the tormented, said that Mrs. H. was "the woman that she saw first before ever Tituba Indian or any else." Abigail W. was the niece of Rev. Mr. Parris, and one of the "original" afflicted ones. Now as she charged Mrs. H., on the 2d of May as being the original tormentor, it is not unlikely that Mrs. Good herself was even accused before Tituba, who *historically* is the first accused. Thus strange and contradictory were the charges made by some of the accusers.

Calef says Sarah Osborne was "an old *bed-rid* woman, and that both she and Sarah Good were so ill-thought of, that the accusation against them was the more readily believed. (page 187.)

[To be Continued.]



## THE VERY FAMILY.

BY JONES VERY.

Continued from Vol. I, page 116.

An account of the earliest location of this family has been given in the third number of the Historical Collections. To that account I would add the following particulars: The farm of Samuel Very was much larger than that of his mother's, which it adjoined. In the two original deeds, now contained in the first Book of Records, I find that it was purchased of Richard Way of Dorchester, Suffolk county, in 1656, and contained more than 170 acres. It is described as "ten acres which was Joshua Verren's; also 160 acres on Cedar Pond, which Hilliard Verren, late husband of Dorcas Verren, gave unto his son, Hilliard Verren, in his last will and testament. Also one acre of land where the house of Phillip Verren formerly stood." Phillip and Joshua Verren received from the town grants of this land in 1634. The Verys, Verrens, and other families from Salisbury, England, settled in this neighborhood. Edward or Edmond Giles, the second husband of Bridget Very, also received grants in 1636 of 120 acres on Cedar Pond. One of the bounds of Samuel Very's farm "on the east and to the south" was a rock called Wigwam Rock. This rock is mentioned also on Edmond Batter's deed, 1652, and was probably the same now called Ship Rock.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Very left the homestead to his son <sup>3</sup>Benjamin, who left it to his eldest son <sup>4</sup>Samuel, who in 1769 gave it to his wife Abigail (Pepper) and her children. In 1793 John, George, Amos and William Very sell to Nathaniel Nurse "all their right to the estate of their honored father, Samuel Very, deceased." Mary Giles was the last of that name who owned land in the vicinity. She had a claim on the farm where the Danvers Alms House now stands, which claim she sold to Mr. Nurse. She married John Oaks, and lives in New Salem.

After the year 1700 some of Bridget Very's

descendants moved farther down on Goldthwait's Brook, where they also owned about 70 acres of land. Of this 30 acres were mostly level, and went by the name of "Very's Plain." This Plain extended from and in the rear of the burying ground on Boston Road to the Lynnfield Road. The late Robert Peele had a small map dated 1722, on which this tract is so bounded and designated. The Village burying ground, so called, was used before 1732; and some of the family were doubtless buried there. In 1736 the committee of the proprietors of the common and undivided lands, belonging to the Village and Ryal side proprietors, sell to Benjamin Ives twelve acres of land on Very's Plain, "reserving always the Village burying place so called." In 1734 Benjamin and Joseph Very sold to Benjamin Ives 62 acres in this vicinity. The saw mill, of which mention has been made, was not as there stated near the site of Mr. James N. Buffum's mill, but on the western side of Very's Plain, where Tapley's Brook empties into Goldthwait's Brook. The dam is still to be seen. This spot in olden time was the scene of much toil, and of many sports and incidents in alewife fishing. Once so noisy and mirthful, it is now wild, secluded, and still. The only sound one hears is the gurgling of the brook over the fallen stones.

"Thou, ever joyous rivulet,  
Dost dimple, leap, and prattle yet;  
And sporting with the sands that pave  
The windings of thy silver wave,  
And dancing to thy own wild chime,  
Thou laughest at the lapse of time."

The information contained in the following Genealogy has been mostly derived from the Register of Deeds, and of Probate; and from Church, and Town Records in Salem, and Danvers. From these sources a full history of the family from the first can be obtained.

Bridget Very was born about 1600. Her will made 1668, attested 1680. Her children: Samuel, b 1619, d 1683-4, Mary, Thomas, b 1626, d 1694. (She also mentions her two

sons by her second husband, Eleazer Giles, bap. 1640, d 1726, and John Giles, bap. 1645, d 1709-15. She had also two daughters by the same, Mehetabel, m John Collens 1658, and Remember, m Henry Moses 1659. See a genealogy of the Giles family by John A. Vinton.)

#### SECOND GENERATION.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Very, m Alice, dau. of John and Frances Woodice or is. Children: <sup>3</sup>Samuel, b before 1659, <sup>3</sup>Thomas, <sup>3</sup>Jonathan, b 1659, d 1769, <sup>3</sup>Joseph, b 1661, d 1663, <sup>3</sup>Isaac, b 1663, <sup>3</sup>Joseph, b 1664, d 1694, <sup>3</sup>Hannah, b 1666, <sup>3</sup>Mary, b 1668, <sup>3</sup>Benjamin, <sup>3</sup>John, b before 1659, d 1720, <sup>3</sup>Sarah, <sup>3</sup>Elizabeth, b before 1659.

<sup>2</sup>Mary Very, m 1659 Thomas Cutler of Reading, who d 1683. Children: <sup>3</sup>Thomas, b 1660, (m Elizabeth, 1690. Children: born in Charlestown, now Stoneham, <sup>4</sup>Thomas, b 1691, <sup>4</sup>Elizabeth, b 1692, d 1713, <sup>4</sup>Hannah, b 1696, <sup>4</sup>Mary, b 1698, d 1703, <sup>4</sup>Ebenezer, b 1700, <sup>4</sup>Ruth, b 1704, d 1706. <sup>4</sup>Thomas m Hannah, children: <sup>5</sup>Hannah, b 1722, <sup>5</sup>Esther, b 1724.) <sup>3</sup>Sarah, b 1666, <sup>3</sup>Ruth, b 1668, <sup>3</sup>David, b 1670, <sup>3</sup>Jonathan, b 1678. Mary Very m (probably) 2d Matthew Smith sen'r 1684. Thomas Cutler was one of the earliest settlers of Reading. He is thought by Lilley Eaton, Esq., to have settled on the "Old Cutler Place," just within the bounds of Stoneham, near the line.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Very was a fisherman, lived in Gloucester, m Hannah Giles, d 1683, dau. of Thomas Gyles, who lived near Beverly Bridge, in Salem. Children: <sup>3</sup>Ephraim b 1651, <sup>3</sup>Hannah, b 1652, <sup>3</sup>Bridget, b 1653, <sup>3</sup>Thomas, b 1656, <sup>3</sup>Abigail, b 1661, <sup>3</sup>Samuel, b 1659, <sup>3</sup>Eliza, b 1665, <sup>3</sup>Edward, b 1662, <sup>3</sup>Francis, b 1667. Of these, <sup>3</sup>Hannah m Bartholomew Foster. Children: <sup>4</sup>Bartholomew, b 1670, <sup>4</sup>John, b 1673, <sup>4</sup>Thomas, b 1676, <sup>4</sup>Samuel, b 1678, <sup>4</sup>Edward, b 1681. <sup>4</sup>Abigail, m Ralph Andrews. This is as far as I trace the descendants of <sup>2</sup>Mary and <sup>2</sup>Thomas Very.

#### THIRD GENERATION.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Very, son of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, d after 1734, mariner, m Abigail.

Two sons, <sup>4</sup>Samuel, Jr., b 1683, husbandman, <sup>4</sup>John, m Abigail—one son, <sup>5</sup>Samuel, b 1718, mariner, lived in Osgood's Lane, Bridge Street, m Susannah Page, 1742, one son, <sup>5</sup>John, b 1743.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Very, son of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, m Elizabeth Proctor, 1681. Children: <sup>4</sup>Thomas, b 1681, <sup>4</sup>Elizabeth, bap. 1704. Dismissed from the First Church in Salem, to form a church at the middle precinct in S. Danvers, 1713. Before this time the family must have gone three or four miles through the wilderness to meeting. <sup>4</sup>Jonathan, b 1704, m Elizabeth Nourse, 1747, <sup>4</sup>Joseph, bap. 1704, m Sarah Twist 1719, <sup>4</sup>Alice, bap. 1704, m Jonathan King, 1726.

<sup>3</sup>Jonathan Very, son of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, cordwainer, m Mary Symonds, 1718. She was the dau. of James Symonds, son of James, son of John, 1636. Children: <sup>4</sup>Mary, m Symonds, <sup>4</sup>Abigail, m Cook, dau. m Pratt. (Children: <sup>5</sup>Joseph, <sup>5</sup>Susannah,) <sup>4</sup>Elizabeth m Cheever, <sup>4</sup>Martha, m Pickman, <sup>4</sup>Bethiah, m Archer, <sup>4</sup>Jonathan, Jr. (See 4th gen.)

<sup>3</sup>Isaac Very, son of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, m Mary, 1717.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Very, son of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice. In an old leger of Philip English, 1683, I find mention of Joseph Very and his brother Samuel, as bringing in wood for sale from their father's farm.

<sup>3</sup>Hannah Very, dau. of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, m William Beans, 1695.

<sup>3</sup>Mary Very, dau. of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, m Jonathan Marsh, 1697. (He was the son of Zachariah Marsh and Mary Silsbee, m 1664. Zachariah was the son of John and Susannah, of Salem, 1637, members of 1st Church in 1639.) Children: <sup>4</sup>Jonathan, <sup>4</sup>Joseph, <sup>4</sup>Samuel, <sup>4</sup>Mary.

<sup>3</sup>Benjamin Very, son of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, lived upon the homestead. He petitioned for, and gave towards the building of the first meeting-house at the middle precinct, in Danvers, 1710, m Jemima Newhall of Lynn,

1698, (dau. of Joseph Newhall, b 1658, son of Thomas and Elizabeth N.) Her mother was Susannah Farrar, dau. of Thomas Farrar, who came to Lynn 1639. See Memoir of the Farrar Family Gen., Reg. 1852. Children: <sup>4</sup>Samuel, b 1699, bap. 1704, <sup>4</sup>Ruth bap. 1704, <sup>4</sup>Joseph, bap. 1704, <sup>4</sup>Benjamin, bap. 1704, d 1785, <sup>4</sup>Jemima, bap. 1710, <sup>4</sup>Kezia, bap. 1714, <sup>4</sup>Ephraim, bap. 1714, <sup>4</sup>Isaac, b 1714, bap. 1716, d 1778, at Sandy Hook, in the army, <sup>4</sup>Daniel, (see 4th gen.)

<sup>3</sup>John Very, son of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, m Hannah. Lived on Very's Plain. Administered on his father's estate. Children: <sup>4</sup>John, weaver, lived on the Plain, <sup>4</sup>Hannah, m James Giles, Jr., bap. 1718, fisherman, 1740, son of James, the second son of that name of Eleazer Giles, bap. 1630, d 1726, and Elizabeth Bishop, b 1656, d 1732, dau. of James Bishop of N. Haven, Lieut. Gov. of Con. (The gravestone of James Giles, the first son of Eleazer, of which an account has been given, proves not to be the only one in New England, so early erected to a child. A correspondent of the Essex Institute, from Dorchester, Mr. Samuel Blake, writes that there are four gravestones in that place, which were erected to children before 1680, and one as early as 1644.) <sup>4</sup>Abigail, <sup>4</sup>Desire, (see 4th Gen.)

<sup>3</sup>Sarah Very, dau. of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, m 1st James Cooke of Boston, mariner, m 2d, Stover.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth Very, dau. of <sup>2</sup>Samuel and Alice Woodice, m John Nurse.

#### FOURTH GENERATION.

<sup>4</sup>Jonathan Very, Jr., son of <sup>3</sup>Jonathan Very and Mary Symonds. Lived in St. Peter's St., near the corner of Church St., teamster, d aged about 78. His house taken down a year before the great fire of 1859, m Dec'm 19th, 1745, Elizabeth Bickford, sister of Eben Bickford. Children: <sup>5</sup>Elizabeth, b 1747, <sup>5</sup>Jonathan, b 1748, <sup>5</sup>Jonathan, b 175-, <sup>5</sup>James, b 1752, <sup>5</sup>Nathaniel, b 175-, <sup>5</sup>Samuel, b 1759, d 1832, <sup>5</sup>Sarah, b 1762, <sup>5</sup>James, b 1763, <sup>5</sup>Abigail, b 1766. (See 5th gen.)

<sup>4</sup>Samuel Very, son of <sup>3</sup>Benjamin Very and Jemima Newhall. Lived on the homestead, husbandman, m 1st, ———. Two sons: <sup>5</sup>George, Revolutionary Soldier, <sup>5</sup>John, m 2d Abigail Pepper of Lynn, two sons: <sup>6</sup>Amos, <sup>6</sup>William. (See 5th gen.)

<sup>4</sup>Ruth Very, dau. of <sup>3</sup>Benjamin and Jemima, m Caleb Wallis, 1728.

<sup>4</sup>Joseph Very, son of <sup>3</sup>Benjamin and Jemima, shoresman, lived on the Main st., in Salem, m Ruth Foster, dau. of John Foster, 1724. Children: <sup>5</sup>Joseph, b May 17, 1725, <sup>5</sup>Nathan, b Feb. 16, 1726, <sup>5</sup>Ruth, b Oct. 18, 1728, d Oct. 10, 1786, <sup>5</sup>James, b Feb. 16, 1730, settled in Norton, <sup>5</sup>Mary, b Nov. 29, 1732, m ——— Shepard, <sup>5</sup>Eunice, b Dec. 23, 1734, d July 6, 1757, <sup>5</sup>Patience, b Jan. 16, 1736. m Stephen Goldthwaite of Northbridge, <sup>5</sup>Thomas, b June 7 1739. Joseph Very and Ruth sold their house in Salem in 1736, and went to reside in Mendon, Mass. Joseph Very d Jan'y 24, 1743, Ruth d Feb. 23, 1767. (See 5th gen.)

<sup>4</sup>Benjamin Very, son of <sup>3</sup>Benjamin and Jemima, m Rebecca Boice, 1733. Lived on the Plain. He was a Revolutionary Soldier. One dau.: m John Richards, fisherman.

<sup>4</sup>Jemima Very, dau. of <sup>3</sup>Benjamin and Jemima, m Joseph King, 1736. She was dismissed from the First Church in Salem to form a church at the middle precinct in Danvers, 1710.

<sup>4</sup>Isaac Very, son of <sup>3</sup>Benjamin and Jemima, m Elizabeth Giles, 1736. She was born 1715, d 1779, dau. of Samuel Giles, b 1694, and Susannah Palfrey, m 1719, youngest dau. of Walter P., sailmaker, grandson of Peter Palfrey, 1629. See His. Col., vol. 1, p 186. Samuel Giles was the son of Eleazer G. (son of Bridget Giles and Edward) and Elizabeth Bishop, m 1677. Children: <sup>5</sup>James, <sup>5</sup>Elizabeth, <sup>5</sup>Hannah, <sup>5</sup>Daniel, died young, <sup>5</sup>Isaac, b 1745, d 1831, <sup>5</sup>Benjamin, <sup>5</sup>Isaiah, <sup>5</sup>Sarah, <sup>5</sup>Jacob, d 1797, <sup>5</sup>Samuel, died young, <sup>5</sup>Samuel, b 1755, d 1824, <sup>5</sup>Daniel, died in some foreign land. (See 5th gen.)

<sup>4</sup>Daniel Very, son of <sup>3</sup>Benjamin and Jemima, a Revolutionary soldier.



<sup>4</sup>John Very, son of <sup>3</sup>John Very and Hannah, weaver, lived, on Very's Plain, m Elizabeth. Children: <sup>5</sup>John, b 1748, d 1772, <sup>5</sup>Daniel, b 1750, <sup>5</sup>Samuel, b 1751, <sup>5</sup>Jonathan, b 1753, <sup>5</sup>David, b 1755, <sup>5</sup>Sarah, b 1757, <sup>5</sup>Hannah, b 1758, <sup>5</sup>Benjamin, b 1760, d 1797, <sup>5</sup>Joseph, 1762, <sup>5</sup>Elizabeth, 1764, <sup>5</sup>Eunice, b 1768, <sup>5</sup>James, 1770, (See 5th gen.)

## FIFTH GENERATION.

<sup>5</sup>Jonathan Very, son of <sup>4</sup>Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, b 175—, shoresman, lived in St. Peters st.

<sup>5</sup>Elizabeth Very, dau. of <sup>4</sup>Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m Benjamin Cox jr., children, <sup>6</sup>Elizabeth, <sup>6</sup>Benjamin, m Sarah Smith, children: <sup>7</sup>Eliza, <sup>7</sup>Benjamin jr., physician, <sup>7</sup>Sarah, <sup>7</sup>Mehetabel, <sup>7</sup>Francis, <sup>7</sup>Mary Ann, <sup>7</sup>Edward S.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel Very, son of <sup>4</sup>Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m 1st Abigail Crowninshield, children: <sup>6</sup>Jonathan, m Susan Peabody, 1811, <sup>6</sup>John C., mariner, m Mary Dwyer, 1812, (children: <sup>7</sup>Samuel, shipmaster, m Sarah W. McKey, <sup>7</sup>Edw'd m —, Baptist Clergyman, drowned in 1852 at Blomadon, Nova Scotia, with Prof. Chipman, Prof. of Geology at Wolfville Academy.) John C. Very was a passenger in the ship Margaret of Salem, which was wrecked at sea on the 21st of May, 1810, on its passage from Naples to Salem. Fifteen persons were saved in her long boat and brought into Marblehead by Capt. Richard Pedrick. But he, with thirty others were left on the wreck. Of these only three, Capt. Henry Lareom of Beverly, E. A. Irvine and Mr. Very, were finally "saved and restored to their families as from the dead," after forty days of great suffering and danger, twenty-three of which were passed in a small, leaky boat after leaving the wreck. (See Salem Gazette, June, July and August, 1810.) <sup>6</sup>Abigail, m Theodore Fames, Teacher and Counsellor in Salem and New York. <sup>6</sup>Samuel, m Alice Palmer, 1804. <sup>5</sup>Samuel m 2d — Rantoul, one son, <sup>6</sup>Samuel R. <sup>5</sup>Samuel m 3d Martha Cheever, children: <sup>6</sup>Eliza, m John Felt, one son, <sup>7</sup>John V. <sup>6</sup>Nathaniel, m Esther Ward, <sup>6</sup>Harriet, <sup>6</sup>Martha, m Nathaniel Horton,

one son, <sup>7</sup>N. Augustus, Associate Editor of the Salem Gazette, <sup>6</sup>Mary Ann, m Joseph Gomes.

<sup>5</sup>Sarah Very, dau. of <sup>4</sup>Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m James Odell, b 1761, d 1834, children: <sup>6</sup>Thomas, <sup>6</sup>James, <sup>6</sup>Sarah, <sup>6</sup>Eliza, <sup>6</sup>Benjamin.

<sup>5</sup>James Very, son of <sup>4</sup>Jonathan jr and Elizabeth, m 1st — Palfrey, children: <sup>6</sup>Mary, m Ebenezer Stodder, <sup>6</sup>Eliza, m William Peele, <sup>6</sup>James. <sup>5</sup>James m 2d Abigail Brooks (Grant), children: <sup>6</sup>James, b 1805, d 1830, in Cabenda, Africa, <sup>6</sup>Eveline, m Andrew Waters, <sup>6</sup>Nathaniel, m Eliza Ann Kimball, <sup>6</sup>Abigail, m William Hill, one dau., <sup>7</sup>Abigail.

<sup>5</sup>Abigail Very, dau. of <sup>4</sup>Jonathan jr. and Elizabeth, m Samuel Dowst, children: <sup>6</sup>Samuel, <sup>6</sup>Richard, <sup>6</sup>Abigail, m — Batchelder, <sup>6</sup>Elizabeth.

<sup>5</sup>William Very, son of <sup>4</sup>Samuel Very and Abigail Pepper of Lynn, m Sarah Moulton, 1784. Lived on the Old Boston Road. Children: <sup>6</sup>William, <sup>6</sup>Abigail, <sup>6</sup>Sarah, <sup>6</sup>Mary, <sup>6</sup>Hannah, <sup>6</sup>Thomas.

<sup>5</sup>Amos Very, son of <sup>4</sup>Samuel and Abigail. Lived on the Lynnfield Road; m Sarah Leathe, 1790, children: <sup>6</sup>Samuel, <sup>6</sup>Susan.

<sup>5</sup>Nathan Verry, son of <sup>4</sup>Joseph Very and Ruth Foster, b Feb. 16th, 1726, d Oct. 1st, 1800, farmer, m 1st Beriah Thayer of Mendon, Mass., d 1757, children: <sup>6</sup>Abigail, b Feb. 10th, 1754, d June 28th, 1757, <sup>6</sup>Ruth, b Oct. 29th, 1755, d June 10, 1757. m 2d Sarah Scott, children: <sup>6</sup>Sally, b Oct. 29, 1767, m Caleb Allen of Mendon, farmer, d Dec. 28, 1785, <sup>6</sup>Nathan, b Feb. 25, 1769, (see 6th gen.) <sup>6</sup>Abigail, b Feb. 14th, 1771, d April, 1852, m Simon Whipple of Smithfield, farmer, <sup>6</sup>Patience, b June 10, 1774, d Oct. 23, 1827, m Richard George of Wrentham, Mass, Counsellor.

<sup>5</sup>James Verry, son of <sup>4</sup>Joseph Very and Ruth Foster, b Feb. 16, 1730, settled in Norton, Mass. d about 1795, m — Coddington? son, <sup>6</sup>William, d aged about 50, m —, children: <sup>7</sup>William Coddington, b about 1810, <sup>7</sup>Caroline, m — Whipple of Fall River, physician, <sup>7</sup>Rosalind, m Pierce, <sup>7</sup>Hannah, d aged 18. About



1845 William C. Very sold the homestead and with his mother and two sisters and their families went to Illinois.

<sup>3</sup>Isaac Very, son of <sup>4</sup>Isaac Very and Elizabeth Giles, shipmaster, lived in May st., b 1745, d 1831, m 1st Mrs. Knapp, one son, <sup>6</sup>Isaac Very, (who m 1st — Twist, son, <sup>7</sup>Daniel T. Very. 2d Margaret Townsend, children: <sup>7</sup>Albert, <sup>7</sup>Isaac.) <sup>5</sup>Isaac m 2d Margaret Brown, children: <sup>6</sup>Jacob, <sup>6</sup>Margaret, b in Charlton, m — Harwood. m 3d Rachel Jones of Charlton, Mass., children: <sup>6</sup>Rachel, b in Charlton, m William Robinson, <sup>6</sup>Sarah, b in Charlton, m — Hazelton, (children: <sup>7</sup>Caroline, <sup>7</sup>Samuel,) <sup>6</sup>Nathaniel, b in Charlton, merchant, Charleston, S. C., afterwards in New York, m — Witherbee, one son, <sup>7</sup>Julian C. Very, b 1834, d 1856, <sup>6</sup>Nancy, m Richard Manning, one dau., <sup>7</sup>Nancy, <sup>6</sup>Jones, b in Spencer, Mass., 1790, d 1824, m 1813 Lydia Very, (see 6th gen.) m 4th — Harwood, children, <sup>6</sup>Benjamin, <sup>6</sup>Mary, <sup>6</sup>Abraham, m Hannah Ingalls, (children: <sup>7</sup>Abraham A., <sup>7</sup>Isaac.)

<sup>5</sup>Sarah Very, daughter of <sup>4</sup>Isaac Very and Elizabeth, m 1st — Aberdeen, 2d Edward Smothers, children: <sup>6</sup>Sarah, <sup>6</sup>Daniel.

<sup>5</sup>Jacob Very, d 1797, shipmaster, son of <sup>4</sup>Isaac and Elizabeth, children: <sup>6</sup>Jacob, <sup>6</sup>Elizabeth, <sup>6</sup>Martha.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel Very, shipmaster and merchant. Lived corner of Essex and Boston sts. Son of <sup>4</sup>Isaac and Elizabeth, m 1st Hannah Putney, 1776, (dau. of Jonathan Putney and Sarah Very, dau. of <sup>4</sup>John Very. Jonathan Putney was grandson of John Putney, who m Judith Cook, 1662; and who in 1673 received a grant of land of 30 acres in Danvers, where the road from Lowell st. meets the Newburyport Turnpike, then called Pudney's Road.) children: <sup>6</sup>Hannah, b 1781, <sup>6</sup>Samuel, b 1784, <sup>6</sup>James, b 1789, lost in the U. S. vessel Wasp, <sup>6</sup>Lydia, b 1792, <sup>6</sup>Fanny, b 1795, <sup>6</sup>Louisa, b 1798, m 2d Lydia Clough, 1799, children; <sup>6</sup>William Gray, b 1800, d 1830, <sup>6</sup>Henry, b 1804, <sup>6</sup>Francis, b 1807, <sup>6</sup>Eliza Gray, b 1809, (see 6th gen.)

<sup>5</sup>Sarah Very, dau. of <sup>4</sup>John Very and Elizabeth, bap. 1777, m Jonathan Putney, d 1786,

children: <sup>6</sup>Jonathan, b 1750, d 1814, (m 1773 Elizabeth Newhall, d 1833) lived in Charlton, Mass., <sup>6</sup>Stephen, m Hepzibah Larabee, <sup>6</sup>Hannah, married 1776 <sup>6</sup>Samuel Very, <sup>6</sup>Martha, d died unm., <sup>6</sup>Sarah, m Samuel Goodell. <sup>6</sup>Jonathan Putney and Elizabeth and their son, Amos, were buried on their farm in Charlton.

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Very, son of <sup>4</sup>John Very and Elizabeth, bap. 1773, m 1st Abigail Phillips, 1763, one son, <sup>6</sup>Ephraim, shipmaster, b 1765, d 1805, (m Abigail Rowles, b 1766, d 1832, children: <sup>7</sup>Ephraim, <sup>7</sup>Joseph, b 1792, died in Eastport, Me., <sup>7</sup>Samuel, <sup>7</sup>John,) (see 7th gen.) <sup>5</sup>Joseph, m 2d Lydia Twist, children: <sup>6</sup>Hannah, b 1787, <sup>6</sup>Lydia, <sup>6</sup>Joseph, bap. 1785, <sup>6</sup>William, bap. 1785, <sup>6</sup>Samuel, bap. 1785.

<sup>5</sup>Benjamin Very, son of <sup>4</sup>John and Elizabeth, shipmaster, lived at Ryal Side, Beverly, m Mary Corning, children: <sup>6</sup>Jonathan, b 1786, <sup>6</sup>Benjamin, b 1791, <sup>6</sup>Robert Smith, b 1793, <sup>6</sup>James, b 1796. His widow m — Cleaves.

#### SIXTH AND SEVENTH GENERATIONS.

<sup>6</sup>Jones Very, shipmaster, lived corner of Essex and Boston sts., son of <sup>5</sup>Isaac Very and Rachel Jones, b 1790, d 1824, m <sup>6</sup>Lydia Very, (dau. of <sup>5</sup>Samuel Very and Hannah Putney,) 1813, children: <sup>7</sup>Jones, b 1813, <sup>7</sup>Washington. Clergyman and Teacher, b 1815, d 1853, m Martha N. Leach, 1851, (children: <sup>8</sup>Franklin, b 1852, <sup>8</sup>Martha W., b 1853, d 1855,) <sup>7</sup>Franklin, b 1818, d 1822, <sup>7</sup>Horace, b 1820, d 1820, <sup>7</sup>Frances Eliza, b 1821, <sup>7</sup>Lydia Louisa Ann, b 1823.

<sup>6</sup>Hannah Very, dau. of <sup>5</sup>Samuel Very and Hannah Putney, m Isaac Shreve of Alexandria, D. C., children: <sup>7</sup>Samuel V., shipmaster, m 1st Sarah Price, m 2d Mary More, <sup>7</sup>Rebecca, m John Calef, <sup>7</sup>Hannah, m Eben N. Price, <sup>7</sup>Isaac, m Margaret Curran, <sup>7</sup>Benjamin, m Elizabeth Shannon, <sup>7</sup>Louisa, m Henry Osborne.

<sup>6</sup>Lydia Very, dau. of <sup>5</sup>Samuel Very and Hannah Putney, m <sup>6</sup>Jones Very, son of <sup>5</sup>Isaac Very and Rachel, children: (see above.)

<sup>6</sup>Samuel Very, son of <sup>5</sup>Samuel Very and Hannah, m Hannah Le Roy, children: <sup>7</sup>Samuel, <sup>7</sup>Lydia, <sup>7</sup>Louisa.

<sup>6</sup>Fanny Very, dau. of <sup>5</sup>Samuel and Hannah,

m James Macomber, children: <sup>7</sup>James Gregg, <sup>7</sup>Frances, <sup>7</sup>Emma. Live in Utica, N. Y.

<sup>6</sup>William Gray Very, son of <sup>5</sup>Samuel Very, and Lydia Clough, m Elizabeth Warden, dau. of John Warden, one dau., <sup>7</sup>Elizabeth, m John Niles.

<sup>6</sup>Henry Very, son of <sup>5</sup>Samuel Very and Lydia Clough, m Elizabeth Brockwell, lives in Hartford, Conn., children: <sup>7</sup>William, <sup>7</sup>Anna B., <sup>7</sup>Edwin, <sup>7</sup>Alice, <sup>7</sup>Louisa.

<sup>6</sup>Francis Very, son of <sup>5</sup>Samuel and Lydia, m 1st Mary Melborne, one son, <sup>7</sup>Sylvester; m 2d Caroline Wakefield, children: <sup>7</sup>James H., <sup>7</sup>Rebecca, <sup>7</sup>Franklin D.

<sup>7</sup>John Very, son of <sup>6</sup>Ephraim Very and Abigail Rowles, d 1858, m 1st Harriet Nye, children: <sup>8</sup>Harriet, m ——— Bowe, <sup>8</sup>Ephraim, <sup>8</sup>John, <sup>8</sup>Joseph; m 2d ——— Holt, one son, <sup>8</sup>Samuel.

<sup>6</sup>Hannah Very, dau. of <sup>5</sup>Joseph and Lydia Twist, m Eben Dale, children: <sup>7</sup>Lydia, m John Huse, <sup>7</sup>Hannah, m ——— Fuller, <sup>7</sup>Joseph, m ——— Frye.

<sup>6</sup>Lydia Very, dau. of <sup>5</sup>Joseph and Lydia, m Samuel Quarles.

<sup>6</sup>Joseph Very, son of <sup>5</sup>Joseph and Lydia, m Mary Dempsey, children: <sup>7</sup>Daniel, b 1812, <sup>7</sup>Joseph, b 1814, <sup>7</sup>Louis, b 1817, d 1827, <sup>7</sup>Andrew, b 1819, <sup>7</sup>Henry, b 1821, <sup>7</sup>Perley, b 1824, <sup>7</sup>Louis, b 1827, <sup>7</sup>Edwin, b 1829, <sup>7</sup>Augustus, b 1832, <sup>7</sup>Albert, b 1835.

<sup>6</sup>William Very, son of <sup>5</sup>Joseph and Lydia, m Hannah Phillips, children: <sup>7</sup>Lydia, b 1804, <sup>7</sup>William, b 1808, <sup>7</sup>Joseph, b 1810, <sup>7</sup>Samuel, b 1812, <sup>7</sup>Samuel, b 1814, <sup>7</sup>Benjamin, b 1820.

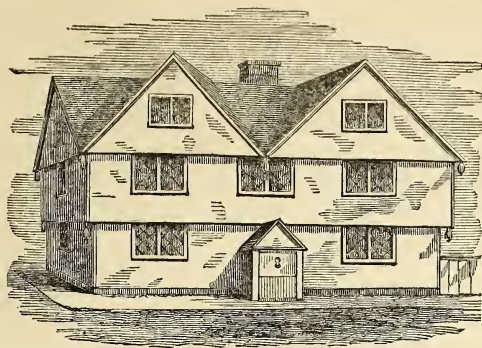
<sup>6</sup>Daniel Very, grandson of <sup>4</sup>John Very and Elizabeth, m Sarah Osborn, children: <sup>7</sup>Sarah O., b 1809, <sup>7</sup>Lydia O., b 1812, <sup>7</sup>Hannah, b 1814, <sup>7</sup>Harriet, b 1816, <sup>7</sup>Eliza Ann, b 1819. d 1840, <sup>7</sup>Benjamin, b 1821, d in Mexico 1845.

<sup>6</sup>Nathan Very, d Jan. 31, 1837, son of <sup>5</sup>Nathan Very and Beriah Thayer, m Hannah

Thompson, d Oct. 6, 1834, children: <sup>7</sup>Foster Verry, d Oct. 27, 1789, farmer; lives in Blackstone, (see below,) <sup>7</sup>Sally, b Aug. 4, 1791, d May 21, 1840, <sup>7</sup>Naney, b July 4, 1793, m Otis Mason of Cumberland, R. I., merchant, <sup>7</sup>Abigail, b July 7, 1796, lives in Blackstone, <sup>7</sup>Hannah, b Oct. 1, 1798, <sup>7</sup>Nathan jr., b May 24, 1801, merchant, d June 10, 1828, m Nancy George Ballou of Cumberland, R. I., children: <sup>8</sup>Nathan G., b June 27, 1824, m Mary B. Vaughn of Bristol, R. I., children: <sup>9</sup>Julia C., b Jan., 1850, <sup>9</sup>Nathan G., b July, 1857, <sup>9</sup>George F., b July 14, 1827, Counsellor, Worcester, Mass., m Martha M., dau. of Griffith James of Milford Haven, South Wales, (I am indebted to George F. Verry, Esq., for my account of the descendants of <sup>4</sup>Joseph and Ruth Verry. This branch of the family spell the name with two r's, a change which took place after their removal from Salem.) <sup>7</sup>Samuel, b June 29, 1804, m Annie Gaskill of Mendon, Farmer, Blackstone, children: <sup>8</sup>Sarah B., b Feb. 6, 1831, m John H. Crane, Worcester, Baker, <sup>8</sup>Samuel Philemon, b Nov. 13, 1835, d Sept. 1st, 1838, <sup>8</sup>Marianna, b March 29, 1839, <sup>8</sup>Abbie Frances, b June 21, 1841, <sup>8</sup>Ellen Maria, b Dec. 9, 1845, <sup>8</sup>Martha Elizabeth, b July 16, 1851, <sup>8</sup>James, b July 15, 1807, d Feb. 13, 1809, <sup>7</sup>Mary Ann, b Dec. 27, 1809, lives in Blackstone.

<sup>7</sup>Foster Verry, son of <sup>6</sup>Nathan and Hannah, m Rachel Holbrook of Uxbridge May 24, 1810, children: <sup>8</sup>Albert, b in Mendon, July 15, 1812, d at Northbridge, Dec. 7, 1832, <sup>8</sup>James, b in Mendon, Feb. 27, 1814, Manufacturer, Woonsocket, R. I., m Naney Nolen, Nov. 27, 1834, children: <sup>9</sup>Esther I., b Aug. 19, 1836, d Aug. 10, 1847, <sup>9</sup>Isadore, b July 10, 1839; <sup>9</sup>Chloe, b in Mendon, March 20, 1816, m 1837 David Wilder, Merchant, Toledo, Ohio, <sup>9</sup>Sally, b in Mendon, April 30, 1818, m 1842 William B. Nolen, Franklin, Mass., <sup>9</sup>Foster jr., b Oct. 30, 1821, d in Mendon, June 30, 1836.

# The Old Planters' House.



DR. HENRY WHEATLAND.

Dear Sir:

I esteem it both a privilege and a duty to comply with the request expressed by the publishing committee, to revive the recollection and to give some reminiscences of the ancient house associated many years since with Roger Conant, and afterward with my ancestor, Gov. Endicott. Verily, in the language of that learned archaeologist, the lamented Lincoln, "the first step of civilized man on the New England shore is so recent that the outline of his earliest foot print is still uneffaced," and we suppose it is known only to a comparatively few that we have still among us "the great Frame House" of the Old Planters, first erected at Cape Ann in 1624, which was, after the sale of the effects of the Dorchester adventurers to the now Massachusetts Company, taken down and erected at Naumkeag for Gov. Endicott's use soon after his arrival in 1628. It is therefore familiar with all the events of our entire history from the earliest beginning. It is the office of the antiquary simply to separate facts from the dust of time, and leave them to speak for themselves. The above sketch of it was engraved substantially from a drawing communicated by Geo. A. Ward, Esq., of New York, in a letter to the late Eben. Hathorne, in

1827, representing it as it appeared about 1775, before any alteration in its style of architecture had taken place. There is an unbroken and reliable tradition that this house is the identical one referred to in the following deposition of Richard Brackenbury, of 20th Jan'y, 1680-1:—"I understand this company of London having bought out the right of the Dorchester Marchants in New England, that Mr. Endicott had power to take possession of their right in New England, which Mr. Endicott did, and in particular of a house built at Cape Ann, which Walter Knight and the rest said they built for the Dorchester men; so I was sent with them to Cape Ann to pull down the house for Mr. Endicott's use; the which we did," and removed it to Salem, where it is still standing at the Northerly corner of Washington and Church streets. This would be the most likely place for the Gov. to have selected for his residence, being nearly opposite the Meeting House, the whole space at that time being open, and commanded an unobstructed view of that primitive building.

This ancient house is now an object of great interest to the antiquary, as a sort of "*Santissima Casa*," or holy house of Loreto\*; true,

\*Eustace's Classical Tour, Italy, vol. 1, pp. 240, 1, 2.



there is no legend like that, of its being transported through the air by angels from Palestine; but there is better evidence for believing it is coeval with the Massachusetts Colony, and in fact with the previous Dorchester Company; and if we could be induced to examine it, particularly what is called by tradition "*the Governor's chamber*," and notice its old oaken timbers, the substantial manner in which it is put together, the large knees at the corners fastened by wooden trunnels, like a ship's between decks, the large size of the timbers, the coarse style of the finish, tradition aside, we should discover so many evidences of strength and durability that we could have no doubt that it was a "*frame house*" intended for transportation. One of the timbers in the cellar has been found marked in small nails the letters I. E., the initials of the Governor's name. In the opinion of the family of its original proprietor in Salem, it was framed of English oak and sent over with the Dorchester emigrants, and that Walter Knight's testimony had reference merely to setting it up.

How long the Governor occupied this house is uncertain, for he possessed several others in Salem, besides the one at the Orchard farm, before he removed to Boston in 1655. He occupied one in Broad Field previous to 11 Feb'y, 1642, and in his will he bequeathed to his wife "*my houses* in Salem with ye grounds belonging to them, with full power to dispose of them as she shall see good." In those days of small things it was not as now, the universal practice to put deeds upon record. A deed given to John Pickering in 1642 of a part of Broad Field, "lying before the dwelling house late in the occupation of Gov. Endicott," was not recorded until 1785, *one hundred and forty three years afterwards*, and many no doubt were never recorded. No deed of conveyance of any house thus left by Gov. Endicott has been found on record. The record of deeds as a means of tracing the early ownership of property cannot therefore be relied upon, and we should be obliged to relinquish many of our historical convictions should they be submitted to this

proof. A deed of a few rods of land, without any house, from his son Zerubabel, 20th June, 1677, to Daniel Eppes, "*Schoolemaster*," is supposed to indicate the identical spot where this house stands, but as it measures only eight feet and a half on the *main* street, which is conjectured to be the present *Washington* street, we are disinclined to believe it, but only a *part* of the Endicott field, as it was then called. We think it quite as likely that the house stood on the acre of land, measuring 17 poles North and South, conveyed by Zerubabel to his son John, 9th Aug., 1678, which he conveyed to William Browne, jr., both lots bounding South by land of John Price.

The transitions this house has undergone are numerous. It is associated with the earliest development of the Massachusetts Colony, which historians have found it so convenient to ignore, or at most to gloss over with a *mere* passing notice. It was first, as we have seen, occupied by Roger Conant, as a nucleus around which the Cape Ann Colony settled in 1624, or probably earlier still, by the overseers who preceded him in the organization of that place. There it stood, for a brief period of four years, when it was removed to Naumkeag. How changed is everything around, since 'this old house was new.'

"Chance and Change are ever busy,  
Man decays and ages move."

It rose, at that time, among "*the half score of log cabins*" of the settlers, like a stately column amid the ruins of the old world. Around it the long departed red man congregated in squads, to watch whatever to him was new or strange in the habits of the white man. The smoke curled in blue wreaths over his wigwam, and around his bark tents were spots where his husbandry, or rather his squaw's,\* had been exercised. Over nearly the whole of this broad and wild region was thrown the gloomy mantle of the forest. A few farm houses, perhaps, and then came the dense and unbroken wilder-

\*The women or damsels of the birchen household had charge of the cultivation of the soil.



ness. Who so wanting in sensibility, or imagination, as not to have desired to penetrate the secrets of these gloomy solitudes, and to conjecture what legends might have peopled this interminable wilderness, and what deeds of adventure these dusky regions might reveal. What a crowd of recollections of days long since departed, nestle about those old oaken timbers! and if they had tongues, how many strange events would they relate, unrecorded in history!—how would they elucidate what is now obscure in the first beginnings of this “*wildernesse worke!*” How much could they tell us of the struggles of the Dorchester Company before they dissolved, which history has never recorded! Beneath its roof, or within its walls, all the initiatory steps were discussed preparatory to the settlement of the new colony. The terror exhibited from the threatened invasion of the “*Sugust Indians*” in 1623, was here manifested.† The great mortality among the settlers the first winter, arising from the rigors of an untried climate—badly fed and badly lodged—was here anxiously considered.‡ From this house the gentle spirit of Mrs. Endicott at that time took its flight for a purer and brighter abode.§ From within these walls went forth the warrants for calling the *first* General Court, under the charter, in which the troublesome and rebellious Morton of “*Ma-re Mount*” refused his assent to the laws thus promulgated.|| This Morton, by the way, was a sort of Friar Tuck—devotee, bravo, libertine and buffoon in equal parts. It was here, in this very house, that Winthrop and “some other gentlemen, and some of the women,” on their first arrival, “supped on good venizon pasty and good beer.” It was in this house, in the autumn of 1631, Winthrop tells us, that he, Capt. Underhill and others, “*were bountifully entertained.*” These rafters, as we verily believe, once ech-

oed with the voices of the old planters of 1624, and the new planters of 1623. With Conant’s and Endecott’s adjusting the compromise between the old and new planters, as to the propriety of raising *tobacco*, which resulted in securing that *inestimable* privilege *exclusively* to Conant’s party. With Higginson’s and Skelton’s, about the ritual and the government and discipline of the Church.—Within these walls were taken the important steps of establishing a new priesthood, and of dissolving all allegiance to, or alliance with, any other church on earth. Here were broken and thrown away the old fetters of the hierarchy, by men, it is true, few in numbers, but strong in character, strong in purpose, and stronger still in the conviction that the cause which led to this step was holy and just. These rafters, also are familiar with the voices of Hug’s Peters and Roger Williams. Within its walls the planters felt secure from the anathemas of Bishops under which they had suffered so much persecution. From its door was seen the solemn funeral procession bearing the sainted remains of Lady Arbella, “who left a paradise of plenty for a wilderness of want,” to their last resting place in “*Potter’s Field.*” \* From its window might be seen the train-bands, under Endicott, with their mutilated colors; the red cross of St. George *rebelliously* torn out.

On the arrival of Higginson, he notices it “as a *fair house newly built* for the Governor.” Here Higginson and his wife made their first sojourn, which he thus records “the governor came on board to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited mee and my wife to come on shore and take lodging *at his house*, which we did accordingly.” In later time it has been occupied by the Rev. John Sparhawk, the Pastor of the First Church, from 1736 to 1755, and for many years as a tavern under the name of the “*Ship Tavern.*” The present owner, who remembers it since 1784, says it had at that time undergone no material alteration in the original style of architecture—at that period it still retained its primitive peaks and was but two stories high—the

†Felt’s Annals, vol. 1, p. 44–45.

‡Felt’s Annals, vol. 1, p. 46–47.

§Felt’s Annals, vol. 1, p. 47.

||Felt’s Annals; vol. 1, p. 108.

upper story projecting over the lower, which was the style of building at that period in England, and not introduced here as a defence against the Indians. In 1792 the then owner destroyed every vestige of its original architecture by raising it another story,—thus divesting it of its primitive peaks, which gave it such a picturesque appearance. Its “frame” appears still sound, and capable of enduring yet another century, but how much longer it will be allowed to remain, is a question we cannot answer. Whether it will first yield to the scythe of time, or to the still more fatal hand of man, must be hereafter determined.

Respectfully Yours,

C. M. ENDICOTT.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF  
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,  
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. I, Page 200.

William Cash and Elizabeth Lambert were married in ye 8th mo., 1667; their son William borne 23d 12th mo., 1668; son John borne 10th July, 1671, and died 14 days after; 2d son John and Elizabeth, twins, borne 10th July, 1672, and John deceased 26th August, 1674; Mary and Ana, twins, born ye 29th Aprill, 1675; yr daughter Hester was borne 9th March, 1679; William, son of Wm. Cash deceased, his son William borne 13th Feb'y, 1693-4.

Richard Cross and Jane Pudeater were married ye 24th 9th mo.' '70; their daughter Elizabeth borne 17th August, 1671; their son John borne the 12th 2d mo., 1673.

Isaack Cooke, his daughter Abigail, by Elizabeth his wife, borne the 12th Aprill, 1670; their son Isaack deceased 6th Aprill, 1671; their daughter Hanna borne the 15th October, 1672; their son John borne the 23d March, 1673; Isaack borne 3d 7th mo., '74; dau. Rachel borne the 20th 12th mo., 1675; their sonn Ebenezer borne the 24th 10th mo., 1677;

their sonn Samuall borne the 1st October, '79; his son deceased the same day; son Isaack deceased 8th 8th mo., '79; Rachell deceased the 15th 8th mo., '79; Ebenezer deceased the 20th 8th mo., '79.

John Cooke and Mary Buxton were married the 28th of December, 1672; their daughter Mary borne ye 11th 9th mo., 1673; son John borne ye 20th 6th mo., '74; daughter Elizabeth borne ye 7th 2d mo., 1676; sonn Samuall borne the 3d 9th mo., 1678; sonn Samuall deceased 11th 8th mo., 1679; their son Joseph borne the 9th March, 1680; daughter Hanah borne 9th 7th mo., '84; Lydia borne 2d March, '87; son Isaac borne 16 April, 1689.

Thomas Cooper and Sara Southwick (widow) were married the 12th June, 1674; their daughter Elizabeth borne ye 2d 9 mo., 167-.

Thomas Cloutman and Elizabeth Story were married 26th July, 1672; their son Edward borne ye 27th July, 1673.

George Cokes, his daughter Sara, borne by Mary his wife, 8th 9 mo., '74.

Nicholas Chatwell and ye widdow Sara March were married the 15th 12th mo., 1671; their daughter Mary borne ye 24th 10th mo., '73; daughter Hanah borne 22d June 1676; Prisca their daughter borne 22d 2 mo., '79.

Capt. John Corwin, his son Samuall, borne by Margaret his wife, the 12th 8th mo., 1674.

Henry Crosbee was married to Deliverance Coree ye 5th June, 1683; his son Henry borne 14th May, 1684.

John Collens, his daughter Hannah, borne by Hittabel his wife, the 4th of August, 1676. The said John was late of Gloucester.

Thos. Clark and Mary Voaker were married 4th March, 1675; their son Thomas borne the 14th 2d mo., 1677.

Joshua Conant and Christian More were married the 31st August, 1676; their son Joshua borne ye 12th May, 1678.

Michael Chappleman and Rebecka Needham were married January, '75; their son Michael borne the 21st August, 1677; their daughter Rebecka the 27th 12th mo., 1679; George borne 5th Sept., 1682; James borne 14th Sep-

tember, 1685; son Anthony borne the 19th Sept., 1688; their son Isaac borne the 30th March, 1691; their father deceased the 7th of May, 1692.

Abraham Coale, his son Isaack, borne by Sara his wife ye 4th 6th mo., 1677; his son Sam'l born 19th May, 1687.

Henry Cooke married to Mary Hale ye last of 7th mo., 1678; their daughter Mary borne ye 15th of July, 1678.

Jonas Clay and Mary Allen were married ye 22d 8th mo., 1678.

Thomas Cloyce, his daughter Mary borne by Susana his wife 6th 5th mo., 1677.

Ezekiell Cheevers and Abigail Lippingwell were married the 17th of June, 1680; their daugh. Abigaile borne ye 22d 1st mo., 1679-80; his son Thomas born 28th Feb'y, 1683; son Ezekiel borne Marche 15th, '85-86; son Sam'l borne 9th Feb'y, '89-90; (his son Ezek'l dyed 15th Feb'y, 1689-90.)

Thomas Cooper and Deliverance Marstone were married the 27th 10th mo., 1680.

Daniell Cannady and Hannah Cooke were married the 10th 9th mo, 1681; their son Daniell borne 10th August, '82.

David Canada, son of Daniel Canada and Hanah his wife. was borne 7th July, 1683; Hanah yr daughter borne 4th Sept., 1685; yr son Jona. borne ye 19th Jan'y, 1687; yr son Isaac borne ye 21st Jan, 1689; yr daughter Eliza borne March 21st, 1692; the ffather died ye 11th June, 1695.

Mathew Dour, their da'r Sara borne ye 3d 5th, 1660; dyed ye 18th 5th, '60; da'r Hann born ye 23d 8th, '52; dr'r Eliza borne ye 16th 10th, '53; da'r Dorcas 16 8th, '56; da'r Bethia ye 26 3, '5-; son Daniel bo. 10th 7th mo., '62; Debora borne 10th Decem'r, '65; son Mathew 3d 10th mo., '67; daughter Ruth borne 15th October, 1673.

John Dodg, son of Richard Dodg, his dau'r Deliverance borne by Sara his wife ye 15th March, '60-61; their son John borne 15th April, 1662.

John Dodg, son of Will'm Dodg, married to Sarah Procter the 10th April, 1659; their son

John borne ye 2d January, 1661; their daughter Martha borne ye 5th February, 1672.

William Dodg ye younger, his son William by Mary his wife borne the 20th of March, 1663-4; daughter Mary borne ye 26th Maye, 1666.

John Deacon, his wife Eliza deceased 30th 6th mo., '62.

William Dicer and Eliza Austin were married by Maj. Hathorne the 26th 9th, '64; their dau'r Elizabeth borne ye 2d July, 1667; their daughter Honnor borne the 2d day of Aprill, 1673.

Anthony, son of Anthony Dike by Margery his wife, borne 24th March; Nathanyell their son borne the 25th 10th mo., 1667; daughter Margery borne the 16th 6th mo., 1669; Jonathan 28th March, 1673; their daughter Mary born —; son Benjamin borne 22d 12th mo., 1679-80.

William Downton, his son William borne by Rebecka his wife the 12th Aprill, '65; their son John borne the 17th 4th mo., 1669.

Steephen Daniel married to Mary Prince 26th July, 1666. their son Steephen borne the 6th 10th mo., 1667; their son John borne the 12th April, 1669; daughter Mary borne the 18th July, 1670; Mary the wife dyed in October, 1679.

Tho's Daye, his da'r Abigaile borne by Mary his wife ye 22d 10th mo, 1667.

John Daye, son of Thomas Daye, and Ann Coleman were married the 16th day of July, 1668; their daughter Ann borne 18th of October, 1669; son John borne ye 24th 11th mo., '70; Steephen borne 16th October 1672.

George Deane, his da'r Eliza borne by Eliza his wife ye 2d 11, '60, and dyed 22d 11th, '60; son —

John Dixy and Sarah Collens were married the 9th 10 mo., 1679.

Mr. Steephen Daniell and Susanna Hide, widow, were married the 3d of December, 1680; ye daugh'r Susana borne 28th Aug't, 1686; Steephen Daniell jun'r deceased 14th Feb'y, 1686-7.



Thomas Daley was married —; An his daughter borne 16th Sept., '82; Mary borne 6th July, 1685.

Jno' Driver, sone of Wm. Driver, borne 3d July, 1685; Thom's borne 24th March, 1686-7; Elizabeth born 28th April, 1689; Michael bo' 13th July, '91.

Wm. Dunn or Dyna married unto Elizabeth Haskett 6th June, 1684; his son John born by Eliz'th his wife 23d May, 1686; his son William born by Eliz'th his wife 1st Aug't 1689.

Edmond Dolbeare, his daughter Elizabeth borne 3d Octob'r, 1684; daughter Sarah borne 29th Jan'y, 1685-6; sone Thomas borne first December, 1687; sone Barnard born 18th 7th mo., 1689, and dyed —; 2d sone Barnard 18th of Aprill, 1691.

Rog'r Derby and Lucretia his wife married in Topsham, in the County of Devon, in Old England, 23d of August, 1668; their son Charles born in Topsham 27th July, 1669. Arrived in Boston 18th July, '71. Experience born at Ipswitche 18th Decem'r, 1671; sone Samuel borne at Ipswitche 24th 9th, 1673; sone Roger borne att Ipswitche Jan'y 1st, 1675; sone Jno' born at Ipswitche Feb'y 25th, 1677; sone Richard borne att Ipswitche Octo'r 8th, 1679; Lucretia born att Salem Aug't 17th, 1681; Ebenezer born att Salem 9th 9th mo., 1683, and dyed 20th Jan'y, '88; Lucretia, their mother, wife of Rog'r Derby, deceased May 25th, 1689; son Charles dec'd att Canada ye 8th Octo'r, 1690.

George Deane, sone of Tho's Deane and Mary his wife borne 7th August, 1692.

John Deale, son of John Deal and Eliz'h his wife, was borne the 2d Novemb'r, 1685; Eliza Deale was borne ye first of March, 1687; Ledia Deale was borne the 24th of Feb'y, 1688; Mary Dale borne the 7th June, 1691; Samuel Dale was borne the 21st Novemb'r, 1694.

Mary Darland, daughter of Thomas Darling, and Joana his wife, was borne the 16th March, 1690-1; Margaret Darland, daughter as aforesaid, was borne June 4th, 1695.

Elizabeth Darby, daughter of Roger Darby and Elizabeth, his wife, borne at Salem March 10, 1692; Margaret borne August 14th, 1693; their daughter Ann borne the 10th December, 1695; their daughter Martha borne the 30th September, 1697.

Eliza, dau. of Zerubabell Endicott, borne by Mary his wife, and dyed 8th 7 mo. '58; son Zerubabell bo ye 11th 2d mo. '62; dau. Eliza, borne 12th 2d mo. '61, and dyed 1st 3d '62.

Ralph Elenwood maryd to Ellen Lyn 14th March, '55; their son Raulph borne 18th March, '57; son John borne 2d July, '59; Joseph borne 12th 3d, '62.

Edward Eastwick, his dau. Hester by Hester his wife, bo. 21st 2d, 1659: their son Edward borne ye 12th Aprill, 1662.

Samuell Ebborne and Susana Trask, married by Maj. Hathorne ye 19th 12th mo. 1663; their son Samll bo. 1st July, 1664; son William bo. 19th January, 1666; Susana borne ye first week in April, 1669, and deceased in August following.

Jonathan Eager maryed to Rebecka Hide by Ma'. Hathorne ye 27th 4th, '61 and their dau. Hanna borne ye 27th 5th '62; son Jonathan borne 25th January, '64.

Ralph Elenwood, his daughter Mary born by Ellen his wife, 3d 2d mo. '64; daughter Elizabeth borne 27th June, '66; Benjamin borne 1st 2d mo. '68; David borne 6th July, '70.

Richard Ellitt drowned 5th 12th mo., '62.

Mr. Zarubabell Endecott, his son Zarubabell borne by Mary his wife the 14th February, '61.

Clement English married to Mary Waters 27th August, 1667; their daughter Mary borne the 18th February, 1668-69; daughter Elizabeth borne the 19th February, 1670; Joseph borne ye 12th March, 1672.

John Elwell and Jane Durin were married the first October, 1667; their son John borne ye 14th day of October, 1668; dau. Jane borne 23d 11th mo., 1671.



## NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY.—No. 2.

BY MATTHEW A. STICKNEY.

Number one contains a short but connected account of the copper coinage of Great Britain, which were the only legal coins of her American Colonies, and were circulated here to some extent. Frequent quotations have been made from Snelling, Simon, Rueding and others. These works are costly and not common in this country, and short extracts from them may be considered worthy of a reprint. Almost all that the Records of Mass. contain respecting its currency was published by the Rev. J. B. Felt in 1839. Free use has been made of this work, and I would here acknowledge my obligations to him for rendering me every assistance in his power in making my collection of coins. Previous to the publication of his work on the Mass. Currency he called to see such coins as I had then collected, some of which he described in his work. When I began my collection very little, if any, attention was given to this pursuit, the importance of the study not being duly appreciated; whereas now coins are sought for by all classes and almost fabulous prices paid for them. I propose to continue these notes to the final separation of this country from England in 1776.

A history of the issue of coins made by the colonies and individuals from that period to the commencement of the operations of the U. S. Mint would be very voluminous. During the unfortunate reign of Charles I. by the order of the assembly of Kilkenny, 1642, copper pieces called St. Patrick's half-pence and farthings were struck by the Catholic adherents of Charles I., who were the firm friends of the House of Stuart. The half-pennies have on one side the figure of a king, with a radiant crown, kneeling and playing on the harp, and over the harp the imperial crown of England, of a different metal from that of the coin, that is, brass upon copper, or copper upon brass, with this inscription, *Floreat Rex*; reverse, the figure of St. Patrick mitred and standing with a crozier in his right hand and a leaf of trefoil

in his left, which he holds out to the people about him, and on his left side the arms of the city of Dublin, three castles, 2, 1, with this legend, *Ecce Grex*. The farthing has likewise on one side a king crowned and playing on the harp, a crown of copper or brass over it, and round it *Floreat Rex*; reverse, St. Patrick mitred, holding in his left hand a double or metropolitan cross, a church behind him, and stretching out his right hand over a parcel of serpents and other venomous creatures, as if driving them out of the church, alluding to the Protestants, called in the act which ordered their issue the puritanical, the malignant party; inscription, *Quiescat Plebs*. (The escaped unslaughtered Protestants.)

The success of Cromwell and the death of Charles I. caused an immediate stop of their issue and circulation, and I find no account of them till after the restoration of Charles II., who, with James II., would not have been likely to object to their being put again in circulation, as appears to have been the case in New Jersey in 1682.

The coins found here in circulation are much worn, and there is but little doubt that they were the Patrick coins brought over by Mark Newby, a parcel of these coins having remained in his family, and were brought from Ireland by him to New Jersey and legalized in 1682, as appears by Sam'l Smith's History of New Jersey, published 1765, page 153.

"That for the more convenient payment of small sums of money, Mark Newby's coppers, called Patrick's half-pence, should pass as half-pence current pay; provided he gave security to the speaker, for the use of the general assembly for the time being, that he, his executors and administrators, would change them on demand, and provided none were obliged to take more than five shillings in one payment."

Smith in a note says that these were Irish half-pence brought in by Newby.

The only other notice which I can find of them is in Drapier's Letters by Dean Swift, who enumerates them, among other copper

coins passing in Ireland previous to 1722, as the small St. Patrick and the great St. Patrick half-penny, which he says was larger than the half-penny coined in 1680, by virtue of the patent granted to Lord Dartmouth. West New Jersey, where these coins were made current, formed a part of the patent granted to the Duke of York, afterwards James II., 1664, he sold it to Lord Berkely, who sold it to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns, who, to satisfy his creditors, conveyed it in trust to William Penn, Garven Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, 1676; but very little progress had been made in its settlement until it fell into the hands of the Quakers. Penn caused it to be surveyed and sold to two companies of "friends" in Yorkshire and London, and others, who after having bought it again of the Indians, immediately proceeded to settle it; they divided it into ten proprietries for its government. Of the third or Irish tenth, W. Cooper and M. Newby were the agents; this was in 1682, and no other notice of Newby appears but of that date, when he was chosen councillor and a commissioner, and must have been a man of some note at that time. The Quakers who had received favor and encouragement from the Stuart family probably felt no disinclination to circulate the coin struck for their assistance. As the ship Kent was about to sail with her emigrants the sixteenth of the sixth month, O. S. 1677, King Charles II. pleasuring in his barge came alongside of her, and seeing a great many passengers and informed whence they were bound, asked if they were all Quakers and gave them his blessing. These emigrants to New Jersey were most of them men of good estates in England and may be considered as the founders of that colony.

NOTE.—These coins are rarely seen here, and for the fine specimens in my collection I was obliged to send to England. Wampum appears, as was the case in the other Colonies, the currency of New Jersey, before and after the circulation of St. Patrick's coins.

## MISCELLANEA.

*Superscription.*

TO MR. GEORGE CORWIN  
AT SALEM IN

NEW ENGLAND,  
Marcht. These,

London 22d March 1658.

MR. GEORGE CORWINE

I commend me unto you, theise few lines are only to acquaint you that yours dated 22d Decemb'r last I rec'd with — Barrell of Beaver, by Captaine Pearses Ship you shall have an account and also the pare'll of goods by him and the ship called the Prudent Mary as neare as I can flitt you, if there doe two ships come sooner yett I shipped yours upon the two latter because they are off greatest strength, and in so doing I have done ffor you as ffor myseife. Beaver is exceeding low at this time by reason of the warrs with Spain all trading is very dead only elke skins att present are iff good worth about 26 6d a pound I was offered to give long tyme to gett 56 6 a pound ffor your Beaver; when as formerly such would have given 56 a pound ready money, by Captaine Pearse I shall flurther trouble you and for present I shall rest

Your loving friend

WILLIAM PEAKE.

Sir Wm. Peake was Lord Mayor of London  
A. D. 1666.

### ANECDOTE OF REV. NICHOLAS NOYES,

One of the early pastors of the First Church in Salem, ordained Nov. 14, 1683, died Dec. 13, 1717, aged 70 years.

We recently had in our possession a patchwork quilt, entirely of silk, made by Elizabeth Barton, afterwards the wife of Samuel King; she was the daughter of Dr. John Barton, progenitor of the present family, a prominent physician and chirurgeon of Salem, whose professional skill was elicited in some of the witch trials of that period. Miss Barton when young, like some ladies of our day, was noted for her fancy needlework; and the results of her skill much interested the Rev. Mr. Noyes during his frequent visits at her father's house.

This quilt is constructed of small, triangular pieces of silk, of various colors, some of which are wrought with golden threads; the sections are folded into the required form upon pieces of paper; and as at that early day paper was an article that could not be wasted with impunity, not only were her friends taxed for choice remnants of the costly silken garments, but for paper also; accordingly Mr. Noyes placed at the disposal of the young lady a quantity of the "notes" which had been handed him and read from the pulpit on Sabbath days, asking the prayers of the great congregation; a practice common in our churches until recently, but now rapidly passing into disuse. Not only were these requests made in cases of affliction, but as expressions of thankfulness for a safe return from sea or other peril—recovery from sickness, &c. Occasionally some husband and wife would jointly "have up a note," as this custom was called, for "mercies received," which was understood as commemorative of the advent of a cherub and an enlargement of the family circle.

As this quilt was never put to use, or indeed quite completed, these evidences of social devotion still remained within the delicately stitched sections of the silken fabric. On one of these occasional visits Mr. Noyes composed upon this identical quilt the following riddle:

"I am bespangled and triangled,  
With divers colors on;  
If every one should go to his home  
I should be quite undone."

This anecdote has been frequently repeated in our hearing by an aged lady and relative of the family, now no more, who remembered it as related to her in her childhood by a venerable lady of the same family with whom she then resided.

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#### FROM THE TOWN RECORDS OF SALEM.

4th June 1683. "The Selectmen doe consent yt James Collins may set in the seate where Joseph Ware did set, and Joseph Phipeny jr

and Jno Ingerson jr may set in the seate where Mr. Hab Turner and John Pickman doe set in the meeting house."

Feb'y 26, 1699—1700. "Whereas Mr. Samuel Ingersoll's wife is now married and provided with a seat in ye meeting house, ye wife of Francis Downing is placed in ye seat where ye said Ingersoll formerly did sit, he to pay her ye same what it cost her."

"The widow of Mr. John Endecutt deed is seated in ye seat where Mrs. Whillinglytly, Mrs. Epes, &c., sett, wch is in ye women's second seat a pew below."

Feb'y 24, 1700—1. "Whereas the Treasurer has taken a bond of Mr. David Phippen of Boston and Jno Pickering of Salem for ye 30 pounds left by Mr. Cromwell towards a writing school, ye selectmen doe allow and approve of ye same."

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#### FROM THE TOWN RECORDS OF READING, MASS.

At Town Meeting held Feb'y 2, 1662—"It was further ordered the day and year above written: That every dog and bitch that comes to the meetinghouse after the present day, either on Lord's day or Lecture day, except it be their dogs that pay for a dog whipper, the owner of the dogs shall pay sixpence for every time they come to the meeting, that doth not pay for the dog whipper."

Then follow twenty-six names of "those men that will pay to the dog whipper for whipping the dogs out of the meeting house on the Lord's day."

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#### PRICES OF RARE COINS.

At a late sale of coins in London the following pieces were sold at the prices affixed—all of them were in fine condition:—

The series, four pieces, of the Lord Baltimore money brought \$440,75; as follows:—shilling \$20,25; sixpence \$21; groat \$24,50; penny, in copper, \$375. The Sommers Island's copper sold for \$145; New England half pen-



ny, copper, \$78.75; Carolina half penny, copper, \$22. It is understood that most of these came to the United States.

At a late sale of American coins in Philadelphia the following prices were realized:—

1797 half dollar \$15; 1838 flying eagle dollar \$20; 1831 half cent \$11 50; Annapolis shilling \$8 50; 1836 flying eagle dollar \$8 38; 1752 half cent \$7 50; 1794 dollar \$11; 1796 half dollar \$9 75; New Jersey cent—rare die—*E Pluribus*, \$10 50; 1852 gold dollar—*pat-tern*, \$15.

#### AMERICAN MEDALS.

A medal was struck in commemoration of the capitulation of Lieutenant General James Burgoyne and the British army under his command at Saratoga. The original gold piece, struck at Paris and valued at ten half Johannes, has on one side a fine likeness, in profile, of the American General, surrounded by the words HONORATIO GATES, DUCI STRENUO, and at the bottom, COMMITIA AMERICANA. On the reverse, Burgoyne, in the attitude of delivering his sword, occupies the foreground, about midway between the American and British armies, which are represented on the right and left, in the rear. Above are the words, SALUS REGIONUM SEPTENTRION, and beneath, HOSTE AD SARATOGAM IN DEDITIONE ACCEPTO, DIE XVII OCT. MDCCLXXVII. Some years since a few of these medals were executed in tin at the mint in Philadelphia and a select distribution of them was made.—*Alden's Epitaphs*, 1814.

“The Council of Revision of the State of New York,” by Alfred B. Street, 1 vol., pp. 573. Mr. Street is connected with the New York State Library, and has given a full and accurate account of the doings of the Council during the period of its existence, from 1777 to 1821.

The most interesting portion of the volume to the general reader, is the Biographical Sketches of the members of the Council—George Clinton, John Jay, Morgan Lewis, Daniel D. Tompkins, De Witt Clinton, Joseph C Yates, *Governors*. John Taylor, *Lt. Gov.* Rob't R. Livingston, James Kent, John Lansing, jr., *Chancellors*. Richard Morris, Robert Yates, Smith Thompson, Ambrose Spencer, *Chief Justices*. John Sloss Hobart, Egbert Benton, Jacob Radcliff, Henry B. Livingston, W. W. Van Ness, Jonas Platt, John Woodworth, *Justices of the Supreme Court*. The above names comprise all the members during the forty-four years of the continuance of the Council. The work can be obtained of T. O. H. Perry Burnham, 143 Washington St., Boston. J. C.

#### NOTICES OF THE FAMILY OF ROGER WILLIAMS,

[Copied from the Records of Providence, R. I., by Perley Derby.]

Mary, ye daughter of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Plymmouth ye first weeke in August, 1633, (so called )

Freeborne, ye daughter of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Salem in ye later end of Octob., 1635, (so called )

Providence, ye son of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Providence in ye latter end of ye month Septemb., 1638, (so called.)

Mercy, ye daughter of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Providence about ye 15th of July, 1640.

Daniell, ye son of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Providence about the 15th of February, 1641, (so called,) counting the yeare to begin about ye 25th of March, so yt he was borne aboue a year and a half after Mercy.

Joseph, ye son of Roger and Mary Williams his wife, was borne at Providence about ye beginning of ye 10th month, Decem'r, 1643, (so called.)

# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

## OF THE

# ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.]

April, 1860.

[No. 2.

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL OF GEORGE JACOBS, FOR WITCHCRAFT.

BY LINCOLN R. STONE.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, February 24, 1859.

The Historical Department of the Institute has recently received from Messrs. Ripley and Charles A. Ropes a valuable and interesting historical painting—"The Trial of George Jacobs of Salem Village for Witchcraft." It occupies a prominent position over the landing of the main stairway to the second story of Plummer Hall. This important gift deserves a more extended notice than the simple acknowledgment of it among the donations to that department. As one of the curators of the Historical department, the duty has been assigned to me of presenting this sketch of the trial and execution of Jacobs.

For many of my facts I am indebted to S. P. Fowler, Esq., of Danversport, who has investigated the subject very fully and communicated several papers in relation to it to the Institute. I have also used Upham's Lectures upon Witchcraft, and examined Hale's "Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft" and "Calef's Wonders of the Invisible World."

Before speaking at once of the Trial of Jacobs, I will, at the risk of trespassing upon your patience and repeating what is a very threadbare and old story to most, if not all,

who may hear me, give a slight account of the sudden rise and equally sudden fall of Witchcraft in our vicinity.

In the 16th and 17th centuries trials for witchcraft were frequent in England, Scotland, Ireland and France, and many suffered in all those countries. In Scotland, as late as 1720 or thereabouts, a person, an old, idiotic woman, was hanged for a witch. Hundreds are said to have been burnt at the stake, the innocent as well as insane, young as well as old, neither sex nor condition being any safeguard.

England was not behind Scotland in the punishment of reputed witches, and, during the Long Parliament alone, about three thousand people were executed for witchcraft—about thirty thousand in all! [Household Words, Oct. 1857, p. 117.

The testimony, and the actions and appearances of the witnesses in their courts were very similar to those in our courts. The last execution in England was in 1716, and it was not till the middle of the year 1751 that the Witch Laws were abolished. The immediate cause of the abolition was the trial of three men for the murder of a suspected witch and the attempted murder of another. One of the men was executed, and the rabble cursed the authorities and made a riot at the gallows, praising the man for the murder, having rid the parish of a malignant witch, and holding him up as deserving of reward, not "punishment."

In France the same horrible barbarity was shown, and Mr. Hale, in his enquiry, states that 900 were put to death, adding, "And in some other places the like; so that New England is not the only place circumvented by the wiles of the wicked and wisely Serpent in this kind."

Very early in the settlement of New England, as early as 1646, several persons had been charged with and suffered for witchcraft in the Governments of Massachusetts, New Haven, or Stratford, and Connecticut colonies, (Hale p. 16-17) the first a woman of Charlestown, in 1647 or '48, who was executed, and on the day of the execution she was visited by Mr. Hale and he took great pains to bring her to confession and repentance. But she constantly professed herself innocent of that crime, and on being asked to consider if God did not bring this punishment upon her for some other crime, as stealing, she answered, "she had stolen something, but it was long since, and she had repented of it, and there was Grace enough in Christ to pardon that long ago; but as for Witchcraft, she was wholly free from it;" and so she said until her death.

Some time after this a woman of Dorchester suffered; another in Cambridge, also in Boston, 1656, Hartford; and, some 16 years before the panic in Salem, a woman of Newbury was tried and found guilty, but the Governor, Simon Bradstreet, Esq., reprieved her. The next that suffered was an Irish woman of Boston, suspected to bewitch John Goodwin's children, who, upon her trial, did in Irish (as was testified by the interpreters) "confess herself and was condemned out of her own mouth;" and Mr. Hale quotes Luke 19, 22, ("Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee.")

In the last of February, in the year 1692, in the family of Rev. Mr. Parris, in Salem Village, commenced "the great and awful tragedy" which spread a terror over all New England. The persons afflicted were a daughter, nine years of age, and a niece of Mr. Parris, and a young female of the neighborhood. They at first complained of an Indian woman in

the family of Mr. Parris, and she was committed to prison and was finally sold for fees. Upon her release she declared "that her master had beat her and other ways abused her to make her confess and accuse (such as he called) her Sister Witches, and whatsoever she had said by way of confessing or accusing others was the effect of such usage."

In March, the 2d, goodwife Corey was examined by the magistrates, in the meeting-house at the village; this being, I think, the first public examination or trial. The examinations generally took place, as is well known, at the house on the corner of North and Essex streets, at that time the residence of Jonathan Corwin, Esq., acting Magistrate. His colleague was John Hathorne, Esq. "The 31st day of March was set apart as a day of solemn humiliation at Salem. But the delusion spread and the number of the accused was very large."

To meet the extraordinary crisis a special commission was issued to seven of the principal citizens and jurists of the colony, constituting them a court of Oyer and Terminer, to try the accused persons at Salem. These were the Lieut. Governor, Mr. Stoughton, Major Saltonstall, Major Richards, Major Gedney, Mr. Wait Winthrop, Capt. Sewall and Mr. Sargent. They assembled by appointment at the Court House in Salem on the 2d of June, 1692. The first victim was executed on the 10th of June, Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. The Court sat again on the 30th of June, and five more women were hanged on the 19th of July. The Court sat again Aug. 5, and on the 19th of the same month four men and one woman were hanged. On the 22d of September two men and six women were hanged. Eight more were condemned, but this was the last execution. One man, Giles Corey, refusing to be tried was pressed to death, agreeably to the provisions of the English law.

In January, 1692-3, a reprieve was granted to those condemned to be hung, which so moved the chief judge, Stoughton, that he said to this effect:—"We were in a way to have cleared the land of them; who it is that obstructs the



cause of justice I know not; the Lord be merciful to the country;" and so went off the bench and came no more into that court.

Afterwards the Jury that tried the cases signed and circulated an humble and solemn declaration of regret for the part they had borne in the trials, acknowledging their errors and fears that they had been deluded and mistaken; asking forgiveness of God for Christ's sake; concluding: "We do humbly ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended; and do declare according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again on such grounds for the whole world; praying you to accept of this in way of satisfaction for our offence, and that you would bless the inheritance of the Lord, that He may be entreated for the land."

Judge Sewall annually observed a day of humiliation and prayer during the remainder of his life, to show his repentance and sorrow for the part he took in the trials. On the day of the general Fast, in the winter of 1696-7, he rose in his place in the Old South Church in Boston, and in presence of the assembly handed up to the pulpit a written confession, acknowledging the error into which he had been led, praying for forgiveness of God and His people, with a request to all the congregation to unite with him in supplication, that it might not bring down the displeasure of the Most High upon his country, his family or himself.

Thus ended the tragedy. The number of those who suffered death was twenty—nineteen by hanging, one by pressing to death; eight were condemned to death but escaped; fifty-five escaped by confessing themselves guilty; one hundred and fifty were in prison and more than two hundred were accused.

But to return to the Trial of George Jacobs, which took place on the 6th of August, 1692.

On the 12th of May, 1692, George Jacobs, sen., of Salem Village, was committed to Boston jail for witchcraft, and remained there six weeks and a few days. On the fifth day of August, the same year at a Court of Oyer and

Terminer held at Salem, he was tried with five others—the Rev. Geo. Burroughs, a former minister of Salem Village, John Proctor and his wife Elizabeth, John Willard and Martha Carrier of Andover, who were all brought in by the jury guilty of the crime of Witchcraft.

They were all executed on the nineteenth of August, with the exception of Elizabeth Proctor, on Gallows Hill in Salem.

The witnesses in these trials were Margaret Jacobs, grand-daughter of George Jacobs, Mary Wolcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis and Mary Warren.

It is probable that Margaret Jacobs testified against her grandfather and Mr. Burroughs to save her own life, for she acknowledged to Mr. B., the day before the execution, that she had belied him and begged his forgiveness, who not only forgave her, but also prayed with and for her. The day after their execution she wrote the following letter to her father, George Jacobs, jr.:

From the dungeon in Salem Prison.

AUGUST 20TH, 1692.

HONOURED FATHER :—After my humble duty remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good health, as blessed be God I enjoy, though in abundance of affliction, being close confined here in a loathsome dungeon; the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to death, by means of the afflicted persons, my grandfather having suffered already, and all his estate seized for the king. The reason of my confinement is this: I having through the magistrates' threatenings, and my own vile and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my conscience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my soul, (the Lord pardon me for it!) but oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear? But, blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my sins, but in mercy, I hope, to my soul, would not suffer me to keep it any longer; but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates, who would not believe me, but it is their pleasure to put me in here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear Father, let me beg your prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind love to you and to uncle

viz.: D. A. So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your dutiful daughter.

MARGARET JACOBS.

At the time appointed for her trial she had an abscess in her head, which caused her escape. [Calef pp. 224, 225.] She would have been hung for her recantation as some others were. "Her Father (George Jacobs, jr.) was likewise accused, but fled. Her mother, a crazy, sickly woman, was likewise accused and imprisoned; she had four small children with her in the house, when the officer came and persuaded her to go with him, telling her she would speedily return; when she came into the presence of the afflicted they said they did not know her, but at length one of them saying, 'Don't you know Jacobs, the old witch?' they all fell down into Fits and accused her; she was then sent to Prison and lay there ten months, and the neighbors in the mean time kept the children from starving." [Neal's History of New England, p. 147.]

Mr. Jacobs is said to have been a very respectable farmer, in comfortable circumstances and quite aged; and is thought by Mr. Fowler to have been lame, using two canes to assist him in walking—the afflicted accusing him of striking them with his stick. He left several children, George, Anne and Margaret, and his wife survived him. He left a will written before his execution. Calef says: [pp. 223-4.]

"Old Jacobs being Condemned, the sheriff (Corwin) and officers, came and seized all he had; his wife had her wedding ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy provisions of the sheriff, such as he had taken, towards her own support, which, not being sufficient, the neighbors in charity relieved her."

Mr. Fowler has also given me a copy of the losses sustained to the estate by the seizure of the sheriff, copied from the records of the Commonwealth, as follows:—

AN ACCOUNT of what was seized and taken away from the estate of George Jacobs, sen., Late of Salem, dec'd, by Sheriff Corwin and his assistants, in the year 1692:—

fiene Cows, faire large Cattle, 3 pounds pr Cow,	£15 0 0
Eight Loads of English Hay taken out of ye Barn, 35 shil. pr Load,	14 0 0
A parcel of Apples yt made 24 barils Cider, to halves, viz.: 12 barils Cider, 8 shil. pr baril,	4 16 0
60 bushels of Indian Corn, 2 shil. 6d. pr bush,	7 10 0
A Mare,	2 0 0
2 good feather beds and furniture, Rugs, blankets, Sheets, bouldsters and pillows,	10 0 0
2 brass kittles, lost,	6 0 0
Money, 12 shillings, a Large <i>Gould thumb Ring</i> , 20 shillings,	1 12 0
fiene swine,	3 15 0
a quantity of pewter which I cannot exactly know ye worth—perhaps	3 0 0
besides abundance of small things, meat in ye house, fowls, chairs, and other things took clear away, aboue	12 0 0
	£79 13 0

The Jacobs place is in Danvers Port, near the Iron Foundry, on the right going to Danvers, and upon it still live two men of the same name, both born in the old house, which is still standing.

I have lately visited the place, but can find nothing of family tradition except that the grave is still pointed out where Geo. Jacobs is supposed to have been buried; and a few years ago Matthew Hooper, Esq., bought the land containing it, and on opening the grave found the bones of an old person with locket enclosing hair. The bones were carefully re-interred, and this is the only grave that can be pointed out with any degree of certainty as belonging to the victims of the strange delusion of 1692.

Would it not be well for the Institute to erect some tablet to mark the spot?

In connexion with the above, it may not be inappropriate to insert the certified copy of all the proceedings of this trial from the records in the office of the clerk of the courts for this county—which has been copied and presented to the archives of the Institute by Ira J. Patch of this city.

## WARRANT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

To The Constables in Salem.

You are in theire Majests names hereby required to apprehend and forthwith bring before vs George Jacobs Senr of Salem And Margaret Jacobs, the daughter of George Jacobs Junr of Salem, Singlewoman, Who stand accused of high suspition of sundry acts of witchcraft by them both Committed on sundry persons in Salem to theire great wrong and Injury and hereof faile not. (Dated Salem, May 10th, 1692.)

JOHN HATHORNE, }  
JONATHAN CORWIN, } Assists.

To constable Joseph Neale.

(May ye 10th, 1692.) Then I apprehended the Bodyes of George Jacobs Senr and Margaret Jacobs, daughter of George Jacobs Junr, Both of Salem, According to the Tenor of the Aboue warrant p me.

(JOSEPH NEALE Constable In Salem.)

## COMPLAINT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Salem, May the 14th, 1692.

Lt Nathaniell Ingersoll and Sergt Thomas Putnam, yeoman, both of Salem Village, personally appeared before vs and made complaint in behalfe of theire Majests against Daniell Andrew of Salem Village Bricklayer, George Jacobs Junr of Salem Village, husbandman, And ——— Jacobs the wife of said George Jacobs, ——— Buckley the wife of Wm Buckley of Salem Village cordwayner, and Mary Withridge of Salem Village, daughter of said Buckley, ——— Hart the wife of Isaac Hart of Lynn Husbandman, Thomas flarrer senr of Lynn husbandman, Elizabeth Colson of Reding singlewoman, And Bethia Carter of onburne, daufter of Widdow Carter of sd Towne for S, Suspition of Sundry Acts of witchcrafts by them Committed or Donne lately on the body of Ann Putnam, Marcy Lewis, Mary Walcott and Abigail Williams and others of Salem Village, whereby much hurt is done to their bodyes, therefore Craues Justice.

NATHANIEL INGERSOLL,  
THOMAS PUTNAM.

## INDICTMENT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

*Anno Regis et Reginee Willm et Marice nuncce Anglice ytt Quarto.*

Essex: ss.,

(The Jurors for our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen pesents, That George Jacobs Senr of Salem in ye County of Essex, the 11th day of May in the fourth Year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, ffrance and Ireland King and Queen Defendr of the flaitth &c., and Divers other Dayes and times as well before as after certaine Detestable Arts called Witchcrafts and sorceries Wickedly and feloniously hath vsed Practised and Exercised at and within the Township of Salem in the county of Essex aforesaid, in upon and agt one Marcy Lewis of Salem village singlewoman, by which said Wicked arts the said Marcy Lewis the 11th Day of May in the fourth year abovesaid and Divers other Dayes and times as well before as after was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, wasted and Tormented and also for sundry other acts of witchcraft by said George Jacobs Committed and Done before and since that time agt the Peace of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen their Crowne and Dignity and agt the forme of the Statutes in that Case made and provided.

Witnesses { Marcy Lewis, Eliz. Hubbard,  
Mary Walcott, Sarah Churchill.

## EXAMINATION OF GEO. JACOBS SR.

(The Examination of Geo. Jacobs Senr., 10 May, 1692.

Here are them that accuse you of acts of Witchcraft.

Well, let us hear who are they and what are they.

Abigail Williams. Jacobs laught.

Because I am falsely accused. Your worships all of you do you think this is true?

Yes, what do you think?

I never did it.

Who did it.



Don't ask me.

Why should we not ask you? Sarah Churchwell accuseth you, there she is.

I am as innocent as the Child born to-night. I have lived 33 yeare here in Salem.

What then?

If you can prove that I am guilty I will lye under it.

Sarah Churchwell said last night I was afflicted at Deacon Ingersoll's and Mary Walcott said it was a man with 2 staves, it was my master.

Pray do not accuse me. I am as clear as your worships—you must do right judgments.

What book did he bring you Sarah?

The same that the other woman brought.

The Devill can go in any shape.

Did he not he appear on the other side of the river and hurt you—did not you see him?

Yes he did.

Look there, she accuseth you to your face, she chargeth you that you hurt her twice. Is it not true?

What would you have me say? I never wronged no man in word nor deed.

Here are 3 evidences.

You tax me for a wizzard, you may as well tax me for a buzard. I have done no harm.

Is it no harm to afflict these?

I never did it.

But how comes it to be in your appearance?

The Devil can take any likeness.

Not without their consent.

Please your worship it is untrue. I never showed the book. I am silly about these things as the child born last night.

That is your saying; you argue you have lived so long; but what then Cain might live long before he killed Abel, and you might live long before the Devill had so prevailed on you.

Christ hath suffered 3 times for me.

What three times.

He suffered the crosse and Gall.

You had as good confesse (said Sarah Churchwell) if you are guilty.

Have you heard that I have any witchcraft?

I know you live a wicked life.

Let her make it out.

Doth he ever pray in his family?

Not unless by himself.

Why do you not pray in your family?

I cannot read.

Well, but you may pray for all that. Can you say the Lord's prayer? Let us hear you.

He might in severall parts of it and could not repeat it right after Mary Mialls.

Sarah Churchwell, when you wrote in the book you was showed your master's name you said.

Yes, Sir.

If she say so, if you do not know it what will you say?

But she saw you or your likeness tempt her to write.

One in my likeness, the Devil may present my likeness.

Were you not frighted Sarah Churchwell when the representation of your master came to you?

Yes.

Well! burn me, or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ. I know nothing of it.

Do you know nothing of getting your son George and his daughter Margaret to signe?

No, nothing at all.

The 2d Examination of said George Jacobs, 11 May, 1692.

The bewitched fell into most greivous fits and screkings when he came in.

Is this the man that hurts you?

Abig. Williams cryed out this is the man and fell into a violent fit.

Ann Putnam said this is the man, and he hurts and brings the book to her and would have her write in the book and she should be as well as his Granddaughter.

Merey Lewis, is this the man?

This is the man, (after much interruption by fits,) he almost kills me.

Eliz. Hubbard said this man never hurt her till to-day he came upon the Table.

Mary Walcot, is this the man?

After much interruptions by fits she said this is the man; he used to come with two staves and beat her with one of them.

What do you say, are you not a witch?

No, I know it not, if I were to dye presently.

Mercy Lewis went to come near him but fell into great fits.

Mercy Lewis testimony read. What do you say to this?

Why it is false. I know not of it any more than the child that was born to-night.

Ann Putnam said yes, you told me so, that you had been so this 40 yeares.

Ann Putnam and Abigail Williams had each of them a pin stuck in their hands and they said it was this old Jacobs.

Abigail Williams Testimony read.

Are not you the man that made disturbance at a Lecture in Salem?

No great disturbance. Do you think I use witchcraft?

Yes, indeed.

No, I use none of them.

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ABIGL WILLIAMS V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

The Testimony of (Abigail Williams) witnesseth and (saith that she hath several times seen and been very much afflicted by the Apparition of Geo. Jacobs Senr of Salem at and before the 11 May, 1692.)

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SUMMONS TO WITNESSES V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Wm. and Mary by ye Grace of God of England &c., King and Queen &c.

To ye Sheriff of Essex or Deputy or Constables of Salem, Greeting:

Wee command you to Warn and give notice vnto Joseph flint, John Waters Senr, John Doritch, Corpoll John ffoster, Capt Puttman and Rebecca his wife, that they and Euery of them be and appear forthwith at the Court of Oyer and Terminer holden at Salem, there to Testifie ye truth to ye best of your knowledge on certain Indictments Exhibited against

George Jacobs Senr; hereof make return, fail not. Dated in Salem (Augt 4th, 1692,) and in the fourth year of our Reigne.

L. S.

STEPHEN SEWALL Clerk.

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GEO. HERRICK V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

(The Testimony of George Herrick, aged thirty-four yeares or theirabouts, Testifyeth and Saith that some time in May last by order of their Majesties Justices I went to the Prison in Salem to search George Jacobs Senr, and likewise William Dounton the Goale Keeper and Joseph Neal constable was in presenee and concerned with mee in the search, where under ye sd Jacobs his Right sholder wee found a tett about a quarter of an inch longue or better with a sharpe point Drupeing downwards, so that I took a pinn from sd Dounton and Run it through tke sd tett but there was neither watter blood nor corruption nor any other matter and so we make Returne.

William Dounton testifyeth the aboue written.

and wee farther Testify and say yt sd Jacobs was not in the least senceable in what wee had done, for after I had made Returne to the maiestrates and Returned I tould ye sd Jacobs. And he knew nothing before. (Sworne in Court Augt 4, '92.)

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MARY WARREN V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Mary Warin afirmed, before ye Jury of Inquest, that George Jacobs senr has afflicted her sd Warin and beat her with his staffe, he or his Apperition; sd warin ses she has seen sd Jacobs or Apparition afflict Mary Walcot and beat her with his staffe: she sayed also that sd Jacobs has afflicte Ann Putnam: sd warin verily thinks sd George Jacobs is a wizard, Aug. 4, 1692, upon her oath.

Jurat in Curia.

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ELIZ'H HUBBARD V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Elizabeth Hubbard Affirmed to ye Jury of

Inquest that she hath seen George Jacobs Senr afflict Mary Walcot, Ann Putnam and Abigail Williams: and sd Jacobs or his Apparition has sorely afflicted her said Eliz. Hubbard, Aug. 4, 1692, upon her oath.

Jurat in Curia.

MARY WALCOT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Mary Walcot Affirmed before ye Jury of Inquest that she hath seen George Jacobs Senr afflict Mary Warin and Ann Putnam and Elizabeth Hubbard, and sd Jacobs or his Apperition hath hurt her sd Mary Walcot and beat her with his staffe, Augt 4, '92, upon her oath sd Walcot sd she verily beleevd sd Jacobs is a wizard, and that on ye day and time of sd Jacobs his examination he afflicted her and Ann Putnam and Elizabeth Hubbard.

Jurat in Curia.

SARAH CHURCHWELL V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

Sarah Churchwell Affirmed to ye Jury of Inquest that George Jacobs Senr or his Apperition has afflicted her said churchell by choaking of her and she verily beleeves that sd Jacobs did it by witchcraft.

Jurat in Curia.

(Sarah Vibber made oath yt she saw him yts George Jacobs at ye Gallows when Goody Olliver was executed and ye blackman help him up and yt she saw hsm afflict Mary Walcott and beat her with his staffe.

Jurat in Curia.

JOHN DORITCH V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

John Doritch, aged 16 years or thereabouts, Testifieth and saith, That John Small and his wife Anne, both deceased and formerly of the Towne of Salem, doth both appear to this Deponent and told him that they would tare him to peeces if he did not goe and Declare to Mr. Hathorn that George Jacobs Senior Did kill

them, and Likewise that Mary Warrens mother did appeare to this Deponent this day with a white man and told him that woodwife Parker and Oliver did kill her, and Likewise Core Proctor and his wife Sarah Proctor, Joseph Proctor and John Proctor did all afflict this deponent and do continually every day sence he hath begun to be afflicted, and would have him this deponent to sett his hand to a Booke but this deponent told them he would not: Likewise Phillip English and his wife Mary doth appear to this deponent and afflict him and all the abovesd persons Thretten to tare this deponent in peeces if he dothe not signe to a Booke: Likewise Goodwife Pease and Hobbs and her daughter Abigail doth Afflict him and thretten the same: and Likewise a woman appeares to this deponent who lives at Boston at ye Vper end of the Towne, whose name is Mary: she goes in black clothes: hath but one Eye: with a Crooked Neck, and she saith there is none in Boston like her, she did afflict this deponent, but saith she will not any more: nor tell him her name.)

Jurat all relating to ye prisoner at ye Barr.

MERCY LEWIS V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

The deposition of Mircy Lewes, who testifieth and saith that on 20th April, 1692, att or about midnight there appered to me the apperisition of an old, very gray headed man and tould me that his name was George Jacobs and that he had had two wires and he did torter me and beate me with a stick which he had in his hand and urged me to writ in his book which I refused to doe, and so he hath continued cuer sence, by times coming sumtimes with two stickes in his hands to afflict me, still tempting me to writ in his book, but most dredful he fell upon me and did tortor me on the 9th of May, at eueng after I came whom from the Examination of his maid: threatening to kill me yt night if I would not writ in his book, because I did witness against his maid and persuaded her to confess, but because I



would not yeald to his hellish tentations he did tortor me most cruelly by beating me with the two sticks which he had in his hands and almost redy to putt all my bones out of joynt tell my strenth and hartt was Redy to fail, but being upheld by an Almighty hand and incouraged by them that stood by I endured his tortors that night. the 10th May he againe sett upon me and afflicted me most grievously a great many times in the day still urging me to writ in his book, but att euening he againe tortored me most grievously by pinching and beating me black and blue and threatening to kill me if I would not writ in his book but I tould him I would not writ in his book tho he did kill me and tare me all to pieces, then he profered to give me gold and many signe things if I would writ in his book, but I tould him I would not writ in his book if he would give me all the world, then again he did tortor me most grievously but at last went away from me, also on the 15th May, 1692, being the day of the Examination of George Jacobs, then I saw that it was that very man that tould me his name was George Jacobs and he did also most dreadfully torment me almost redy to kill me and I verily beleue in my hart that George

Jacobs is a most dreadfull wizzard and that he hath very often afflicted and tormented me by his acts of witchcraft.)

Merery Lewis declared to ye Jury of Inquest that ye aboue written evidence truth.

JOSEPH FLINT V. GEO. JACOBS SR.

The Deposicon of Joseph Flintt, aged 30 yeares, Saith yt being at ye house of Mr. Thomas Beadles on ye 11th of May, 1692, when ye Majestrates were Examining George Jacobs his Grandaughter and understanding that she had confessed I this deponent went into ye other room where George Jacobs was and Told him yt his Grandaughter had confessed, he asked me what she had confessed I told him yt she confesst she was a witch or that she had set her hand to ye Deuils booke. Whereupon sd Jacobs said that she was not charged not to confess and then I asked him who charged her not to confess, he then made a stop and at last said yt if she were Innocent and yet Confesst she would be accessory to her owne death.

JOSEPH (marke) FFLINTT.

Jurat in Curia.

# AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRIVATE ARMED VESSELS BELONGING TO SALEM MASS. DURING THE WAR OF 1812..

PREPARED BY WILLIAM LEAVITT.

Names.	Class.	Tons.	Guns.	Weight of Metal.	Men.	Where Built.	When Built.	Builder.	Commander.	Captured.
Active.	sch	20	2	4 pounders	25	Salem	1810		Benj. Patterson	Sept. 1812
Alexander	ship	330	12 6	6 9 }	140	Baltimore	1808		{ Tim. Wellman, jr B Crowninshield	May 19 1813
Alfred	{ ship brig	200	16	6	110	Salem	1805	David Magoun	{ Step'n Williams Philip Bessom	Feb 1814
America	ship	350	20	9	150	Salem	1804	Retiah Becket	{ Joseph Ropes John Kehew Jas. W. Chever	sold at Auction June 1831
Bl'k Vomit	boat	5	0	muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	John Upton	sold
Buckskin	sch	60	1 4	12-pounders	50	Baltimore	1808		Bray	Sept. 1812
Cadet	sch	47	2 2	6 3 }	40	Boston	1814		{ William Calley Josiah Elwell	
Castigator	launch	10	1	6 car'nade	20	Salem	1813	Webb & Beadle	{ Ste'n. G. Clarke Spencer Hall	
Cossack	sch	48	1	18 pounders	45	Salem	1813	Webb & Beadle	John Upton	Mch 1813

Names.	Class.	Tons.	Guns.	Weight of Metal.	Men.	Where Built.	When Built.	Builder.	Commander.	Captured.
Dart	sch	40	2	4	40	Salem	1800		{ William Davis T. Symonds John Green Abner Poland	
Diomedes	sch	170	3	12	100	New York	1814		J Crowninshield	May 1814
Dolphin	sch	140	1	12	70	Baltimore			Jacob Endicott	Sept 1812
Enterprise	sch	200	4	18	100	Salem	1812	Barker & Magoun	John R Morgan	May 1813
Fair Trader	sch	40	1	12	35	New York	1809		John R. Morgan	Sept 1812
Fame	sch	30	2	6	30	Essex	1804		{ Webb, Upton, Po- land, Green, Chap- man & Evans	
Frolic	sch	110	1	24 } 4 6 }	60	Salem	1813		{ Nathan Green J B H Odiorne	Feb 1812
Gallinipper	sch	25	2	6	30	Eng. built	1807		{ Tim. Wellman Andrew Tucker	May 1813 and burnt
Gen Putnam	sch	150	2	32 } 1 18 car. } 1 9 }	60	Boston	1814		John Evans	Nov 1814
Gen Stark	sch	64	3	12 car'nade	50	Salem	1813	Barker & Magoun	{ John Evans William Rice	July 1813
Grand Turk	brg	310	18	9-pound'rs	150	Wiscasset Me.	1812		{ Holten J. Breed Nathan Green	
Growler	sch	172	1	24 } 14 6 }	105	Baltimore	1812	Under sup't'dance Capt. J. J. Knapp	{ Sam'l B. Graves Nath'l Lindsey	Aug 1813
Helen	sch	75	4	6	70	Braintree	1792		John Upton	
Holkar	boat	6	0	muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Samuel Lamson	1814
Jefferson	sloop	14	1	4 car'nade	20	Salem	1801	Christ'er Turner	{ John Kehew, J H Downie, S. Giles, T. Wellman, jr.	
John	ship	200	16	6-pound'rs	105	Salem	1794	Enos Briggs	{ James Fairfield B Crowninshield	Feb 1813
John & Geo	sch	57	1	12 } 2 6 }	50	New York	1810		John Sinclair, jr	Nov 1812
Lizard	sch	30	2	6	30	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Samuel Loring	1814
Montgom'y	brig	190	10	6 } 2 18 }	100	Medford	1812		{ Holten J. Breed Benj Upton	May 1813
Orion	boat	5	0	muskets	20	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	{ Joseph Strout John Upton	
Owl	boat	6	0	muskets	14	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	{ Jonathan Blythe William Duncan	Apr 1813
Phoenix	sch	20	1	6-pounders	25	Salem	1814	William Rowell	Stephenson Richards	
Polly	sloop	96	1	12 } 8 6 }	60	Poughkepsie, N. Y.	1800		{ Sam'l C. Hardy Robert Evans	Apr 1814
Recovery	sch	20	2	3	20	Salem	1810		Joseph Peele	1812
Regulator	sch	75	1	24 } 2 6 }	50	New York	1808		James Mansfield	Sept 1812
Revenge	sch	57	1	12 } 2 6 }	50	New York	1810		John Sinclair, jr	Nov 1812
Scorpion	sloop	14	1	4	20	Salem	1812	Wm. Huliss	{ Stephenson Richards Thomas Osborne	
Swift	sch	27	1	6	25	Eng, built	1808		Harvey Choate	
Swiftsure	launch	10	1	4	20	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	{ Stephen Clarke Charles Berry	
Terrible	boat	5	0	muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	{ James Thomas John Groene	
Viper	sch	14	1	4-pounders	20	Salem	1814	Leach & Teague	Joseph Preston	
Wasp	sloop	30	2	6	35	Salem	1813	William Hulin	Ernest A. Ervin	June 1817

Of these vessels, the ship America was sold at auction, June, 1831, and broken up. The boat Black Vomit was sold. The sch'r Cadet was sold at auction, March 18, 1815. The launch Castigator was wrecked in Salem harbor, Sept. 23, 1815. Sch Dart, lost in the Bay

of Fundy, Dec. 11, 1812. *Sch Fame*, lost on Mud Island, Bay of Fundy, April, 1814. Brig *Grand Turk*, sold to W. Gray, of Boston, May 30, 1815. *Sch'r Helen*, sold. Sloop *Jefferson*, sold, and went to Gloucester for a fisherman. Boat *Orion*, sold. *Sch'r Phoenix*, sold by auction, March 4, 1815, for a pilot boat. Sloop *Scorpion*, sold in Boston, 1815. *Sch'r Swift*, sold by auction, March 4, 1815. Launch *Swiftsure*, sold by auction, April 13, 1814. Boat *Terrible*, sold. *Sch'r Viper*, sold by auction, June 21, 1815.

The ship *Alfred* was built on the Neck, between the gate and Col. John Hathorne's house, in 1805, by David Magoun, for Joseph White, Esq. At Mr. White's request, the rudder was hung before launching, against the remonstrance of Mr. Magoun, and as the vessel left the ways, the rudder struck the bottom and was unhung, and fell across the stern post, stopping her progress entirely, and she lay aground, one tide; when she floated again, it was perceived that she was "hogged." On bringing her up to the wharf, large blocks of wood were placed under her "fore foot" and "stern post," thus bringing her whole weight to bear upon the two extremities, and her centre settled down, and became straight again, and she afterwards proved herself to be a staunch and strong vessel, and a very fast sailer. Her masts were short, and her spars light; she carried but one square sail on her mizen mast, and that was a mizen topsail; she did not sail so well, when fitted for a privateer, and returned to port with the loss of her three topmasts; she was afterwards altered into a brig, but was again dismasted, probably she was over-masted and over-sparred, for it was observed each time that she was dismasted, that she sailed better under jury masts, than she did when full rigged. Notwithstanding all her accidents, she was a good cruiser, and was commanded by two as fine men as ever stepped on board a vessel.

The ship *America* was built near the head of India wharf (now Phillips') in 1804, by

Retiah Becket, who was assisted in building her by a Mr. Glytton, a Scotchman, a man of great mechanical genius and education, and an excellent draftsman, who resided in Beverly. She was built for George Crowninshield and Sons, and was fitted for a Privateer in July and August 1812; her upper deck was taken off, and her sides planked up, solid like the sides of a sloop of war; she was fitted for a Privateer under the direction of George Crowninshield, jr., and the perfect manner of her preparation and equipment proved him to have been a thorough bred seaman.

In July, 1818, one half of her was sold for \$4000. After her arrival from her last cruise in 1815, she lay at Crowninshield's wharf until June 1831, nearly 16 years—during which time, she had been repaired, coppered, and painted, with the expectation of selling her to go to South America, but for some unknown reason she was not sold, and she lay at the wharf until she was unseaworthy.

She was the fastest sailing vessel afloat during the war of 1812, and the most fortunate, and was always most ably commanded. She was sold June 1831 at auction, and broken up, being 27 years old.

List of the Officers of the private armed ship *America* on her first cruise, commenced at Salem, Sept. 7, 1812, and ended at Salem, Jan. 7, 1813.

Joseph Ropes, Commander,	
John Kehew,	1st Lieut.
Samuel Briggs,	2d "
Benjamin Daniels,	3d "
Nathaniel Perry, Sailing Master.	
Thomas Hills, Surgeon.	
John Bailey, Captain of Marines.	
Henry Tibbets,	Prize Master.
John Harris,	" "
Anthony D. Caulfield,	" "
Joseph Valpey,	" "
John Proctor,	" "
Archibald S. Dennis,	" "
James Chever Jr,	" "
Joseph Dixon, Prize Master.	
Thorndike Proctor, Purser.	
Thomas Slueman, Gunner.	

List of the Officers of the private armed ship *America* on her third cruise, commenced



at Bath, Dec. 3, 1813, and ended at Portsmouth, March 31st, 1814.

James Chever Jr.,	Commander.
Ebenezer Meacom,	1st Lieut.
Benjamin Upton,	2    "
Nathan Greene,	3    "
James Brace,	Sailing Master.
William C. Page,	Surgeon.
Jonathan Browne,	Capt. of Marines.
Thorndike Proctor,	Purser.
Benjamin Wadden,	Gunner.
Louis Lawrence,	Gunner's mate.
William C. Dean,	Prize Master.
Nathaniel Cleaves,	"    "
John Hooper,	"    "
John Harris,	"    "
James Hall,	"    "
Anthony D. Cauldfield,	"    "

List of Officers of the private armed ship America on her Fourth Cruise, commenced at Salem, November, 1814, and ended at Salem, April 8, 1815.

James Chever, Jr.,	Commander.
Benjamin Upton,	1st Lieut.
Holten J. Breed,	2    "
Charles Treadwell,	3    "
James Brace,	Sailing Master.
William C. Page,	Surgeon.
Thorndike Proctor,	Purser.
Samuel Chadwick,	Capt. of Marines.
Adam Truman,	Gunner.
Louis Lawrence,	Gunner's Mate.
William Hulin,	Carpenter.
Anthony D. Caulfield,	Prize Master.
Thomas Bowditch,	"    "
Spencer Hall,	"    "
Nathaniel Cleaves,	"    "
Daniel Treadwell,	"    "
George A. Hallowell,	"    "

The Black Vomit was owned by Dr. Samuel Hemenway.

The Castigator was a launch of 10 tons, fitted with two latteen sails.

The sch'r Diomedes was a very fine vessel, and a fast sailer, but after she was captured, being dismasted, it was found that she sailed better under jury masts than before.

The sch'r Enterprize was built on the Neck, at the same place where the Alfred was built.

The sch Fame, was a pink stern fishing boat of 30 tons, a fast sailer, and a very successful cruiser. She sent the first prize into Salem; she received her commission at noon, July 1st, 1812, and sailed in the afternoon of the same day, with the Jefferson.

The following are the names of the commanders of the schooner Fame,—William Webb, Jeduthan Upton, John Green, Jr., Abner Poland, Jr., Benjamin Chapman, Jacob Endicott, Robert Brookhouse, Jr., John Evans.

The sch. Frolic was built on the Neck, at the same place where the Alfred and Enterprize were built. She was built very sharp aft, so much so, that she was unseaworthy on that account, for being taken aback, in a moderate wind, she ran stern under as far as the main hatch, and was saved with great difficulty.

The 3-masted sch. Gen. Stark, was built at the same place, as the above, and whilst building it was proposed to call her the Timothy Pickering, but after she was launched, she was called the Gen. Stark. She was "lap-streak" built and carried 3 latteen sails. She was built to cruise in the Bay for licensed vessels.

The brig Grand Turk was one of the finest vessels of her class, in the U. S., and very fortunate as a cruiser. She was as famous for her good qualities as the America and in some respects she was better. She was built at Wiscasset, Me., after the model of the ship Volant of Boston, which was built at the same place and by the same master workman.

The ship Volant, under the command of Capt. Charles Treadwell, made her passage from Boston to France in 13 days.

The sch. Helen was a merchant vessel, loaned by her owners to volunteers, for the special purpose of capturing the Liverpool Packet, an English Privateer, which, for some months, had rendered herself a terror to all vessels entering the Bay; her cruising ground was in the vicinity of Cape Cod, with an occasional visit

into Massachusetts Bay, and once she was seen inside of Half Way Rock.

Such was the spirit with which this adventure was undertaken that the *Helen* was fitted out and 70 volunteers raised in about four hours. The master spirits, who started the expedition, formed a procession preceded by the American flag, and Mr. Henry Hubon, with his spirit stirring life and James Mearthy with his drum, marched through the streets, led off by Capt. James Fairfield. They did not pass through many streets, however, for the number necessary was soon made up.

The *Helen* sailed on Thursday evening, Nov. 12, 1812, in quest of the *Liverpool Packet*, but on arriving off Cape Cod, found that she had sailed the day before for St. John's, and thus the object of this expedition escaped. The *Helen* put into Plymouth on the Monday following, in consequence of a snow storm, and several of the volunteers returned home by land.

The following are the names of some of the Volunteers on board the private armed Sch. *Helen*, Nov. 1812.

John Upton, Com.  
James Fairfield, Lieut.  
Henry Tibbets,  
Ebenezer Bickford, Quarter Master,  
Louis Lawrence, Gunner,  
Ebenezer Hathorne,  
Moses Fairfield,  
Henry Hubon, Fifer.  
James Mearthy, Drummer,  
Ebenezer Slocum,  
Nathaniel Weston,  
Joseph Millet,  
——— Crow,  
Samuel Lambert,  
Andrew Clough,  
John H. Downie,  
Daniel Shehane,  
Charles Green,  
James Cliff,  
George Leach,  
Samuel Townsend,  
Samuel Hutchinson,  
George W. Pendar,  
Joseph Rowell,

Joseph Newhall,  
David Burdett,  
Rankin Brown,  
John Jackson.

The *Helen* was owned by the Messrs White, and J. J. Knapp, and they not only loaned the vessel, but assumed the risk. The whole project originated with Capt. John Upton, and the first person with whom he consulted, was Capt. Henry Tibbets, (now living in Winter street,) this was on the morning of the 12th November, 1812, and before night, these two energetic men with the assistance of volunteers had prepared the vessel, put on board the stores, ammunition, &c., borrowed four 6 lb cannons from the P. A. ship *John*, then lying at the wharf, and raised seventy volunteers, who were all on board in the evening, some who got on board as the vessel was leaving the wharf, signed the articles as she was going down the harbor. At 9 o'clock, they were off Naugus Head, and at 2 o'clock the next morning they were off Chatham Harbor, Cape Cod.

The English privateer *Liverpool Packet*, was captured by the privateer *Thomas*, Thomas M. Shaw Commander, of Portsmouth, N.H., off Cape Sable, June 10, 1813. The *Liverpool Packet* had just been refitted, and was on her way to her cruising ground, off Cape Cod.

The *Thomas* took her after a chase of five hours, and lost three men in boarding. She was carried into Portsmouth.

When the news was circulated that the *Liverpool Packet* was below, a prize, the whole town of Portsmouth seemed to be moved, and on Capt. Shaw's reaching the wharf in his boat, and it being ascertained from him that it was a fact, he was welcomed by three hearty cheers, and on the *Liverpool Packet* approaching the wharf, she fired a salute of seventeen guns, which was answered by reiterated cheers from the wharves.

All parties expressed their satisfaction that this famous little insignificant thing, (to all appearance) was at last captured

The *Liverpool Packet* was commanded by

Capt. Bass, and was manned by 33 men, and belonged to St. Johns, N. B.

The Sloop Jefferson was Geo. Crowninshield's pleasure boat, was built on the eastern side of Union Wharf, which was then owned by G. C. & Son. She was built by Christopher Turner, a noted ship builder of Salem, and was the 1st regular yacht built in Salem. She was 14 tons burden, and a very fast sailer, decked with a standing room in the stern, somewhat resembling those of the yachts of the present day, though different from them, fitted with a steering wheel. She was launched in March, 1801. She was made into a privateer in June 1812, and received her commission at noon, July 1, and sailed on her first cruise in an hour or two afterwards. She was a successful cruiser and sent the second prize into Salem.

The ship John was a merchant ship, built for Elias H. Derby, Esq., by Enos Briggs, in the winter of 1794-5, and was Mr. Derby's favorite ship. She was a ketch at first, and in March 1799, was altered into a ship. Her masts and spars were made by Hawkes & Babbage. The dimensions of her hull were as follows:—keel 75 feet, beam 25 feet, depth of hold 9½ feet. At Mr. Derby's death, the John was bought by Geo. Crowninshield & Sons, and July 1812, she was fitted for a privateer.

The sch John and George was a prize vessel, captured by the sch. Regulator, Capt. Mansfield, Aug. 3, 1812, near Cape Sable. She was found at sea abandoned, having all sail set, she had been taken by the British squadron and abandoned about 4 days previous. She had on board 300 boxes lemons; she belonged to New York, and her captain's name was Isaacs. Being a fast sailer she was made into a privateer and made one cruise under the name of the John and George, John Sinclair Commander, and then her name was altered to the Revenge, and being captured during November following, by the English, her name was changed to the Retaliation. She was again captured by the Americans and carried into Portsmouth.

It will be seen by the above that the "John and George" and the Revenge were one and the same vessel.

The sloop Polly was a "North River sloop" and came to Salem with a load of Grain, either to "order" or for a market. After she had delivered her cargo, being a very fast sailer, she was bought for a privateer; her mast was very long, (90 feet.) The rule for masting the N. R. sloops was at that time, to allow a foot of length for every ton, and having carried away the head of it whilst in a chase of a vessel, her mainsail was shortened about 12 feet, after which it was found that the vessel sailed better than she did before. She was a very fast vessel and successful cruiser, and was well commanded.

The privateer sloop Wasp, Capt. Ernest A. Ervin, mounting two six pounders, was captured on the 9th June, by his H. B. M. sch Bream, Lieut. Hare, of 10 guns, after a close engagement of 3-4ths of an hour, and a running fight of 8 1-2 hours, when the colors were reluctantly struck to this vastly superior force of the enemy, when within half pistol shot. The whole chase having been within musket reach, the bravery displayed by Capt. Ervin drew forth the highest praise from Lieut. Hare, and the other naval officers at St. John's, whither the privateer was sent, and in consequence of the respect deservedly due to him, he was immediately exchanged, with his surgeon, Dr. John Wise.

Capt. Ervin so conspicuously exerted himself that he was signalized as the principal mark for the marines and sharp shooters; whole volley were directed against him, until the Commander of the Bream absolutely prohibited them, magnanimously declaring with the liberal sentiments ever attending brave souls, that he had conducted himself so heroically, it would be infamous in the last degree to endeavor to destroy him. The flag was not struck until the absolute necessity of saving the lives of the people rendered it indispensably requisite (the Bream being within half pistol shot and each of her guns charged



with 200 musket balls, langrage, &c.)—when it was done without his opposition, though not by his order.

The Naval Officers at St. John's expressed their approbation of his conduct, and Lieut. Hare out of respect to him, interceded for his immediate exchange, which was accordingly made; and here we ought to state, the great degree of politeness and hospitality with which the officers and crew of the Wasp were treated by Lieut. Hare and his officers, which has drawn forth their highest gratitude and esteem, and for which they have tendered publicly their sincere thanks.

At St. John's, Capt. Ervin was pointed out in the streets, as there goes the Salem Captain who defended his vessel so heroically. (Capt. Ernest A. Ervin was born Jan. 29, 1789, in Salem, and is still living.)

The whole number of the private armed vessels belonging to Salem during the war of 1812 was 40—making an aggregate of 3405 tons—mounting 189 cannons of different sizes from 3 pounders to 32 pounders, and manned by 2142 men.

The number of each class and its tonnage is as follows :

	Tons.	Guns.	Men.
3 ships,	880	54	395
3 brigs,	700	46	360
23 schr's,	1624	74	1130
4 sloops,	154	13	135
2 launches,	20	2	40
5 boats,	27	muskets	82
40	3405	189	2142

Guns—the number of each kind.

2	3	Pounders,	8	18	Pounders,
14	4	"	3	24	"
103	6	"	2	32	"
45	9	"			
12	12	"	189		

Of the whole number of vessels,

23	were built in Salem,
4	" " " Baltimore,
2	" " " Boston,
1	" " " Medford,
1	" " " Wiscasset,
1	" " " Chebacco, now Essex,

5	"	"	"	New York,
1	"	"	"	Braintree,
2	"			English built.

40

Of the whole number of square rigged privateers, 66 per cent. were captured.

Of the whole number of schooners, 80 pr ct. sloops, 50 pr ct. launches and boats, 30 pr ct.

It was in the beginning of the war that the Baltimore clippers were coming into particular notice, as the proper kind of vessels for Privateers, therefore, all the vessels built during the war were of that particular model, especially schooners. But it is worthy of notice that more vessels of this class were captured than any other.—80 pr ct. of those sailing out of Salem were captured, and this is the experience of all the other ports in the Union.

The sloops that sailed out of Salem, were remarkably successful as a class, and a smaller per centage of them were captured than any other, whilst they were found as fully effective as any other class and could keep the sea as well; the sloop Polly undertook as long cruises as any of the square rigged vessels, and greatly distinguished herself in every cruise, as possessing all the good qualities of a first rate cruiser, and finally, she was only captured, but by being driven ashore by an English sloop of war—but if she had been in the open sea, nothing English of that day, could have caught her. She was always most ably commanded. The sloop Jefferson was remarkably effective and successful, and was well commanded. The Polly and Jefferson were both old fashioned built vessels. The sloop Wasp distinguished herself as is related above.

None of the schooners distinguished themselves except the Fame, Dart and Dolphin, and these were all built before the war and were very effective vessels, especially the Fame,—the sch's Fame and Dart were both lost, by getting ashore, in the Bay of Fundy.

The ship America, Alexander, Alfred and John, and the brig Grand Turk were all built before the war and were first rate vessels. They had no superiors.

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NOTICES OF SOME OF THE BUILDERS OF PRIVATE  
ARMED VESSELS.

David Magoun, son of Aaron and Mary (Church) Magoun of Pembroke, Mass. Born in Pembroke, Mass., 1779. Came to Salem in 1797. Married Sarah Hitchens, 1st wife; Mrs. Sally O. Franks, 2d. Died Dec. 7 1850, aged 71.

Retiah Becket, son of William Becket and Mary (Murray) Becket. Born in Salem, 1754. Married Rebecca Swasey. Died May 29, 1831, aged 77.

Samuel Leech, son of Samuel Leech and Sarah (Vickery) Leech. Born June, 1769. Married Lydia Becket. Died Oct. 19, 1846, aged 77 4-12.

Thomas A. Teague, son of John and Martha (Crookshank) Teague. Born 1769. Died Feb., 1822, aged 53.

Thomas Webb, son of John and Hannah (Phelps) Webb. Born July 6, 1776. Married Sarah Kilby. Died May 15, 1815, aged 38 10-12.

John Beadle, son of David and Lydia (Wiley) Beadle. Born Jan. 20, 1782. Married Lucy Robbins, now living (in Turner street,) aged 78.

Thomas Barker, born in Pembroke, Mass., 1780. Married Mary Hitchens. Died in Salem, Nov., 1856, aged 76.

Christopher Turner, born 1767. Married Sally Osborne. Died in Charlestown, Dec. 28, 1812, aged 46. Buried in Salem.—The Salem Cadets attended his funeral.

Enos Briggs, born in Scituate, Mass., 1746. Came to Salem, 1790, moved his family here 1791. Died in Salem, Oct. 10, 1819, aged 73.

William Hulin, son of Edward and Mary (Batton) Hulin. Born 1779. Died at sea, 1815, aged 36.

William Rowell, son of William and Hannah (Becket) Rowell. Born 1780. Married Rebecca Cloutman. Died Feb., 1823, aged 43.

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EXTRACTS COPIED, SOME TWOSCORE YEARS AGO, FROM INTERLEAVED ALMANACS OF JAMES JEFFREY, ESQ., THEN IN POSSESSION OF GEORGE CLEVELAND, ESQ., BOTH LATE OF SALEM.

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BY GEORGE A. WARD.

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A. D. 1727.—This year more persons died suddenly than for many past years.

Jan. 19th.—Mr. Stevenson, Collector, came to Salem.

Apr. 27th,—Went to the Island with Col. Pepperrell.

May 3d.—Mr. Staunton, minister of our lower Parish, died.

“ 9th.—Mr. Francis Clark\* died.

“ 19.—Mr. Hayes, dancing master, began his school.

Aug. 14.—News of the death of the King.

“ 24.—Went to Ipswich to proclaim the King, (George II.) J. Wolcott, Edw'd Kitchen, B. Lynde,† M. Sewall, the three Browns‡ and myself supped at Stanford's and came home at 2 o'clock in the morning.

Sept. 4th.—Monday at Winter Island, with Capt. Curwin, Geo. Campbell, Daniel Goff, James King, Amos Wood and Capt. Hicks.

“ 5th.—Officers sworn in at Pratt's tavern.

“ 10th.—Col. Brown's supper at Pratt's. B. Gerrish, Sam'l Barton, Ichabod Plaisted,

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\*Father of Mrs. Fairfax, who was the mother of Rev'd Bryan, 8th Lord Fairfax.

†Chief Justice afterwards.]

‡An opulent and distinguished family for several generations.

B. Lynde, J. Wolcott, Edw'd Kitchen, Eben'r Bowditch, Ben. Sam., and Wm. Browne, Capt. Beadle, Capt. Dove, Ed. Thompson, Milabell Sewall, John Cabot, John Clark, John Gerrish, jr., John Turner, Edw'd Flint, Wm. and Sam. Pickman\* and myself there.

Oct. 25th.—At Pratt's. Theodore Atkinson there from Portsmouth, N. Hampshire

“ 29th.—The most terrible Earthquake ever known in New England; the first shock two minutes—several smaller—(continued at times all the week)—all the people sat up most of the night. I was at Plaisted's and Lynde's, with a great many of the town.

Nov. 4th.—There was a meeting at Salem in the upper meetinghouse; the greatest concourse ever seen here at once.

“ 8th.—At Mr. Pickman's; Ben. Pickman, young Teague and Benning Wentworth† of N. Hampshire there.

Dec. 21st.—Thursday, a General Fast throughout this Province, by reason of the earthquake.

1730.—Jan'y 11th.—Sunday—Deacon Osgood not at meeting—Nath'l Ropes set the Psalm and Mrs. Ruek read it.

“ 30th.—Went to Ipswich with Joshua Ward.‡

Feb. 26th.—Earthquake about ten o'clock at night.

Mar. 3d.—People begin to inoculate for the small pox.

“ 14.—Mr. Pratt of the Ship Tavern buried—bearers, Dea. Osgood, Mr. Orne, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Batters, Mr. West and D. Bacon.

May 13th.—Mr. Lynde and Mr. Walcott chosen representatives; at Pratt's, Walcott paid treat, being his first post.

“ 20th.—At Pratt's with Capt. Atkinson.

“ 27th.—Went to Uncle Gerrish's at Dover; called at Col. Pepperell's\* at Piscataqua.

1733.—Jan'y.—This year Gov'r Belcher made Justices in Salem:

*New Ones.*

*Old Ones.*

Mr. Fairfax,† Mr. Walcott, Judge Lynde, Capt. Barnard, Col. Barton, Judge Lindall, Mitchell Sewall, Major Plaisted, Major Eppes, Capt. Higginson, James Lindall, B. Lynde, jr.

Feb. 1.—Boniferd Felt's wife brought to bed of three children.

Mar. 1st.—Thursday night the town house illuminated; all the gentlemen of the town there.

June 29th.—Church of England in Salem raised.

“ 30th.—Mr. Addington Davenport came from England with orders as a church minister.

1734.—June 17th.—Mr. Fairfax sailed for Virginia.

1735.—Apr. 1.—Judge Plaxton died—buried in the churehyard; the first deposited there.

“ 27th.—Rev. Wm. Fisk‡ headed a mob to get the pulpit from Mr. Mather, who was hired to preach.

May 2d.—Col. Wainwright, Col. Berry, Mr. Hale, Mr. Choate, Esquires Dutch and Abbott came here, by government order, to enquire into the disturbance on the Sabbath; a complaint being entered against Mr. Fisk, he was bound over to his good behaviour.

July 11th.—Very full Court. Mr. Fisk petitioned to have his bondsmen released, but the petition was not granted.

Dr. Cutler preached at the Episcopal Church.

\*Gov. of Tortola afterwards.

†Gov. of N. Hampshire afterwards.

‡Headed the list of magistrates first appointed under the republican government.

\*Afterwards Sir William Pepperell, Baronet.

†Hon. Col. William Fairfax, afterwards of Virginia.

‡ Father of Gen'l John Fisk of revolutionary fame.



Oct. 20th.—Snow four inches deep and very cold.

“ 31st.—Went a sleighing—very good.

1736.—Jan'y 12th.—Mr. Fisk, Kitchen, Orne and I went to the Governor at Boston to desire him not to sign the Report.

“ 16th.—Col. Brown brought home the Report signed by the Governor.

“ 23d.—Madam Sewall (Mitchell's mother) buried first in Boston—brought here at night and buried by the side of her husband.

1744.—Jan. 21.—Joshua Ward married the Widow Hawkes at his farm of Throgmorton Cove, South Fields.

March 23d.—Settled articles for the Fire Club.

May 14th.—Chose Capt. Pickman\* representative.

June 3d.—Mr. Cabot preached in the morning and Mr. Bart in the afternoon. An earthquake at 4 past 10 A. M. and another in the afternoon, when the people in general screamed and ran out.

“ 5th.—The declaration of war against France proclaimed. Ingersoll enlisted hands for the privateer.

“ 18th.—Fought cocks in the Town House

“ 20th.—Lecture day; another earthquake; people ran out of meeting.

July 16th.—Took down Mr. Brown's† escutcheon from the front of the house.

Sept. 4th.—Training and trooping for the first time, Capt. Jno. Gardner's troops—D. Putnam his Lieutenant.

“ 10.—Went down and catch'd negroes, viz: (Cicero,) Lynde's, (James,) Ropes's, Gerrish's, Orne's, Barton's, Brown's and Fisk's and they were whipped next day.

Oct. 27th.—News that Whitefield had arrived at the Shoals.

\*Afterwards the Hon. Col. Benjamin Pickman, Ch. Jus. of Com. Pleas for Essex.

†Father of Col. Wm. Brown, afterwards Governor of Bermudas.

Dec. 1.—Whitefield preached at the New North, Boston.

1745.—March.—Capt's Grant, King, White and Covell\* embark'd with the troops bound for Cape Breton.

Oct. 26th.—Mr. Leavitt† ordained in Mr. Kitchen's orchard, under an apple tree.

1747.—Feb. 3d.—J. Turner tracked a bear in the North Fields.

“ 4th.—Deborah Thompson carried to the Common with small pox; the next day Wm. Brown's house in Ferry lane was fitted for a Pest house.

“ 11th.—Court of Sessions tried to stop the ferry to Beverly but did not succeed.

1747.—Feb. 22.—Rev. Mr. Sparhawk‡ preached and read an act against swearing.

Mar. 26.—Joshua Ward sent for by the House of Representatives, as a coroner, for serving a writ on Col. Hale, the Sheriff.

Rev. Wm. McGilchrist, minister for St. Peter's Church, came to town.

May 5th.—Sent a letter to my father by Benj. Pickman, Deputy Sheriff.

July 20th.—Went to Boston; dined at Gray's with Derby.

“ 21.—Returned—Derby, Joshua Ward and myself in a single chaise.

“ 22d.—Mrs. Porter, mother of Mrs. Sparhawk, dec'd; she was Major Stephen Sewall's daughter.

“ 26th.—Rev. Mr. Appleton§ of Cambridge preached.

Nov. 17th.—The Post brought news of a

\*Part of the successful expedition against Louisburg commanded by Gen'l Pepperell.

†Rev'd Dudley Leavitt of the Third Church; grandfather of the late D. L. Pickman Esq.

‡Pastor of the First Church and uncle of Sir Wm. Pepperell, Baronet. The loyalist mandamus Counsellor of 1775.

§Son of Hon. John Appleton of Ipswich and father of John Appleton Esq. of Salem.

riot in Boston, about Knolles's pressing men; Col. Pollard, High Sheriff, was wounded.

1749.—Jan. 12th.—The Bill passed for sinking paper currency, the Speaker to prepare it.

Sept.—Mr. Bollan, Collector of the Port of Salem, arrived with the money granted to this Province for the charge it was at for the expedition against Cape Breton.

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ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

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COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

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Continued from Vol. II, Page 21.

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*John Kenney, 9 mo., 1670.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Kenney, taken 18th 8 mo., 1670, by William Flint, Henry Bartholomew, John Pickering, Amount 214 19 0. Allowed at Salem 30 9 mo., 1670.

*Frances Axey, 9 mo., 1670.*

An Inventory of the estate of James Axey of Lynn, who departed this life the 7th of June, 1669, and taken by John Pearson & Andrew Mansfield as being desired to by Frances Axey, widow of the above, on the 16th of June, 1669, Amount ———. Allowed 29 4 mo., 1669. Frances, relict of ye deceased, appointed Administratrix.

Andrew Mansfield, aged about 49 years, Testifyeth yt In ye tyme of the sickness of James Axey: I being severall tymes with him, one off which tymes was, to my best memory, about three weeks before hee dyed, hee signifiede his desyrd to make his will, his wife being present, & hee began to Declare his intent toward John Pearson, declaring hee would leve him to have the greater Lott, and then his wife spoke as houlding out to my understanding yt she would have him to make noe will, saying can not you confide in me, yt I will perform what yeo mind is, but you will give awaye all. He answered I intend to give nothing

from you whilst you Live except some suche legasye, or Legasyees, shee then replyed hee might if he would make his will, but sayd I will not, you cannot consent to it, and I replyed, it was an Apoynted of God to sett his house in order, and instanted that of Heskiah: sett thy house in order for thou must dye, and did declare to him yt I hoped God would guide him in soe doeing: but shee replying, hee alsoe replyed, saying I can dispose of none of my estate, &c.: and being troubled wee then gott him to bed, and I tarrying with him he then tould mee yt it was his mind that Joseph fiske should *should* have the lese of the Land, or, living for foure years after his wife's deasease. This flurder James Axeye toulde mee about a year since that concerning his disposition of his land to John Pearson: as was expressed in a will drawne up by brother Cowdreye, that his intent was yt yt his wife should have liberty to sell part or whole for her comfort if need was.

Sworne in Court 30, 4, 69.

Attest,

HILLIARD VEREN.

Ye word *will* interlined where before it was *deed*, which was a mistake.

The testimony of Joseph Rednap, aged betwixt seventy and eighty years, and Samuel Johnson, aged aboute twenty-seven years, saith yt they Being att ye house of James Axey ten dayes before he dyed, the wife of James Axey asked him before us what he ment by those words which he spake the last night, which was you said I bequeath my spiritt to God and estate to John Pearson, and tooke him by the hand and said, Love, is not your mind as it was formerly agreed between you and I: and he said yes and hesed by my estate to John Pearson I meane he should looke after it for you and further saith not. Sworne by both the parties above named in Court at Salem, 29, 4 mo., 1669, by Mr. Hilliard Veren Cleriq.

The testimony of Samuel Tarbox, aged about twenty-two yeares, beinge in the house of James Axey about two nights before hee dyed and Nathaniell Kirkland and John Pearson

was there the same time, and Nathaniel Kirkland sd to John Pearson I marvell you doo not Ask your maister how hee hath disposed of his goods. And James Axy hearinge their discourse said, Brother Kirkland I will satisfy you concerning it; I had thoughts to have made a will and to have disposed of some things att my death but my wife was not willinge, for I would not crosse her but leave it to her, and further saith not. Sworne by Samuel Tarbox and Nathaniell Kirkland in court to ye above written 29, 4, 69. Attest, Hilliard Veren. only ye words leave it to her ye said Kirkland doe not remember.

Nathaniel Kirkland and Margerye Salmon: Testifyeth that they being with James Axy about two nights before hee dyed wee heard James Axy saye I bequeath my spiritt too the Lord and my estate to John Pearson, this is our best understanding. Sworne in court at Salem 30, 4, 69, by both ye p'ties above mentioned, and Nathaniel Kirkland doe further say ye next morning goody she told him, now Brother Kirkland my husband have interpreted those words which he spake last night, yt is to say the words above written. Attest upon the oath above given.

Ateste, Hilliard Veren, Clerke.

Will of Fransses Axy, the widow of James Axy, dated 18 October, 1670; probated 2 10 mo, 1670, mentions to Majr Dennison's eldest son £10, Rev. Saml Whighting, our Pastor, Sam'l Cobit, wife of Daniell Salmon and her daugh., Nathaniell Hanforth and wife, William Clarke, Goodman Armstaye and wife, Deborah Richards, Abigail Richards, Daniell Richards, Saml Sillsbee a cow which is in the hands of his father, Sarah Rednape, Widow How, Samuell Tarbox, Sarah Rennalls of Salem, Sarah Ricker, the daugh. of Thomas Ricker, to his wife, wife of Chas Gold, Goody Davis widow, Rebecca Tarbox, wife of Goodman Gowing, Goody Wright, wife of Andrew Mansfield and her daugh. Bethiah. I appoint Joseph Fiske my exsetitor. I appoint Joseph Armstaye,

Nathanell Hanforth, William Clarke, Henery Rhodds to see the will carried out.

An Inventory of the above estate taken October 28th, 1760, by Joseph Armstaye, Nathl Hanforth, William Clarke and Henry Rhodds. Amount 232, 09, 6; allowed 24 9, 1670.

Andrew Mansfield testifyeth that hee being with James Axy in the time of his last sickness, which was to the best of my memory aboute three weekes before his death, his wife and Joseph Fiske being present, his wife opposing the sd James Axy her husband in order to the making of his will, according as in my first testimony which is in Court, the said James Axy before his wife and Joseph Fiske solemnlye Left it with mee that if any should aske why hee did not make his will I should tell ym hee would have donn it but his wife would not Let him and I was then to have written it. Sworne in Court at Salem 2 10 mo, 1670,

Attest, Hilliard Veren, Cleriq.

The Deposition of Thomas Fiske, aged about 40 years, sayeth that about three years agoe James Axy of lin told him that his perpose was to anake Joseph Fiske his heire and said that he had another Servant that lived with him formerly that he had to consider also, but his study was for Joseph and he did intend to put all into his hands, for that he himself was grown aged. Sworn in court 2 10, 70.

Attest, Hilliard Veren.

*Eliz. Ruck, 9th mo., 1670.*

An Inventory of the estate of Elizabeth Ruck, who was the wife of Mr. Thomas Ruck, taken by John Deakin and Samuel Pitman.— Amount 224, 14, 5. Allowed 3 10, 70. John Ruck appointed to see that the children were paid.

*George Ropes, 9th mo., 1670.*

An Inventory of the estate of George Ropes, taken 27 Jan'y, 1670, by Walter Price and Hilliard Veren senr. Amount 166, 03, 08; allowed 3 10, '70. Administration granted to Mary, relict of sd Ropes.



A Division of the estate mentions the Widow Mary, John, the eldest son, to have a double portion; signed by us the children, John Ropps, John Norman, George Ropps. Approved by the court 3 10, 1670.

*Job Hilliard, 9th mo., 1670.*

An Inventory of the estate of Job Hilliard, taken by Joseph Grafton senr, George Gardner, Thomas Faggett (?) Amount 123, 13, 00. Allowed 3 10, 70. Administration granted to Mary the relict of the dec'd, mentions the several children.

*Susannah Pitts, 9th mo., 1670.*

The Deposition of Thribrough Gaskell of Marblehead, aged fifty years or thereabouts, sworn, saith, that on the seventh day of this instant month I was sent for to Mrs Pitts for to help tend her in her sickness, and when I came to her and asked her how she did shee answered mee, that shee was very ill, and said what shall I doe, I shall die. I answered shee must doe as Ihesekiah did, you must sett youre house in order Mrs. Pitts; her answer was I have not done it, the Lord knowes I have not done it; then I answered her that now shee must doe it, then shee told mee as this, that I doe give the one halfe unto my Daughter, Mary Lattimore, then I said, that what shee had related I would take my oath of, if ocaation should serve, then shee said that I was not sufficient but should call for more witness, then I called in one of her neighbors, being Henry Russell, to whome shee said I doe give the one halfe of all that I have to my Husband and the other halfe to my daughter Mary Lattimore, being in perfect sence and memory, and further said that shee had a will at Boston which should not stand but this her last will should stand, moreover she told her daughter Lattimore that shee had many good things in her chest at Boston and that the key of her chest which was in Boston was in the sill of her chest that was in the house and pointed to it with her finger, then shee desired her Husband to Give to George Porter 20 shill-

ings because he was a fatherless child, and to Jaine Williams her greene petticoat; his answer was I will wife; moreover shee desired her daughter Lattimore to give to Richard Hammon her best Apron; then shee called her Husband and told him that hee should receive of the tenant Robert Carver halfe a years rent and should give him a receipt for twelve months; these were the very words that Mrs. Pitts did relate upon her death-bed and further saith not. Dated 28 September, 1668. Taken upon oath 29th 7, 1668.

WILLIAM HATHORNE, Assist.

The Deposition of Henry Russell of Marblehead, aged 28 years, who testifieth in substance to the above and mentions Mrs. Susannah Pitts. Taken upon oath 29 Sept., 1668.

The Deposition of John Deveraux, 50 years, testifieth in substance to the above; taken upon oath the 29th of September, 1668.

*John Sanders, 9th mo., 1670.*

Inventory allowed at ye court in Salem 2 10, 1670. John Newell administrator.

*Joseph Grafton, 4th mo., 1671.*

Inventory of estate presented by Elizabeth his wife 29 4, 1671, who is administratrix of the estate; she is daughter of John Browne.

*Richard Dodge, 4th mo., 1671.*

Will of Richard Dodge of Beverly, dated 14 9 mo, 1670; mentions wife Edith, sons Richard, Samuell, John, Edward and Joseph, dau. Mary Herrick, dau. Sarah. Edward and Joseph joint executors. Brother William Dodge sen. and Henry Bartholomew overseers. Inventory of estate taken by Thomas Lawthropp and John Rayment 27 June, 1671.

*John Thorndike, 4th mo., 1671.*

Will of John Thorndike, dated 29 of July, 1668; eldest dau. Anne, son Paul, dau. Mary, youngest dau. Alice and Mary; witnesses John Hill and John Black. Inventory taken by Thos. Lowthropp and Richard Brackenbury and rendered 29 June, 1671.

*John Batson, 4th mo., 1671.*

Inventory taken 25 April, 1671, and brought into court by Lieut. Ward.

*Nathaniel Grafton, 4th mo., 1671.*

Inventory of estate of Nathaniel Grafton of Salem, taken 26 4, 1671, by Richard Prince and Henry Bartholomew.

*Thomas Browning 4th mo., 1671.*

Will of Thomas Browning of Salem, dated 10 Feb., 1670, mentions grandson Thomas Towne, daughters Towne, Simons, Williams and Meachum; appointed his wife executor; witnesses, Joseph Grafton sen. and George Gardner; in court at Salem 28 4, 1671.

*Samuel Hart, 4th mo., 1671.*

Inventory of estate of Samuel Hart, lately deceased at sea, and appraised by Edmund Bridges and Richard Croade. Edward Flint and Jonathan Hart presented the above inventory and the court granted administration to them 28 4, '71.

*Pasca Foot, 4th mo., 1671.*

Will of Pasca foot senior of Salem, dated 21 Sept., 1670, mentions son —, daughters Elizabeth, Mary foot, sons Samuel and Pasco, dau. Abigail foot, in court 30 4, '71.

*John Aslet, 4th mo., 1671.*

Will of John Aslet, dated 15 3, 1671, mentions son John and daughters; appoints wife Rebecca sole executrix; witnesses Francis Dane and Alexander Sessions; in court 27 4, '71.

*Henry Harwood, 9th mo., 1671.*

The return about Gov. Harwood's estate upon the difference between Matthew Nixon and Richard ffender.

Whereas we whose names are underwritten and who were desired and impowered by the magistrates of the county court and by the mutual consent of Rich. ffender and Jeremiah Butman, to Audit all accts and settle all differences relating to the estate of Henry Harwood deceased, as in order of Court, dated 4 mo, 1670, doth further appear—

And for the debts that doe at present apeare and now found due to Mathew Nickson £25; signed Edmond Batter, Henry Bartholmew, George Gardner.

*George Early, 7th mo., 1671.*

A List of George Earlye's Debts—amount 24, 16, 05½.

*Thomas Jones, 7th mo., 1671.*

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Jones of Gloster who died the 15th September, 1671, taken by Robert Ellwell, William Briggs and Thomas Briggs. Amount 147, 05, 00; allowed 26 7 mo., '71; mentions the widow is executrix mentioned in his will, which was proved in court at Ipswich the 26 7 mo., '71, also mentions his daughter Winslow of Salisbury.

*John Symonds, 9th mo., 1671.*

Will of John Symonds dated 16th 6th mo., 1671, proved 19th 7th mo., 1671, mentions Wife Elizabeth Symonds, sons James Symonds and Samuel Symonds, daug Kathren Towne, children of my deceased daughter Ruth Swinnerton, my servant John Pease, sons James and Samuall Symonds exors, mentions friends Major Hathren and Mr. Bartholmew as overseers, witnesses Henry Bartholmew, John Swinnerton and Samuel Ingals.

An Inventory of the estate of John Symonds taken by John Kitchen, John Pickering.—Amount 330, 14, 03; allowed 29 9 mo., 1671, mentions A Apprentice 17 years old who hath 3 years and 9 months and 2 weeks to serve.

*Benj. Ager, 9th mo., 1671.*

An Inventory of the estate of Benjamin Egar taken 4th 9th mo., 1671, by Walter Price and Henry Bartholmew. Amount 122, 2, 0; allowed 30 9, 1671. Administration granted to the relict of the deceased.

*John Mansfield, 9th mo., 1671.*

Will of John Mansfield of Lynn, dated 23 September, 1670, probated 30 9 mo., '71; mentions Cozen Daniel Gott, his own wife and his heirs lawfully begotten by his now wife, m

brother Andrew Mansfield and his children, my maide servant Elizabeth Brooks, Rev. Pastor Samuell Whiteing, Mr. Nathaniel Handforth, to my Brother Andrew Mansfield my great Bible after me and my wife's decease; appoint my wife executrix and Nathanill Handford and brother Andrew Mansfield overseers, witnesses, Andrew Mansfield, Mary Mansfield, Robert Potter.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 2d November, 1671, by John Fuller, Robert Potter. Allowed 30 9, '71.

*Eleanor Robinson, 9th mo., 1671.*

Will of Elinor Robinson, late widow, town of Salem, do dispose and give to Elinor Maskall and my brother's son, Robert Waldron, living in Chatford in Hampshire, near Andover in old England, to be sent by some trusty master, mentions my friend Henry Bartholmew Executor; dated 5th 5 mo., 1671; witnesses, Richard Prince and Elizabeth Bartholmew; probated 28 9, '71.

*Timothy Owen, 9th mo., 1671.*

An Inventory of the estate of Timothy Owen taken 28 November, 1671, by Moses Mavericke and Samuel Warde. Amount 3, 13, 3; allowed 30 9, '71. Administration granted to Marshal Henry Skerry.

*John Stacy, 4th mo., 1672.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Stacy taken 28 of —, 1671, by Moses Mavericke, John Devereaux and Samuel Ward. Amount 144, 09, 00; allowed 27 4 mo., 1672. Administration granted to Elner relict of the deceased.

*Thomas Caly, 4th mo., 1672.*

Will of Thomas Caulie mentions eldest son Benjamin and two other sons, ment. his father, Benj. Purington, who with Sam'l Ward are to be overseers; men. his wife Mary and she is appointed administratrix. Allowed 28 4, '72.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Cauly taken 27 April, 1672, by Richard Norman and

James Dennes. Am't 139, 17, 6; allowed 28 4, 72.

*Theodore Price, 4th mo., 1672.*

An Inventory of the estate of Theodore Price taken 10 April, 1672, by Hilliard Veren sen'r and Edmund Batter. Amount 260, 1, 2d; allowed 20 4, 1672. Administration granted to Ann relict of dec'd.

*John Wilkins, 4th mo., 1672.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Wilkins, late of —, taken the 24th of June, 1672, by Nathaniel Putnam and John Putnam.— Amount 50, 1, 00; administration granted to the relict Mary Wilkins—Eliz., John, Mary and Abigail, children of the deceased, when they are of age.

*Wm. Caseley, 4th mo., 1672.*

An Inventory of the estate of William Caseley of Cockwood in Devonshire, found on board of Keatch Elizabeth and Hannah, (as we were at sea) who died about seven days before ye arrived in New England. Amount 10, 8, 3; allowed 28 4, '72. Administration granted to Abraham Bartholmew; the inventory was taken by Nathaniel Pickman and Zebulon Hill.

*Daniel King, 4th mo., 1672.*

Will of Daniel King of Swampscot, dated 7th of 12 mo., 1671, mentions son Daniel King, land bounded by Ralph King and Allen Broades jun'r land. My daughter Hannah Blane and her husband, daughter Elizabeth Redden and her husband, daughter Sarah Neden and her husband. I appoint my wife Elizabeth executrix; mentions land bounded by Robert Driver and John Witt and William Traske and Nathaniel Cortland and Theopilus Baylee; witnesses, Richard Walker and William Coweley; proved at Salem 26 4, '72.

An Inventory of the estate of Daniel King of Lynn, who died the 28th of May, 1672, taken by Richard Walker and William Crowley. Amount 1528, 09, 0d; allowed 26 4, '72.



*Peter Comeu, 4th mo., 1672.*

An Inventory of the estate of Peter Comeu that was left at Jacob Pudeters, taken 14 of February, 1672, by Joseph Grafton and John Grafton. Allowed 28 4, '72. Administration granted to Jacob Pudeter.

Testimony of John Massey, aged 41 years old, taken 28 4 mo., '72.

Testimony of Joseph Fowler, aged 31 years old, taken 28 4 mo., '72.

*John Neale, 4th mo., 1672.*

Will of John Neale of Salem, dated 3 May, 1672, mentions by the last will of my father-in-law, Francis Lawes, to Mary my beloved wife, daughter Lidda Hart, son Jeremiah Neale, to John, my son Jeremiah's son, when of age, my son John Neale, my two grandchildren, Mary and Sarah Neale, children of my son Jeremiah, when of age, my daughter Lidda's child Lidda, when of age, my son Jonathan Neale, my son Joseph Neale; I appoint my beloved wife and son Jeremiah executors, and my friends Major William Hathorne, Capt. Walter Price and Hilliard Veren sen'r overseers; witnesses are the three last mentioned persons. Allowed 28 4, 1672.

Inventory of John Neale taken 5 4, 1672, by Hilliard Veren and John Pickering. Amount 593, 14, 00.

*John Fairfield, 9th mo., 1672.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Fairfield of Ipswich, taken 20 of 9 mo., 1672, by Thomas Fiske and Richard Holten. Amount 241, 5, 6; allowed 27 9 mo, 1672. Administration granted to the Sarah relict of the deceased.

*Bridgett Verney, 9th mo., 1672.*

Will of Bridget Verney of Gloucester, dated 10 November, 1671, mentions my son Humfrey Verney, £20 to be paid by my son Jeffrey Parsons of this town, my daughter Rachel Vinson, the wife of William Vinson, my son Thomas Verney. I appoint my son-in-law, William Vinson, my executor; witnesses, John Emerson, William Alley, William Vinton and John Row; probated 27 9, 1672.

*Bridget Verney, 9th mo., 1672.*

An Inventory of the estate of Bridget Verney. Amount £66, 11s, 0d; allowed 27 9, '72.

*William Lord, 4th mo., 1673.*

The Will of William Lord sen'r of Salem Cutter, dated 2 March, 1668, mentions Abigail my beloved wife, at her death my estate to be divided amongst the children of my kinsman William Lord only, my kinsman's son William and daughter Abigail shall have ye better portion or part, Mrs. Felton widow, Mr. Joseph Grafton sen'r and Richard Prince. I appoint Abigail my wife to be the executrix and Mr. Joseph Grafton and Richard Prince overseers; witnesses, John Rucke, Edward Norrice sen'r and John Cole. Allowed 24 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate; amount 367, 00,00; allowed 24 4, '73.

*John Gillow, 4th mo., 1673.*

Will of John Gillow of Lynn; dated 20 of February, 1672, mentions wife —, son John when of age, my daughters Mary and Sarah, my wife is now with child, my eldest son John to have a double portion. I appoint my wife my executrix and I make my friends Robert Burges, Thomas Newhall and Robert Potter overseers; witnesses are the three last mentioned; probated 27 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 19 of March, 1672. Amount 346, 11, 00; allowed 27 4, '73.

*Phineas Fiske, 4th mo., 1673.*

Will of Phineas Fiske, dated 6 of 1 mo., 1673, mentions son James Fiske; I appoint my two sons John and Thomas Fiske my executors; I give my great Bible to my nephew Samuel Fiske; mentions Mara (torn) Fiske; witnesses, Samuell Fiske and Hannah Walden; probated 26 4, '73.

The Inventory of the estate of Phinehas Fiske of Wenham, who died the 7th of 2d mo., 1673, taken by Hultn (?) and Mark Batchelder. Amount £214, 10s, 6d; allowed 26 4, '73.

## PHILIP ENGLISH.

## PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVEN.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 32.

This examination took place at the time, but not perhaps at the place appointed. Sarah Good\* appears to have been the first examined, to judge by her answers, and the examination seems to have taken place at the *Church in the Village*. The children before mentioned appear to have been present and alleged that she tormented them, and her own husband at last turned against her—admitting substantially that her “bad carriage” to him had made him afraid that she either was a witch, or would be one very quickly; and told Mr. Hathorne, on being questioned as to the truth of this, that he might “say with tears that she is an enemy to all good.” We herewith append this examination, and shall also give in turn those of Tituba and Sarah Osborn, for with this trio of examinations began the judicial investigation of Witchcraft in Salem in

\*This Sarah Good is said to have been somewhat unsettled in her mind, and of a gentle, melancholy disposition. *Calef* says, “she had long been counted a melancholy or distracted woman.” Her husband could not manage her, and did not understand her, and evidently thought her under the influence of the Devil. The whole family was poor—half-dependent at least on charity, and had to bear all the ills and evils attendant on such a lot, were most probably crushed by them, and when fretful and irritable at none too good treatment, were suspected and believed to be avenging themselves through Witchcraft upon their neighbors. On her trial some 15 or more witnesses seem to have appeared against her, accusing her of bewitching and destroying cattle, &c. Diligent search was made at the first on her premises for images and the like—that is, the wooden or cloth representations of those she was desirous of afflicting—and which were then called “poppits”—and this search, though unsuccessful, shows perhaps the estimation she was then held in—poor, suspected, despised, and a witch.

1692, and as they form the basis of about all the subsequent examinations, and contain not a little of the philosophy of Witchcraft as expounded by Tituba, who appears to have fashioned and shaped to a degree certainly its imaginative character.

THE EXAMINATION OF SARAH GOOD BEFORE THE WORSHIPFULL ASSTS. JOHN HATHORNE, JONATHAN CURREN. [CURWIN].

(H) Sarah Good what evil Spirit have you familiarity with.

(S G) none.

(H) Have you made no contract with the devil.

(Good answered no.

(H) why do you hurt these children.

(G) I doe not hurt them. I scorn it.

(H) Who doe you employ then to doe it.

(G.) I employ nobody.

(H) what creature doe you employ then.

(G) no creature, but I am falsely accused.

(H) why did you go away muttering from Mr. Parris his house.

(G) I did not mutter but I thanked him for what he gave my child.

(H) have you made no contract with the devil.

(G) no.

(H) desired the children all of them to look upon her and see if this were the person that hurt them, and so they all did looke upon her and said this was one of the persons that did torment them—presently they were all tormented.

(H) Sarah Good doe you not see now what you have done, why doe you not tell us the truth, why doe you thus torment these poor children.

(G) I doe not torment them.

(H) who doe you employ then.

(G) I employ nobody. I scorn it.

(H) how came they thus tormented.

(G) what doe I know, you bring others here and now you charge me with it.

(H) why who was it.

(G) I do not know, but it was some you

brought into the meeting house with you.

(H) we brought you into the meeting house.

(G) but you brought in two more.

(H) who was it then that tormented the children.

(G) it was osburn.

(H) what is it that you say when you go muttering away from person's houses.

(G) if I must tell I will tell.

(H) do tell us then.

(G) if I must tell I will tell, it is the commandments. I may say my commandments I hope.

(H) what commandment is it.

(G) if I must tell you I will tell, it is a psalm.

(H) what psalm.

(G) after a long time she muttered over some part of a psalm.

(H) who do you serve.

(G) I serve God.

(H) what God do you serve.

(G) the God that made heaven and earth.

though she was not willing to mention the word God. her answers were in a very wicked, spitefull manner; reflecting and retorting against the authority with base and abusive words, and many lies shee was taken in, it was here said that her husband had said that he was afraid that she either was a witch or would be one very quickly; the worsh. Mr. Harthorn asked him his reason why he said so of her, whether he had ever seen anything by her, he answered no, not in this nature, but it was her bad carriage to him, and indeed said he I may say with tears that shee is an enemy to all good.

Salem Village, March the 1st, 1691-2.

Written by Ezekieel Cheevers.

Salem Village, March the 1st, 1691-2.

[Manuscript vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 11, 13.]

[NOTE.—The Ezekieel Cheevers above named was deputed by the Assistants to take down in writing the examination. He did the same in several other cases. The magistrates made also their Records of the Examinations, which, however, appear usually

This whole examination shows that the magistrate and the spectators had prejudged her, and that at last, unsupported, overborne by the array of accusation, prejudice and authority against her, she charged Sarah Osborne with tormenting the children. Tituba in her turn at first denied tormenting them, and after some denial admitted the fact and charged Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne with the same. Sarah Osborne denied the charge, though the children accused her to her face—professed to be grievously tormented by her—that she pinched and hurt them, &c., though at a distance personally from them—and though moreover she was told that Sarah Good, one of her accused companions, had accused her. During her examination, which yet remains in detail on the Records, she denied her guilt. The Confession of *Tituba*,\* however, with all its concomitant supernaturalisms and diabolisms, (drawn in part very likely from Indian superstitions,) together with the admission of Sarah Good herself and

to have been only abstracts in general terms. Mr. Cheevers, as also Rev. Mr. Parris, were deputed as Scribes to detail sundry examinations in writing.—This examination took place evidently at the "meeting-house" (church) at the Village (Danvers).]

\*It is historically true that Tituba at first denied the charge of witchcraft. She afterwards confessed and was put into prison, where she lay until sold for her fees, (the charges of her maintenance in prison). *Calef* says this of her, page 186-7: "The account she since gives of it [her confession] is, that her master did beat her and otherways abuse her to make her confess and accuse (such as he called) her sister-witches, and that whatever she said by way of confessing or accusing others was the effect of such usage; her master refused to pay her fees unless she would stand to what she had said."

This statement of *Calef's* we have never seen contradicted, and it bears terribly against the validity of all the witchcraft evidence. Tituba's confession of guilt was one legal starting point of the affair at Salem, and if her confession was thus obtained from her, was not such or similar means employed to wring confessions from the others? If the *foundation* upon which the *structure* of our Salem Witchcraft rested was unreliable, was the superstructure less so?



the accusations of the children, determined the Magistrates to commit all three of the accused to the County jail, "there appearing in all their examinations sufficient ground to secure them all," and they were accordingly committed.

We herewith give also the Examinations of Tituba and Sarah Osborne, March 1, 1692.

THE EXAMINATION OF TITIBE INDIAN.

(H) Titibe what evil spirit have you familiarity with.

(T) none.

(H) why do you hurt these children.

(T) I do not hurt them.

(H) who is it then.

(T) the devil for ought I know.

(H) Did you never see the devil.

(T) The devil came to me and bid me serve him.

(H) Who have you seen.

(T) Four women sometimes hurt the children.

(H) Who were they.

(T) Goode Osburne and Sarah Good and I do not know who the other were. Sarah Good and Osburne would have me hurt the children but I would not—shee further saith there was a tall man of Boston that shee did see.

(H) when did you see them.

(T) Last night at Boston.

(H) What did they say to you.

(T) they said hurt the children.

(H) and did you hurt them.

(T) no, there is four women and one man, they hurt the children and then they lay all upon me, and tell me if I will not hurt the children they will hurt me.

(H) but did you not hurt them.

(T) Yes, but I will hurt them no more.

(H) are you not sorry that you did hurt them.

(T) Yes.

(H) and why then doe you hurt them.

(T) they say hurt the children or wee will doe worse to you.

(H) what have you seen.

(T) an man come to me and say serve me.

(H) what service.

(T) hurt the children and last night there was an appearance that said kill the children and if I would not go on hurting the children they would do worse to me.

(H) What is this appearance, you see.

(T) sometimes it is like a hog and sometimes like a great dog, this appearance shee saith shee did see 4 times.

(H) what did it say to you.

(T) it and the black dog said serve me but I said I am afraid, he said if I did not he would doe worse to me.

(H) what did you say to it.

(T) I will serve you no longer. then he said he would hurt me and then he looked like a man and threatens to hurt me, shee said that this man had a yellow bird that kept with him and he told me he had more pretty things that he would give me if I would serve him.

(H) what were these pretty things.

(T) he did not show me them.

(H) what also have you seen.

(T) two rats, a red rat and a black rat.

(H) what did they say to you.

(T) they said serve me.

(H) when did you see them.

(T) last night and they said serve me, but I said I would not.

(H) what service.

(T) she said hurt the children.

(H) did you not pinch Elizabeth Hubbard this morning.

(T) the man brought her to me and made me pinch her.

(H) why did you goe to Thomas Putnam last night and hurt his child.

(T) they pull and hall me and make me goe.

(H) and what would they have you do.

Kill her with a knife.

Left. Fuller and others said at this time when the child saw these persons and was tormented by them that shee did complain of a knife, that they would have her cut her head off with a knife.

[H] how did you go.

[T] we ride upon sticks and are there presently.

[H] doe you goe through the trees or over them.

[T] we see nothing but are there presently.

[H] why did you not tell your master.

[T] I was afraid—they said they would cut off my head if I told.

[H] would you not have hurt others if you could.

[T] they said they would hurt others but they could not.

[H] what attendants hath Sarah Good.

[T] a yellow bird and she would have given me one.

[H] what meat did she give it.

[T] it did suck her between her fingers.

[H] did you not hurt Mr. Currin's child.

[T] goode good and goode osburn told that they did hurt Mr. Curren's child and would have had me hurt him too, but I did not.

[H] what hath Sarah Osburn.

[T] yellow dog. She had a thing with a head like a woman, with 2 leggs and wings. Abigaill Williams that lives with her Unele Parris said that she did see the same creature and it turned into the shape of Goode Osburn.

[H] What else have you seen with Osburn.

[T] another thing, hairy, it goes upright like a man, it hath only 2 leggs.

[H] did you not see Sarah Good upon Elizabeth Hubbard last Saturday.

[T] I did see her set a wolfe upon her to afflict her, the persons with this maid did say that shee did complain of a wolfe.

T. shee further saith that shee saw a cat with good at another time.

[H] what clothes doth the man go in.

[T] he goes in black clothes, a tall man with white hair I think.

[H] how doth the woman go.

[T] in a whitewhood and a black whood with a top knot.

[H] doe you see who it is that torments these children now.

[T] yes it is Goode Good ; she hurts them in her own shape.

[H] and who is it that hurts them now.

[T] I am blind now, I cannot see.

Salem Village. March the 1st, 1694.

Written by Ezekiel Cheevers.

Salem Village. March the 1st, 1694.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 40-46.]

#### SARAH OSBURN HER EXAMINATION.

[H] what evil spirit have you familiarity with.

[O] none.

[H] have you made no contract with the devill.

[O] no I never saw the devill in my life.

[H] why doe you hurt these children.

[O] I doe not hurt them.

[H] why do you imploy them to hurt them.

[O] I imploy nobody.

[H] what familiarity have you with Sarah Good.

[O] none. I have not seen her these 2 yeares.

[H] where did you see her then.

[O] one day a going to town.

[H] what communications had you with her.

[O] I had none, only, how do you doe or so, I did not know her by name.

[H] what did you call her then.

Osburn made a stand at that, at last said she called her Sarah.

[H] Sarah good saith that it was you that hurt the children.

[O] I doe not know that the devill goes about in my likeness to doe any hurt.

Mr. Hathorn desired all thee children to stand up and looke upon her, and see if they did know her, which they all did and every one of them said that this was one of the women that did afflict them, and that they had constantly seen her in the very habit, that shee was now in, theire evidence do stand that shee said this morning that shee was more like to

[Note. This examination also appears to have been conducted altogether by Justice Hathorne. The Mr. Currin mentioned is most probably Curwen the magistrate.]

be bewitched than that she was a witch. Mr. Hathorne asked her what made her say so, she answered that shee was frightened one time in her sleepe and either saw or dreamed that she saw a thing like an indian all black which did pinch her in her neck and pulled her by the back part of her head to the dore of the house.

[H] did you never see anything else.

[O] no.

it was said by some in the meeting-house that shee had said that shee would never be tied to that lying spirit any more.

[H] what lying spirit is this, hath the devil ever deceived you and been false to you.

[O] I do not know the devill I never did see him.

[H] what lying spirit was it then.

[O] it was a voice that I thought I heard.

[H] what did it propound to you.

[O] that I should go no more to meeting, but I said I would and did goe the next Sabbath day.

[H] were you never tempted furdur.

[O] no.

[H] why did you yield thus far to the devil as never to goe to meeting since.

[O] alas. I have been sick and not able to goe. her husband and others said she had not been at meeting this yeare and two months. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft pp. 32—34.]

On the 2d of March Sarah Osborne was again examined, also Tituba. The latter again confessed and also accused the other two. On the 3d of March, Sarah Osborne and Tituba were again examined and Tituba persisted in her story. On the 5th of March, Sarah Good and Tituba were again examined and Tituba acknowledged the same as she had before, and accused the other two. On the 7th of March, therefore, all three were committed to the jail in Boston.

The examination of March 5th is not on Record, only the fact; but there remains sundry evidence given in at that time by *other* parties against the accused. The delusion was now rapidly spreading. William Allen and John Hughes saw certain supernatural sights

on the 1st March, which they attributed to the prisoners; Wm. Good, the husband of Sarah, testified, that the night before his wife's examination, he found a "wart or tett" upon her body a little below the right shoulder, which he never saw before—which "wart or tett" in those days, let us say, in passing, was a sure sign of suckling\* imps and devils. One Sam'l Braybrook swells the testimony still further against Sarah Good at this time. All this came in corroboration of the first accusation, and on the 7th of March the prisoners were committed, as we have said, to the jail in Boston—already prejudged by popular and judicial prejudice.

\* This appears to be the judicial history of the affair thus far—to judge by the papers yet remaining on the Court Files. Some papers are perhaps missing. It has been said that several accused were committed on the 2d March to prison, though the Court Records, so far as they can be found, do not show it. Up to the 7th March, Sarah Good, Sarah Osborne and Tituba seem to be the only parties accused and arrested. On the 19th March a warrant is issued for Martha Cory,|| wife of Giles Cory

\* "Among the Ghastly Instances of the *Success* which those Bloody Witches have had, we have seen even some of their own *Children* so Dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy, it is found, the *Imps* have sucked them and Rendred them Venemous to a Prodigy." Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, page 51. We shall have occasion to refer to this subject of Witch Marks again.

|| "March 9th.—Mr. Lowson (who had been formerly a preacher at Salem Village) came thither, and has since set forth in print an account of what then passed, about which time, as he saith, they complained of goodwife Cory and goodwife Nurse, members of Churches at the Village and at Salem, many others being by that time accused." *Calef*, page 187. "This Mr. Lowson being to preach at the Village in the latter part of March was boldly interrupted while preaching in church and questioned by two or three of the afflicted—Abigail Williams, Mrs. Pope and Ann Pntnam—the latter of whom saw "a yellow bird" (one of the Devil's gifts) on his hat as it hung on the pin in the pulpit. *Calef*, page 200.



of Salem Farms, on suspicion of witchcraft, &c., "unto ye bodys" of Ann Putnam, wife of Thomas Putnam, of Salem Village—Anna Putnam, daughter of said Thos. Putnam, Mercy Lewis, singlewoman, living in said Putnam's family—also Abagaile Williams, one of Mr. Parris's family, and Elizabeth Hubbard (Hubbard) Dr. Grigs' maid. Edward Putnam and Hencery Keney entered the complaint, and the warrant was returnable on the \*21st, at the house of Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll of Salem Village, &c. There appears to have been one deposition taken April 10 against Martha Cory: and it seems very probable that the excitement was maintained by evidence taken in this way, from time to time, and perhaps in the absence of the prisoners themselves. During all this time, moreover, there were private fasts, and a public fast, and religious consultations in reference to such an alarming state of things, so that the facts and the excitement were wide-spread, seen and known of all men. On the †21 March the Magistrates met at Sa-

It would appear by this that Rev. Mr. L. narrowly escaped being cried out against for Witchcraft.

\* Calef says (page 187) that Martha Cory was examined March 21st before the Magistrates of Salem, at the Meeting House at the village, and before a throng of spectators. Rev. Mr. Noyes began with prayer, after which the prisoner was called upon for her answer, *and she desired that she might go to prayer*, and was answered by the Magistrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.—Calef further states that about this time the number of the afflicted were about ten. Calef also states that Elizabeth Parris, daughter of the Minister, Abigail Williams, his niece, and Ann Putnam, "were not only the beginners, but were also the chief in these accusations," (pages 187-8). He means, we presume, the first accusations. Calef gives a somewhat detailed account of Martha Cory's examination (on pages 188-9). He appears to have obtained much of his information from a Rev. Mr. Lowson, who had formerly been a preacher at the Village, and who went thither when the delusion began, and wrote and printed an account of what then passed. We have never seen this account, even if in existence at this present day.

† This meeting of the 21st March was most prob-

lem, and Rev. Mr. Noyes opened with prayer. On the †24th they met at the village, and Rev. Mr. Hale prayed. On the 26th they met again in Salem, and kept the day in fasting and prayer. On the 23d March a warrant (it appears) was issued for the arrest of Rebecca Nurse and Dorcas Good, of the Village, and the former was examined on the †24th—the day when the magistrates met there.—John Proctor was arrested and examined, it appears, on the 11th of April, his wife Elizabeth and Sarah Cloyce having been arrested the 8th, and who were examined, it would appear, on the †11th also. On the 12th April, John Proctor and Elizabeth, his wife, Sarah Cloyce, Rebecca Nurse, Martha Cory, and Dorothy (Dorcas?) Good were sent to Boston jail in charge of Marshal Geo. Herrick. On the 19th of April a warrant was issued for Giles Cory, Mary Warren of Salem Farms, Abigail Hobbs, the daughter of Wm. Hobbs

ably, judging from Calef's account, at the examination of Martha Cory.

† The meeting of March 24 was, to judge by Calef, (page 189) at the examination of Mrs. Nourse.

‡ Sundry new accusers now begin to appear, showing that the circle of these persons was beginning to enlarge.

¶ To show of what public importance this witchcraft matter was deemed, it appears upon the Court Records that on the 11th of April—the day of the examination of these two women,—they were brought before a Council held at Salem, and which was composed of no less personages than Thos. Danforth, Esq., Deputy Governor, and five others of the Council. See Salem Records of witchcraft, pages 108-9. On the 12th April, these women, with Rebecca Nurse, Martha Cory, and Dorothy Good, were sent to the jail in Boston, and probably for security. We thus see the high officers of Massachusetts sanctioning the proceedings against the accused, and considering the crime as of the most weighty and public importance. Calef, (pages 201, 2,) gives some account of this examination before the Magistrates, and it is evident from that account that the Magistrates themselves were already believers in the whole affair—that their reason and wisdom had, for the time, departed.

of Topsfield, and Bridget Bishop, wife of Edward Bishop, of Salem, sawyer. The examination of one or two of these parties seems to have taken place the next day—with subsequent examinations of a few of them in prison. On the 21st April a warrant was issued for the arrest of William Hobs and Deliverance his wife, Nehemiah Abbot, Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty, Sarah Wilds, wife of John Wilds, all of Topsfield or Ipswich, Edward Bishop, husbandman, and Sarah his wife, of Salem Village, Mary Black, a negro of Lt. Nath'l Putnams of Salem Village also—and *Mary English*, the wife of Philip English, merchant in Salem. On the 22d there appears to have been an examination of the accused. On the 30th a warrant was issued for the arrest of Philip English of Salem, Sarah Murrell, and Dorcas Hoare of Beverly, widow. Mr. E. was not, however, *arrested* until the 30th May, and on a second and general warrant, as he kept beyond the reach of the Court. The arrests made after the 30th April, though frequent, do not come within the purview of this article.

The usual legal steps taken against the accused seem to have been—accusation or complaint before the Assistants, made often by the friends of the sufferers, who at the first were mere children, or girls—then warrants for arrest—then examinations, which occurred, in some instances several times, and in prison as well as out of it—then commitments—then presentations before the Grand Jury, in which the depositions and written complaints of the sufferers seem to have been taken,—and then indictments by the Jury. Some of the accused have several indictments on the record against them. Sarah Good had no less than *three* indictments found against her. Bridget Bishop had *four*. John \*Proctor, a man of stubborn

honesty, (the expression of whose opinions on the subject of witchcraft, and particularly on the conduct of Mary Warren, one of the sufferers, who was a servant at the time in his house, and who turned against him, and seems to have been one cause of his accusation) had no less than *three* indictments found against him. The more firm the accused, the greater the effort made to break him or her down. Whoever opposed the current of fanaticism and credulity, but accumulated and strengthened its tide of evil. The firmness of innocence became the obstinacy of guilt. Insensibility to the torments of the accused became the hard-heartedness of crime. The Devil had indeed come, for all the foundations of reason,

this time the number of the accused and accusers being much increased, was a public examination at Salem. Six of the Magistrates (the Deputy Governor and five others of the Council) being present, there appeared several who complained against others with hideous clamours and screechings. Good-wife Proctor was brought thither, being accused or cried out against; her husband coming to attend and assist her, as there might be need, the accusers cried out of him also, and that with so much earnestness, that he was committed with his wife.—About this time, besides the experiment of the afflicted falling at the sight, &c., they put the accused upon saying the Lord's prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition [*Deliver us from evil*] she expressed it thus (*deliver us from all evil*) this was looked upon as if she prayed against what she was now justly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating those words *hallowed be thy name*, she expressed it, *hollowed be thy name*, this was counted as depraving the words as signifying to make void, and so a curse rather than a prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that she also could not say it, &c.\*

Repeating the Lord's Prayer *correctly* was a sign of *innocence—incorrectly of guilt*—in those accused of witchcraft.

It will be seen, and ought to be noted, that at the examination of April 11th, various high dignitaries of the State were present, who must have sanctioned the proceedings against witchcraft. This proves that the matter was considered of *public*, and not mere *local* importance.

\* We will give here what *Calef* says of the commitment of Proctor, which was most probably done by the sanction of the *Council*, which met on the 11th April.

Says *Calef* (pages 201-2) "April the 11th. By



prudence and humanity were removed from their place, and naught remained but their ruins, piled together in chaos and confusion.

As is well known, a Special Court\* of Oyer and Terminer was appointed to try the Witches and Wizards, and several were executed by it. It has been stated, (See Washburn's Judicial History of Mass. Chap. 8,) and doubtless with reason, that this Court was illegally appointed—an illegal body—doing terrible mischief.—Under the strong excitement of that day, the Government acted with a precipitate decision, and consequent illegality and injustice.

To return, however, to our immediate subject. Up to the 21st of April some 13 persons had been arrested for this crime, the greater part by far of the accused being residents of Salem Village or Farms. The accusers, once having broken through the bounds of the Village, scoured† the county for victims. Of those

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\* This Court was composed of seven of the most prominent citizens and lawyers of the Colony, (the Lt. Gov. Stoughton being at its head) who were especially commissioned and constituted a Court to try the witchcraft Cases. They held their first term on the 2d of June, 1692. Mr. Saltonstall—one of the principal citizens so commissioned—declined to act in the matter, thereby proving himself humane and wise. The appointment of this special Court, and the rank of its officers prove the *then* public estimate of the importance of the witchcraft affair at Salem.

† It is very probable that some of the afflicted children were taken into neighboring towns to detect the witches or wizards therein, as those afflicted were supposed to be able to detect the causes of any evil works of witchcraft. We know, historically, that this was the way in which the delusion spread into Andover, and accusations commenced there, and the same may be true of most, if not all of the other towns involved in it. Says Cotton Mather, in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," article "Enchantments Encountered," (page 6,) speaking of those afflicted with witchcraft,—“These our poor, afflicted neighbors, quickly after they become *Infected* and *Infested* with these *Demons*, arrive to a capacity of discerning those which they conceive the *shapes* of their troubles, &c.” These very afflicted

for whom warrants were issued on the 21st., Wm. Hobbs of Topsfield or Ipswich seems to have rendered himself obnoxious, in part certainly, for not having attended public religious meetings, for which he excused himself on examination by having “had a distemper that none knows.” He was accused by his own daughter (Abigail) to two persons of going away when there was any reading of the Scriptures in his family, which he denied. It is evident from the questions asked him and answers made by him, that he was, and had been considered as one who “put away God’s ordinances.” Hobbs seems to have stoutly denied his crime, though it is uncertain what finally became of him. His daughter Abigail had been arrested before him (April 19) and had confessed herself a witch on the 20th in Salem Prison—that she had been instrumental in afflicting the accusers—that the Devil in the shape of a man had appeared to her and brought sundry images of the afflicted, made in wood, and like them, and gave her thorns, and bid her prick them into those Images, which she did accordingly into each of them, and then the Devil told her they were afflicted, which accordingly they were, and cried out they were hurt by Abigail Hobbs. Such was the tale of this Abigail Hobbs, ere her father was arrested, and all she confessed then or after was solemnly believed. On her subsequent examination, May 12, she accused the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, and was solemnly asked by the Magistrates, among other questions, “Have any vessels been cast away by you?” to which she answered, “I do not know.” She appears to have been an unruly, rude, disobedient, strange acting girl, who on being asked by one of her young acquaintance, “how she durst lie out a

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persons, however, soon became capable of discerning the shapes of all those who troubled others through Witchcraft, and were sent for, far and near, to discover those who were supposed to be the causes of various troubles and mischiefs in various families out of Salem. By this way the illusion or delusion soon spread beyond the limits of Salem.



nights in ye woods alone?" told her, "she was not afraid of anything, for she had sold herself boddy and soule to ye old boy." (See Records of Salem Witchcraft.)

Whether Wm. Hobbs maintained his innocence to the last, is not now traceable. His wife Deliverance at first stood firm in asserting her innocency, but finally gave way, as had her daughter before her, and so, by confession, escaped death; though the daughter was condemned, but not executed. On the 22d April, Deliverance was examined at Salem Village, and, after asserting her innocence awhile, accused Sarah Wilds, (who had been arrested with her) Mercy Lewis, and Sarah Osborn (one of the three arrested 29 Feb'y.) At her examination in prison, she accused several of those already arrested, and also the Rev. Mr. Burroughs. She acknowledged herself to be "a \*covenant witch"—that she was warned to

a witch meeting the morning before—stated who were there, and that Mr. Burroughs was among them and officiated as their Preacher—that he prest them to bewitch all in the Village, telling them that they should do it gradually and not all at once, assuring them they should prevail—that he administered the Sacrament unto them at the same time, with Red Bread and Red Wine like Blood—that they sat seemingly at a table—and that a man in a long crowned White Hat (the Devil) sat next the Minister—that the meeting was held in the pasture by Mr. Parris's House—that Goody (Sarah) Wilds gave her notice of this meeting—and that Proctor and his wife, Goody Nurse, Giles Cory and his wife, Goody Bishop, alias Oliver, were present—all partaking of the Sacrament, and some of them distributing the bread and wine.

This terrible confession of Mrs. Hobbs—implicating as it did various parties already accused, who were supposed to be able, *though already in Prison*, to send their apparitions\* or

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\* This term "Covenant Witch, or Wizard," was of fearful import in the days of 1692. *Calef*, in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World," says (page 67) that this is "the only witch now enquired after"—and describes as "one said to become so by making an explicit covenant with the Devil, i. e., the Devil appearing to them and making a covenant mutually, promising each to other, testified by their signing his book, a material book, which he is said to keep, and that thereby they are intitled to a power, not only to afflict others, but such as is truly exorbitant, &c.,"—pp. 67-8. The Rev. Mr. Hale evidently believed in such a description of witches after 1692. *Calef* says that such an explicit covenant was considered essential "to compleat a witch" at that day, (page 68.) He could find no warrant for such a witch in Scripture. It was then, moreover believed that "Covenant" witches had power to commission the Devil to perpetrate mischief against individuals and the community. See *Calef*, page 313.

Cotton Mather, in his "Enchantments encountered," evidently refers to this description of witches, as well as to the grand plot they contemplated, when he says, (page 7) after speaking of the confessions of the accused, that it is agreed, "That these witches have driven a Trade of commissioning their confederate spirits to do all all sorts of mischiefs to their neighbors, whereupon there have ensued such

mischievous consequences upon the Bodies and Estate of the Neighborhood as could not otherwise be accounted for; yea, that at prodigious witch meetings the wretches have proceeded so far as to concert and consult the methods of rooting out the Christian Religion from this Country and setting up instead of it, perhaps, a more gross *Diablist* than ever the world saw before."

In this extract we have additional proof as to the then estimation and importance of the Salem Witchcraft in the belief of prominent men in the Colony.

\* A quotation from Cotton Mather—"Wonders of Invisible World," (pages 49-50-51)—will perhaps explain this "apparition" matter better than any comments of our own.—"The things confessed by witches and the things endured by others, laid together, amount unto this account of our affliction. The Devil, exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small *Black man*, has decoyed a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures to list themselves in his horrid Service by entering their names in a *Book* by him tendred unto them. These *Witches*, whereof above a Score have now confessed and shown their Deeds, and some are now tormented by the Devils for confessing, have met in Hellish *Rendezvouses*, wherein the Confessors do say, they

shapes to such meetings and to torment the afflicted ones, only of course added horror and indignation to the persecution, the more especially as a reputed Minister of Christ was now revealed as the leader and the preacher of this unholy league—caught too with his unallowed companions in the very act of partaking of the awful Sacrament of Hell—the very Devil himself sitting with and by them the while. Here too was this Burroughs, the wolf of wolves in sheep's clothing, instigating his abominable audience to destroy Salem Village—body and soul—and that not at once, but gradually—slyly—secretly—surely—and assuring them they should prevail! Such a confession as this must have stirred up the indignation of our fathers from the very depths, for it was believed, and that earnestly, seriously, solemnly. There is a deposition of one witness remaining on the Court Records, taken very probably after this confession of Mrs. Hobbs, stating that there were some three hundred or more witches in the country, and that their object was the destruction of Salem Village. The horror, alarm and rage which must have then followed such confessions can only indeed be *imagined* by those who know the religious tendencies and convictions of the Puritans at that day. Such confessions, moreover, were supposed to reveal the secret of the Devil's campaign in the war—his plan of attack—and consequently Salem Village became the very point and centre of the battle. *There* the Devil and his emissaries were perhaps to wage their most furious fight—that was the place to

strengthen-against him, and his followers there as elsewhere must be exterminated at all hazards.

It is in this light, that Salem Village, and the witchcraft there, excited such a portentous interest in the religious fancies, imaginations and beliefs of our fathers. It accounts in good part for the frenzy and madness which centred there, and which scoured the land to secure the hellish conspirators against its safety and peace, and the safety in fact of the Colony. The accused of witchcraft had generally indeed many crimes to answer for, but they were often individual ones, but the destruction of the village was a systematic plot and plan—the beginning only of the destruction of the State—a grand conspiracy against man and God—with its agents and ramifications throughout the County, if not the whole State. Silence, darkness, mystery, diabolism, all brooded over it, and lent

have bewitched some, even so far as to make them *self destroyers*; and others are in many Towns here and there languishing under their *Evil Hands*. The People thus afflicted are miserably scratched and bitten, so that these marks are most *visible* to all the World, but the causes utterly *invisible*; and the same *invisible* Furies do most visibly stick *pins* into the bodies of the afflicted and *scald* them and hideously distort and disjoint all their members, besides a thousand other sorts of plagues beyond those of any natural diseases which they give unto them. Yea, they sometimes drag the poor people out of their chambers and carry them over *Trees* and *Hills*, for diverse miles together. A large part of the persons tortured by these diabolical *Spectres* are horribly tempted by them, sometimes by fair promises and sometimes by hard threatenings, but always with felt miseries, to Sign the *Devil's Laws* in a Spectral *Book* laid before them; which two or three of these poor sufferers, being by their tiresome sufferings overcome to do, they have been immediately released from all their miseries and they appeared in *Spectre* then to torture those that were before their fellow sufferers. The Witches, which by their Covenant with the Devil are become owners of *Spectres*, are oftentimes by their own *Spectres* required and compelled to give their consent for the molestation of some which they had no mind otherwise to fall upon, and cruel depredations are then made upon the vil-

have had their Diabolical Sacraments, imitating the *Baptism* and the Supper of our Lord. In these Hellish Meetings these Monsters have associated themselves to do no less a thing than to *destroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these parts of the World*; and in order hereunto, First, they each of them have their *Spectres*, or Devils, Commissioned by them, and representing of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By these wicked *Spectres* they seize poor people about the Country with various and bloody *torments*; and of those evidently preternatural torments there are some who have dy'd. They



their aid. The Devil was abroad in person to lend it his sanction and assistance. His Sacrament\* was administered to his followers in that very village, in all the solemnity of iniquity, as the final stimulant and consolation, perhaps, for the hour of battle. That hour indeed was upon our fathers, and they aroused of a sud-

den to the terrible strength of the enemy—his near presence—and their own weakness and wants. These things have conspired to give the Village a name and reputation as enduring as History, and as unenviable as enduring. Still, the blame or the stain does not belong to Salem entirely. The delusion\* was a wide spread

vinage. In the prosecution of these *Witchcrafts*, among a thousand other unaccountable things, the *Spectres* have an odd faculty of cloathing the most substantial and corporeal instruments of torture with *invisibility*, while the wounds thereby given have been the most palpable things in the world," &c.

Those who read Mather should also read Calef, who disposes of some of these "unaccountable" cases, which Mather describes, in a totally different manner. Calef states, that in some cases where the afflicted of witchcraft were bitten, *they were seen to bite themselves* and could not have been bitten at times by the accused—as in the instance where the accused *had not a tooth in his head* wherewith to bite. See Calef, pages 312-3. That some of the Witchcraft Supernaturalism was *deception*, may appear before we conclude our article. Calef came to the conclusion that Witchcraft was "a work of the flesh."

\* "March 31, 1692, was set apart as a day of solemn humiliation at Salem, upon the account of this business, (witchcraft) on which day *Abigail Williams* said that she saw a great number of persons in the village at the administration of a mock sacrament, where they had *bread as read (red) as raw flesh*, and *read (red) drunk*." Calef, page 200. This Sacrament was the Devil's, and as Abigail Williams was one of those gifted with *spectral* sight, her story was undoubtedly and implicitly believed. This seems to be the commencement of the accusations of attending the Devil's Church.

It seems most probable that Abigail Williams could not have originated this story, as she was a girl of only 11 years of age. She now appears to be revealing (in part, at least,) the *plot*, which Cotton Mather states was foretold some forty years before against the Church. Did not this young girl hear conversations in Rev. Mr. Parris's family, (of which she was a member) and perhaps between some of his brother ministers and himself *as to the establishment of the Devil's Church*, and thus catch at and shape her charges accordingly? Sundry of those accused in 1692 accused themselves of joining the Devil's church, but then we know historically, that

confessions were *extorted* from the accused of that day by persistent importunities, by threatenings, and even *punishments*, and we also know that some of the clergy were first and foremost in these efforts to extort confessions. These stories of the Devil's church—its forms, ceremonies and sacraments—seem like the imaginations of *clerical* minds—their ideas shining through the confessions of others. Unconsciously, perhaps, they (some of the clergy) moulded the persecution into a religious shape and form, and then quoted the works of their own minds (the confessions of guilt they zealously elicited) as *proof* of the sin and plot and shame which had been foretold, or which they themselves dreaded! Was not Cotton Mather one of this class, and did not he and others mould the illusion of 1692, unconsciously yet fanatically, into the shape acceptable to their own imaginations and credulities?

\* We apply the term *delusion* to the tragedy of 1692, since we find no *proof* of the crime of those accused of witchcraft at that day. Those then accused were neither professed witches nor wizards, as the Indian Powaws for instance—never exhibited previously any *proofs* of any mysterious occult power—were many of them blameless members of churches, or of good repute and conversation. The Jewish law which condemned witches and wizards to death, perhaps had especial reference to *notorious* witches and wizards—those who *practised* witchcraft as a profession, and were so known and reputed. The Biblical witch or wizard was one who forsook the true God to worship false Gods or the Devil, and in consideration of some power or benefit to be gained from such sources, and whose idolatrous *example* was therefore deadly and pernicious. The base of their crime was Idolatry—a heinous offence for the Israelites, to whom the true God was revealed, and whose chosen people they were. What *power* the Jewish witches or wizards received from the false Gods or Devil they worshipped is a difficult question to answer—perhaps, however, the same kind of power as that recorded of the Egyptian Magicians who withstood Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, as mentioned in



one, and the burden of it must be borne by the general opinion of men at that day. Salem Village was indeed the centre in 1692, but the circumference could alone be found on the borders of the Colony, aye, even the borders of New England.

The name of Nehemiah Abbot, jr., weaver, of Topsfield or Ipswich, who was also to be arrested on the 21st, does not appear on the Records, save in the warrant. Whether some mistake was made in the man, or he was released, or whatever be the cause of his non-appearance, we are ignorant. The next person named in the warrant of that day, Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty of Topsfield, [or Ipswich] was arrested and examined at a Court at Salem Village, April 22, before Judges Hathorne and Curwin. She behaved with great dignity and firmness at this examination and denied her guilt. Her firmness, her good character, and perhaps the recommendations of her neighbors, evidently caused the magistrates to hesitate in her case, since on the 20th of May she was set at liberty, all her accusers clearing her, save Mercy Lewis, who, moreover, was immediately so afflicted and tormented by Mary Easty for the space of two days and a night, that she had to be arrested again; nor was Mercy L. quiet until she understood Mrs. Easty was put in irons! Mary E. was therefore again examined May 23d, and at this second examination, which took place at the village, Mercy Lewis,

Exodus. Whether that power, however, was diabolical, or only *apparently* superhuman, is a question involving all the capabilities of human wiles and the spiritual power of false Gods or the Devil. It is, however, evident that the sufferers of 1692 were not *professed* witches or wizards, and that the greater part certainly were not in the Jewish sense witches or wizards at all—not being forsakers of God, but on the contrary, calling Him to witness their innocence—not a few of them even being church communicants! They were condemned moreover on *spectral* testimony and by the *belief* in their guilt, rather than on any *visible proof* of their being engaged in witchcraft. They were, therefore, convicted of an *imaginary* crime under the *belief* (which was an illusion or delusion) that they were really guilty.

Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam, Mary Warren and Abigail Williams were choked in such a grievous manner when Mary Easty came in “that the honred magistrats could not proceed to her examination untill they desired mr. haile (Rev. Mr. Hale) to go to prayer, and in prayer time and sumtime after it they remained in this sad condition of being almost choked to death, and when they were abul again to speak they all with one Consent Charged her that she did them that mischief.” (Records Salem Witchcraft, page 342.) That same day Mary E. was sent for security to Boston jail. A Sam. Smith of Boxford also appeared against her, probably at a subsequent date (by deposition) and with some fanciful evidence. Margaret Redington, aged about 70, also told a marvellous and ridiculous tale of Mrs. E.’s causing her to fall “Into a most sollom condision”\* by her magic. Such evidence, in such a day, sealed the fate of Mary Easty, and thereupon she was condemned and executed.

While arraigned, Mary Eastey† and Sarah

\* From the not very honorable mention of this old woman, as gathered from what is said of and about her by Ephraim Wildes, she may have been put into this “most sollom condision” by having been detected and exposed by Mrs. Eastey in some gossiping lie.

† According to *Calef*, Mary Easty was condemned on the 9th of September, together with Martha Cory of Salem Village, Alice Parker and Ann Pudeator of Salem [proper], Dorcas Hoare of Beverly and Mary Bradberry of Salisbury:—and that she was executed on the 22d of September, in company with Martha Cory, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator and four others, (page 225). *Calef* devotes a page or two to her, (226-7-8) showing how eminently Christian she was. After her execution (with the other seven) the Rev. Mr. Noyes of Salem, blinded with the delusion then prevalent, turning to the bodies, said, “what a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of Hell hanging there.” *Calef*, (page 258). He (Noyes) himself was evidently impressed with the idea that these witches were aiding the *plot* for the overthrow of the New England Church, and laboring under the fanaticism of that day, stigmatized them in such language,

Cloyce, (her sister)—also a prisoner for witchcraft—humbly petitioned the Court, that, as they were not able to plead their own cause, and as *Counsel was not allowed to those in their condition*, the Judges would act as Counsel for them when they stood in need of Counsel; that as they themselves were not conscious of any guilt as to the crime accused, or any other scandalous evil or miscarriage inconsistent with Christianity, those who had known them the longest and best—being persons of good report—might be suffered to testify upon oath what they knew concerning each of them, viz:—Mr. Capen the Pastor and those of the Town and Church of Topsfield, “who are ready to say something which we hope may be looked upon as very considerable in this matter”—and lastly, “that the testimony of witches, or such as are affected, as is supposed, by witches, may not be improved to condemn us without other Legal evidence concurring. We hope the honoured Court and Jury will be soe tender of the lives of such as we are who have for many yeares lived under the unblemished reputation of Christianity as not to condemn them without a fayre and equall hearing of what may be sayd for us as well as against us.” Unfortunately for Mary Easty, the Court, like the Public, were beyond the Law and the Evidence. Judges and juries were alike engulfed in the sea of madness—saw in the prisoners only the destroyers of the Church and State—and the petition alone was heard by the Judge of Judges, and the sufferer granted in his own time the perfect liberty of the children of God.

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RECORDS OF OVERSEERS OF THE POOR  
OF THE OLD TOWN OF DANVERS,  
FOR THE YEARS 1767 AND 1768, BY  
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD,  
CAPT. ELISHA FLINT, WITH NOTES.

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BY S. P. FOWLER.

Danvers, March ye 9th, 1767. A Book of  
Records.

Notice is hereby Given to the Inhabbtance

of Danvers, that the Overseers\* will meeete at

\* The overseers of the poor chosen in 1767 were Capt. Elisha Flint, Gideon Putnam and Sam'l Holten. The town voted at their annual meeting in March to give their overseers 40 shillings each for their services during the year. But at the adjournment of the meeting it was voted to reconsider the vote of giving ye overseers a reward for their services. The maintenance of the poor at the public charge very early engaged the attention of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Their greatest difficulty in those days, as at the present time, was the settlement and disposal of such poor persons as did not belong in the towns where they received aid. The perplexity, arising from determining the settlement of paupers was felt in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay as early as 1639, for we find by their records of June 6 for that year the following:—“It is ordered that the Court, or any two magistrates out of Court, shall have power to determine all differences about a lawful settling and providing for poor persons and shall have power to dispose of all unsettled persons into such townes as they shall judge to bee most fitt for the maintenance of such persons and families and the most ease of the community.” The power thus given to fix the residence of paupers appears to have given great dissatisfaction and they were constantly petitioning the Court for relief. Accordingly in June 15, 1645, the Court appointed “Mr. Shepheard, John Johnson and Capt. Wiggin a committee to consider of ye lawe for ye disposing of inmates and settling inopotent aged persons or vagrants and either to rectifye it where it is defective, or draw up and prefer a bill yt may answer ye expectation of each towne and ye whole country, yt every toune may know wt may be their owne burdens and prevent multiplying of petitions to ye Courte hereabouts and present their thoughts herein to this house.” There does not appear to have been any special provision made by the Colony for the relief of poor strangers or paupers and consequently the several towns were continually striving with each other to relieve themselves of their support. Some of them failing to do this, they petitioned the Court to grant them permission to prevent strangers from residing in town and thus gaining a settlement. The Court passed on the 11th of May, 1695, a law whereby the several towns could order any stranger coming within their limits to reside to leave immediately. Should he refuse to do so, the Selectmen could petition the County Court for relief and it became their duty to investigate the case and determine the settlement of the pauper.—

the Houses of Saml Endicott, Inholder in Danvers, on monday ye thirteenth day of April at two o'clock after Noon, to put out the poor to Such persons as will tak and keep them the Cheapest, or as the Overseers and they Can agree.

Danvers, March ye 30, 1769.

By order of the Overseers, ELISHA FLINT.

An account of the poor that was put out April ye 13th, 1767, and the places where and with what the persons were to have For Keeping them:—

Elizabeth Moar, a poor child, to Israel Che-

Should it be found that his residence could not be settled in any town in the County, the County Court could give him a settlement in any town they saw fit to designate, and the town thus providing was reimbursed in their expenses by the County. Should the town neglect to warn the stranger to depart within three months from the time he became a resident, or to petition the County Court for relief, the pauper gained a settlement in the town where he was residing. This appears to be the first law passed in Massachusetts to relieve the town from foreign paupers. This law or others similar to it was in force for many years in the State and were known as the warning out laws.

We have before us an order served upon an inhabitant of Danvers more than sixty years ago to quit the town. This person, however, remained here long enough to acquire an estate of twenty thousand dollars, become one of the Selectmen of the town, and obtained other distinguished honors.

It was the duty of householders to inform the Selectmen if strangers came to reside with them, to enable the board, if they saw fit, to order them to quit the town.

The following is an order of notice sent to the Selectmen with the endorsement "Ezra Putnam's Letter"—  
Warned out Isaac Peabody and wife, 1763:—  
To the Selectmen of Danvers:—

Gentlemen:—these are to inform you that I have taken into my House Isaac Peabody and Sarah Peabody, his Wife, Molley, Sarah, Isaac, Huldah and Rachel, their Children; they came from Middleton the 22d of December, 1768; their Surcumstances very Low in ye World.

EZRA PUTNAM.

December ye 20th, 1763.

yer for one year to Ceep from the 13th of April, 1767, at £6, 18, 8.

Sam'l Boyce, one of ye Poor, to John Waters one year at £2, 0, 0.

Hannah Haibord, one of ye Poor, to John Waters from ye 20th of March, 1767, to next March, at £6, 13, 4.

Margaret Royal, one of ye Poor, to Sam'l Putnam one year to Ceep from ye 13th of April, 1767, at £5, 10, 11.

Sarah Croel, a poor child, to Johathan Tarbell for one year from ye 13th of April, 1767, at £6, 11, 9.

Jean Woicat, one of ye Poor, to Ezra Batchelder one year to Ceep from April 13th, 1767, at £5, 10, 11.

Bridget Weabe, one of ye Poor, to Elisha Flint to Ceep one year from ye 13th of April, 1767, at £6, 18, 8.

Thomas Neallson, one of ye Poor, to Elisha Flint to Ceep one year from ye 2d day of June, 1767, at £8, 8, 0.

Isaac Pecas, one of ye Poor, to David Putnam to Ceep one year from ye 2d day of June, 1767, at £6, 18, 8.

Joseph Vearey, one of ye Poor, to Elisha Flint to Ceep one year from 2d day of June, 1767, at £6, 18, 8.

At a meeting of the Overseers, April ye 19th, 1767, concluded to use ye following form in letting out ye Poor:—

Agreed with A. B.—For the said A. B. to take and keep C. D. at Three Shillings per week £ Money, from the 2d day of June Next to the 18th day of April, 1768, he Being one of the Poor of the said Town of Danvers, with all the necessaries of Life if he Live so Long, Except Clothing and Extraordinary Sickness, or the want of a Doctor, which the Town will Provide if timely Notified—And said A. B. is to have the Improvement of said poor C. D.'s bed for him to Lay upon, and said A. B. is to return Said bed and Clothing to the Town



again at the End of Said Term, Be he alive or be he Dead—Agreed upon and Consented By us the Subscribers—

A Meeting of the Overseers was holden at the House of Sam'l Endicots, April ye 20th, to put out ye Poor of Danvers under the following Notice:—

Notice is hear By Given to the Inhabitanice of Danvers, that the Overseers will meet at the House of Sam'l Endicots on Monday ye 20th of April at five o'clock, to put out William Henfield and his wife to that Person that will take them and keep them the Cheapest.

Danvers, April 17th, 1767.

By order of ye Overseers,

ELISHA FLINT.

Danvers, April 20th.—At a meeting of the Overseers to put out Wm. Henfield and his wife it was omitted at that time. Agreed to give Caleb Wallis and his wife three Postereens pr week for their Support till further order.

Agreed to Give the wido Abigall Cutler 2 shil. pr week for Keeping Abigall Marsh till further orders.

Agreed to do Somthing to Thomas Nelson's Clothes—And to git an under Jacket and aporn and a pare of stockings for Isaac Peas.

Agreed with the Rev. Peter Clark to hire his House, which Paul Hayward livid in, and a garden spot at £2, 0, 0 Pr year.

An Inventory of what the Poor of the Town has this present year, March ye 2d, 1767, and Taken by the Overseers of the Poor of Danvers:—

Sarah Veary, aged 75 years, hath one good feather Bed, one Bolster, one Piller, one Piller Case, one Coverlead, one Blancoot and Sheet and very Comfortably on it for wairing apparil.

Thomas Nelson, aged 98 years, no Bed or Bedding and Comfortably of for Clothes, Except Shoes.

Joseph Veary, aged 66 years, No Bed or

Bedding, but Comfortably of for Clothes Except Britches and Shocs.

Elizabeth Moocer, aged 2 years.

Samuel Boyes, aged 47 years, hath an under Bed, fether Bed and 2 Rugs.

Hannah Harberd, aged 87 years, hatha good feather bed and other household Stuf and well Clothed.

Margaret Royal, aged 65 years.

- Jean Waiat.

Briget Weabe, aged 98 years.

Isaac Peas, aged 69 years, with a Bed and Bedding.

Joseph Peas at Salem.

William Henfield, aged 80 years, and his wife, aged 68 years, hath Beds. Bedding, Clothing and household Goods and weuring apparil.

Caleb Wolles, aged 64 years, and his wife, aged 68 years, hath No Bed, nor Bed Clothes and very Poorly on't for Clothing.

Abigail Marsh, aged 87 years, hath a fether Bed, Bolster and Rug and Clothing.

John Croel.

Abigall Wooding.

Hannah Croel.

Ruth Tarbox, aged 79 years.

Martha Magery.

Abigall Endicot.

Mary Holman.\*

At a meeting of ye Board of Overseers,

\*Among the twenty-one paupers mentioned by the Overseers in 1767 we notice two, Thomas Nelson and Bridget Webb, who were 98 years of age. Hannah Harberd and Abigail Marsh; both of them 87 each. William Henfield 80, Ruth Tarbox 79, Sarah Very 75, Isaac Peese 68. The average of these individuals is upwards of 84 years. The great age of these persons would be surprising to many, but not so to Overseers of the poor, to whom it is well known that a simple diet and regular habits tend to promote longevity. Of the eighteen persons now supported by the town of Dauvers, one is 87, one is 86, one is 85 and one 70 years of age.

May 1st, 1767, John Shelton presented his account as follows:—

John Shelton's account of what he has Done for his Mother Magery, from the first of March to the 11th of April, 1767:—

To 2 galons New Eng. Rum	32 shil.
& 1 galon West End. Rum at	28 shil.
1 quart of West inde.	7 shil. 6d.
& 2 quarts of New Rum	7 shil. 6d.
to bisket 5 shil.—to plums	2 shil. 5d.—to 2
ounces of tea	4 shil. 9d.—for bisket agin
1 shil. 6d.—to 6 ounces of tea	14 shil. 3d.—to 7
pounds of Shugar more	22 shil. 6d.—to oat-
meal 5 shil.—to Bisket again	2 shil. 6d.—to 9
pounds of Beef	16 shil. 6d.—to 7½ lbs. Beef
15 shil.	

Jonathan Putney jun. presented his bill for supplies furnished Samuel Boye's one of the poor of Danvers.

Danvers, April 30th, 1767.

For Cloth for a pair of briches,	£1 11 6d
and makcing and Lying and But-	
tons and mohair,	1 7 0
28th Day, to 2 quarts of west inge	
Rum,	0 17 0
May the 7th, 2 quarts of west inge	
Rum,	0 15 0
do pound of Sugar,	0 4 0
for a pair of Shoes,	2 10 0
for Cloth, Buttons and making a jacket	2 5 6
and for nursing,	2 5 0

£11 15 0

Nursing cut down and not allowed, 2 5 0

£9 10 0

1767—To the Town of Danvers, Dr.  
In ye month of Jan'y delivered to  
William Newman's wife 12 qts. of  
milk, 12 shil., £0 12 0  
In ye month of April 30 qts ditto 30  
shil., 1 10 0

In ye month of May 23 qts of ditto 23  
shil., 1 3 0

Old Tenor, £ 3 5 0

Lawful money, 8 8

RICHARD WHITTREDGE JUN.

At a meeting of the Overseers June 1st, 1767,  
Gave an order to Caleb Wallis for  
ten shillings and ninepence hapeny  
for he and his wife's support last  
past, £0 10 9½

Gave an order to Cornelius Tarbell  
for keeping Margaret Royal two  
weeks and a half, that is from the  
26th of March to ye 13th of April,  
1767, £0 6 8

Gave an order to Gideon Putnam, it  
being as a gift to the French Nu-  
trals, to send them of, or support  
them upon their passage,\*

Gave an order to Richard Tuckberry  
for one pound thirteen shillings  
and four pence, it Being for sup-  
porting Hannah Harbord, one of

\* One thousand of the French Neutrals, who were expelled from Acadia in 1755, came to Massachusetts and became a public charge and were distributed among the several towns in the Commonwealth, according to their population and valuation. They were plaeced under the care of the Selectmen and Overseers of the poor and the expense of their subsistence was reimbursed from the Province treasury. Among their greatest privations was the absence of their priests and their usual mode of worship. They were permitted to meet for this purpose in private houses, but were not allowed the exercise of public worship by Roman Catholic Priests. There was but one or two families of the French neutrals in Danvers, and we have ben unable to ascertain their names or residences Whether they were related to Evangeline or her lover Gabriel tradition does not inform us. During the year 1767 the town gave these injured and unfortunate people 9 pounds to support them on their passage to Martinico.

the Poor of said Town, Three  
Months Last Past, £1 13 4

This Colem cast up amounts to £11 18 9½

Danvers, November ye 10th, 1767.—Publick Notice Being Given for selling Sundery Things which was Elizabeth Moors, one of the Poor of said Town, deceast, at the Houes of Mr. Sam'l Endicotts—where a Red Cloke was Struck of at Six Shillings and ten Pence; a Poplin Gound at Eleven Shillings—a Riding Hood at four shillings and three pence—a Red Cote at Seven shillings and sixpence—a Hood at one Shilling and five pence—a Platter at one Shilling and Seven pence—a pair of Rufels and caps at Eleven pence—a pair of Stockings and other Small things at one Shilling and sixpence—a Chest at three Shillings—The hole amounting to £1, 18, 0.

Cr. to the Town for the Poplin Gound,  
which was Struck of to me, Elisha Flint,  
for £0, 11, 0.

The Rest Remaining in Gideon  
Putnam's hands, which is £1, 07, 0.

January ye 4th, 1768.—at a meeting of ye Overseers—Gave an order to Gideon Putnam upon the Treasurer For thirteen pound two shillings and ten pence, For Cash which he Disbusted for Clothing and Other Neassaries of Life, that he found for the Support of the Poor, from the First Day of April, 1767, to the Fourth Day of January, 1768, £13, 02, 10.

Gave an order to Doct. Sam'l Holten upon ye Treasurer for two shillings and ten pence, it Being Meddicons and Doctring of ye Poor one year last past, £0, 02, 10.

A memorandum of what ye Poor wantes, Namely—Isaac Peas 2 wollen Shirts, one pair of Shoes, Hat, Cote, or Great Jacket, a pare of Britches. Ye wido Gloyd 2 cords of wood at hir houes.

An Invoice of what ye wido Walet hath, one Good fether Bed and Blankot and Cover-

lead, one Bolster, one Piller, three Piller Cases, &c., and wants one gound for winter.

Feb. 4th, 1768.—At a meeting of the board of Overseers, received an account from Sam'l Holten for keeping Breget Weab and funeral charges:—

To keeping Bredget Weab,	
38 weeks and a half at 3s 4d per weeks	£6 8 0
To three weaks Extradny charge,	0 18 0
Bording the nurs one week and a half,	0 5 0
fire and light one week and a half	
and keeping the watchers,	0 1 4
to five pear of men's gloves,	0 10 0
to Rebeker Sweneirton for one weak	
and a half nursing,	0 8 0
two pear of gloues for laying her out,	0 4 0
	£8 14 4

SAM'L HOLTEN.

Danvers, Sept. ye 22d Day, 1767.—An Account of what ye Wido Abigai Cutler provided for Abigall Marsh tord hir Funeral:—

One Sheft,	£0 02 8
A Winding Sheat to lay her out and	
neecloth and Cap and liker 3 quarts,	0 9 6
and Due tords Supporting Abigall	
Marsh,	0 10 8
and for laying out ye woman after her	
Discece,	0 5 0
to Extrordy charges for looking after	
her in Sickness,	
	£2 2 10

Received an account from Doctor Amos Putnam:—

1767—The Town of Danvers to A. Putnam,  
Feb. 1st to December 4th, Dr.  
For 1 visit to John Crowell, Jun., and  
medicines adminis'd 4s, £0 4 0  
to medicines adminis'd to Jos. Very, 0 4 0  
to sundry medicines for Mrs. Coes 3s 6d,  
Cath. Rhei, &c., for Margaret Royal 1s, 0 4 6





11s 3d,	1 19 3
8—To 2 qts. N. E. Rum 8s, To 1 doz. Biscates 5s,	13 0
To Biscates 10s, To 1 oz. pepper 1s 8d, To Biscates and Gingerbread 3s 4,	15 0
12—To 1 qt. W. I. Rum 7s, To 1 nutmeg 1s 3,	8 3
18—To 7 lbs. Shugar 18s, To ½ lb. Tea 10s,	1 8 0
25—To ½ pint W. I. Rum, 5s 7d, To ½ doz. Biscates 2s 6, To 2 qts.	
26—W. I. Rum 13s 6, To ½ doz. Biscates 2s 6,	1 4 0
May 2d—To ½ lb. Tea 10s, To 2 qts. W. I. Rum 13s 6d, To ½ doz. Biscates 2s 6,	1 6 0
13—To lb. Shugar 6s 8d, To ½ lb. Tea 9s,	15 8
24—To 5 lb. Shugar 18s 6,	18 6
30—To 7 lb. Shugar 24s, To ½ lb. Raisins 1s, To 3 gills Brandy 5s,	1 10 0
June 14—To 2 qts. Molass 7s, To 1 qt. W. I. Rum 7s,	0 14 0
16—To 1 qt. W. I. Rum 7s, To 7 lbs Shugar 25s, Rice 10s,	2 2 0
July 8—To 1 doz. Biscates 5s, To 2 qts. W. I. Rum 13s 6d,	18 6
13—To 2 qts. W. I. Rum 13s 6d,	13 6
25—To 1 qt. W. I. Rum 7s,	7 0
Aug. 5—To 7 lb. Shugar 25s, To 2 qts. W. I. Rum 7s,	1 12 0
To ½ doz. Biscates 2s 6,	2 6
Sept. 14—To 6 lb. Shugar 12s, 28th—3½ lb. do. 13s,	1 5 0
Old Tenor,	£19 7 7
is L money,	£2 11 8
Errors Excepted. TARRANT PUTNAM.	
the Above Articles Delivered to the Widow Magery.*	

Capt. Elisha Flint, chairman of the board, presented the following bill:—  
1767.

April 13—De'tr to 4½ feet of oke wood,	£0 8 3
Do. to Ceeping Thomas Nelson, one of ye poor, one year,	8 8 0
Nov. 19—Do to 8½ feet of wood to the Wido Abigail Cutler tord supporting Abigail Marsh, one of ye poor,	0 14 2
Dec.—Do to 12 yards cloth and 6½ yards Red Bays for Thomas Nelson and Joseph Very a Cote, Jacet and Britches, Mohair and Butons,	2 11 1½
and Do to making the Clothes up for a Taler,	0 8 0
Do to 3½ yards of New Cloth for a Shurt for Mr. Nelson and making,	0 8 0
To 2 pare of New Stockings for Mr. Nelson and for paches and mending his old clothes,	0 7 0
Do To 7½ yards of wolen Shirt-ing for Joseph Veary and making,	0 16 0
and 1 pare of New Stockings for him,	0 4 8

Danvers, Feb. 22, 1768—At a meeting of the Board of Overseers, it was agreed to present the following report to ye town:—

An Account of ye Number of poor put out ye year Past at the Loest Rate that ye Overseers Cood Git them out and at the Best places that were to Be found when put out:—

Elizabeth Moar, a poor Child, at	£6 18 8
Sam'l Boyce, one of ye poor, at	2 0 0
Hannah Harbord, one of ye poor, at	6 13 4
Margret Royal, one of ye poor, at	5 10 11
Sarah Crowel, a poor child, at	6 11 9
Jean Weiett, one of of ye poor, at	5 10 11

the year 9 gallons, 1½ pints of rum and 1 qt. and 3 gills of brandy, at a cost of £9, 13 shil., 7 pence, old tenor.

\* The Widow Magery appears to have been well furnished with liquor by the overseers, however remiss they may have been in providing other supplies. For we find by the bills presented by John Shelton and Tarrant Putnam, that she used during

Bridget Weabe, one of ye poor, at	6	18	8	Do Caleb Walles and his wife agin,	0	18	0
Thomas Nelson, one of ye poor, at	8	8	0	James Upton to mending shoes,	0	02	0
Isaac Peas, one of ye poor, at	6	18	8	Do Caleb Walles for his Suport,	0	12	0
Joseph Veary, one of ye poor, at	6	18	8	Do Caleb Walles for his Suport 5			
For the Rev. Mr. Clark's House,	2	00	00	weeks,	0	15	0
Abigail Marsh, one of ye poor, at	5	14	8	Do Caleb Walles for his ———,	0	12	0
Sarah Very, one of ye poor, at	3	15	0	Do Caleb Walles his ———,	0	12	0
Abigail Wooding, one of ye poor, at	2	00	0	Joseph Brown to wood,	1	01	4
Wm. Henfield, one of ye poor, at	5	06	8	Do Caleb Walles for his and his			
				wife's Suport,	0	14	0
	£81	6	11	Gideon Putnam for clothing for ye			
The Hole of the poor as put out				poor,	13	02	10
the Year past By ye Overseers				Do Caleb Walles for his and his			
Amount At L. money £81, 6s, 11 pence.				wife's Suport agin,	1	14	0
				Lydia Nurse for Supporting Sara			
Orders Drawn and Given out upon ye Treas-				Very,	0	16	0
urer for the Suport of the poor, that was put				James Prince, jun., for wood,	1	06	8
out to those persons that would Ceep them the				Doctr Sam'l Holten for medesons for			
Chepest, By Order of the Overseers:—				ye poor,	0	02	0
An Order to wido Abigail Cutler to				Gideon Putnam for other Nesesaries,	2	19	11
ceep Abigail Marsh,	£0	8	0	Elisha Flint for clothing,	5	12	11
Do to Rich'd Truckbury to Ceep Han-				Do Caleb Walles for his and his			
nah Harbord,	1	13	4	wife's Suport,	0	15	0
Do ye wido Abigail Cutler to ceep				Caleb Nurse to wood,	0	06	8
Abigail Marsh agin,	1	6	8	Jacob Goodell to ceeping John Croell,	0	11	0
Do to Rich'd Truckbury to ceep Han-				Doct. Amos Putnam for doctering			
nah Harbord agin,	1	13	4	the poor,	1	13	6
Do to Nath'l Pooding for ceeping Jo-				Wido Abigail Cutler for what she			
seph Veary.	1	12	11	provided for Abigail Marsh in her			
Do to ye wido Abigail Cutler to ceep-				last sickness and tord her funeral,	2	2	10
ing Abigail Marsh,	1	8	8	Tarrant Putnam's bill for Suplies,	2	11	8
Do to Abigail Cutler to ceeping Abi-				Sam'l Holten's bill for keeping			
gail Marsh agin,	1	6	8	Bredget Weab in her last sick-			
Do to Elisha Flint for Joseph Very agin,	3	11	1	ness and 38 weeks board,	8	2	10½
Do to Ellpelet Taylor for ye Suport of					£58	8	8
Mis. Wooding,	1	6	10	The amount of orders drawn for			
Cast up amounted to	£14	7	6	the Suport of the Poor from March			
				ye 1st, 1767, to March ye 1st, 1768, were			
Orders Drawn on the Treasurer				£154, 2 shil., 1d. L money.			
Exclueief of the poor that is put out				The cost of supporting the poor of the old			
By the year:—				town of Danvers for the year 1859 was \$6059			
An order to Caleb Walles for his				43. Of this sum South Danvers paid 4318 50			
and his wife's Suport 4 weeks,	£0	10	9½	—Danvers paid 1740 93.			
An order For the French Nuterls,	9	00	0				
Do to Cornelius Tarbel for ceeping							
M'gt Royall,	0	06	8				



EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF  
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,  
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 44.

George Early and and Abigaile Foot were married ye 15th 8th mo., 1670; their daughter Abiall borne 1st 7th mo., '71; the said George Early dyed 4th 7th mo., '72.

Mrs. Mary Emory, the wife of Mr. George Emory, 1673, about 9.

Moses Ebborne and Sara Haines were married 9th 7th mo., 1671; son Moses borne 14th 12 mo., '72; son Joseph borne ye 24th 2d mo., '74; daughter Sara borne ye 26th 8th mo., '76. Sarah his wife deceased 1st 9th mo., '76.

Phillip English and Mary Hollingworth were married the 1st 7th mo., 1675; their daughter Mary borne 21st 12th mo., 1676; their son William borne the 23d May, 1679; daughter Susana borne the 5th July, 1682; Philip born 4th Sept., '84; Susana 11th Feb., 1686; Wm. born 7th 2d mo., 1689-90; Ebenezer born 21st April, 1694.

Clement English, his son Benjamin borne by Mary his wife 19th 8th mo., 1676; their daughter Abigaile borne the 6th of December, 1680; their son Clement borne the 7th March, 1682-3; the sd Clement the father deceased 23d 10th mo., 1682.

Frances Everitt deceased at the house of John Procter the 22d May, 1680.

Sam'l Elson his daughter Mary borne by his wife Mary ye 10th of November, 1686; sone Samuel born 27th July, '89; Sarah born 7th Octobr, 1692.

Thomas Elkins, his daughter Sarah borne by Sarah his wife the 5th June, 1674; their son Thomas borne the 11th January, 1676; their daughter Liddea borne 12th June, 1679; their son John borne 17th May, 1681; Margett borne 26th April, 1683; Mary borne Decembr 1st, 1686; Magdalen born 28th April, 1689;

Robert borne March the 2d, 1695-6: Henry born 16th July, 1691.

Doct'r George Emory dyed 20th Feb'y, 1686-7.

Samuell Endicott, his sone John borne 18th Oct'r, 1685; his sone Samuel borne 30th August, 1687.

Thomas, sone of Oliver Elkins, born 30th 7 ber, '89.

Francis Ellis, his sone Francis borne by his wife Sarah Feb'y, 1691-2; son William born June 7th, 1701-2.

Abigail Ellinwood, daughter of Ralph Ellinwood and Martha his wife, borne the 22d January, 1695-6; ye son Ebenezer borne August 29th, 1697.

Abigall English, daughter of Clem't and Mary English, diseased the 16th October, 1697.

Benjamin Elson, son of John Elson and Joanah his wife, borne at Salem 20th May, 1683.

John Elkins—

Nath'l Felton, his da'r Eliz'h borne by Mary his wife 18th March, '52; their son Nathaniel borne 15th August, '55; their da'r Mary borne 15th 11th mo., '57.

Robert Follet married to Persis Black 29th 9th mo., 1655; there da. Mary borne 16th March, '56; son Rob't borne 20th 7th mo., '59; da'r Susana 1st June, '62; da'r Hana borne 23d 10th mo., '64; da'r Ruth borne 17th 10th mo., '67, and died 2d May, '68.

Edward Flint married to Elizabeth Hart by Major Denison; their son John borne ye 26th 1st mo., '60; son William borne 12th 6th mo., '61; son Tho's borne 1st 12th, '62.

Jon. Foster, his son Jonathan by Martha his wife borne ye 20th 10th, '60; son Benjamin born ye 3d 5th, 1658; son Jonathan born 22d 9th, '62. (Jonathan, the first son, died 28th March, '62.)

Thomas Flynt, his da'r Eliza by Ann his wife born ye 30th 4th, '50; their son George borne 6th 1st, '52; son John borne ye 3d,

10th, '55; da'r Ann borne 25th 12th, '5—  
da'r Ann dyed April, '63. Tho's Flint dyed  
15th April, '63.

Thomas, son of the above said Flint, married  
to Hanna Moulton by Major Hathorne the 22d  
May, '66; da'r Abigaile borne 27th June,  
'68; son George borne in Aprill, 1672. Hanna  
his wife deceased 20th March, '73.

Richard Flindar and Jane Edde were married  
by Major Hathorne the 12th of July, 1663;  
theire son Richard was borne ye 13th May,  
'64—deceased 30th July, '64; son James borne  
ye 27th August, 1665; son William borne the  
5th January, 1667; daughter Jane borne 15th  
12th mo., 1669-70.

Edmond Feveryear married to Tabitha Pit-  
man by Major Hathorne the 30th 6th mo., '64;  
theire da'r Priscilla borne ye 7th 2d mo., '65,  
and died in June following; da'r Elizabeth  
borne 20th January, 1666; son Edmond  
borne ye 15th 12th mo., '68—died in ye 6th  
mo., '70; son John borne ye 15th January,  
'70; Mary borne 22d 3d mo., '73.

John Foster, his son David by Martha his  
wife borne ye 16th October, '65; son Jona-  
than deceased ye 6th 9th mo., '67; da'r Eliza  
borne 22d 9th mo., 1667; their son Ebenezer  
born 5th August, 1677.

Pasca Foot deceased 28th 9th mo., '70.

Pasca Foot Jun'r and Martha Ward were  
married the 2d 10th mo., 1668; son Mallechi  
borne 18th 7th mo., 1669; Martha borne 14th  
12th mo., 1671; son Pasca borne the first day  
of September, 1674.

Robert Follett, his son John borne by Peer-  
sis his wife, ye 10th July, 1669.

Isaack Foot and Abigaile Jegles were married  
ye 2d 10th mo., 1668; theire son Isaack borne  
4th 2d mo., '70, and deceased the latter end of  
June; da'r Abigall borne the 21st 9th mo.,  
'71; son Samuell borne 29th April, 1673.

John Felton and Mary Tompkins were mari-  
ed the 29th 9th mo., 1670; theire son Nathan-  
iell borne 8th June, 1672; daughter Mary  
born 30th March, '73-74; son John borne 22d

March and dyed 6th Aprill following, 1676;  
daughter Hannah borne 18th April, 1677; Eliz-  
abeth borne 28th February, 1679.

Robert Follett, his son Abraham borne by  
Peersis his wife the 23d of December, 1672;  
theire children Isaac and Rebecca, twins, borne  
the 30th July, 1674.

William Flint deceased 2d 2d mo., 1673.

John Foster the younger married to Mary  
Stuard the 18th March, 1672; son John borne  
the 27th July, 1674; daughter Mary borne  
12th 7th mo., 1675; daughter Ann borne the  
last of April, 1677; daughter Sarah borne  
27th 9th mo., 1678.

Richard Flinder, his daughter Hanna by  
Jane his wife 10th July, '72; theire son John  
borne the 28th 10th mo., 1674.

John Ferman, his daughter Elizabeth borne  
by Elizabeth his wife the 11th 12th mo., 1674.

Thomas Flint and Mary Dounto were mar-  
ried 15th 9th mo., 1674; theire sonn Thomas  
borne 2d August, 1678.

Edward Feveryear, his son Edmond borne  
by Tabitha his wife the 23d 2d mo., 1676.

David Fogg, his daughter Susana borne by  
Susana his wife the 18th 2d mo., 1675-6.

Samuell Foster and Sarah Steward were mar-  
ried the 14th May, 1676; theire son Samuell  
borne the 18th 3d mo., '77—the said Samuell  
the son deceased February following; theire  
son John borne the 30th 9th mo., 1678; son  
Samuell borne 26th July, 1680.

William Frost, his daughter Mary borne by  
Mary his wife 31st 5th mo., 1677.

Thomas Fuller, his son Thomas by Ruth his  
wife borne ye 3d 2d mo., '71; theire son Jona-  
than borne ye 19th 7th mo., 1673; theire son  
John borne the 22d 11th mo., 1676; son  
Joseph borne 12th August, 1679; theire son  
William was borne 30th November, 1685.

Richard Friend and Anna Curtice were mar-  
ried 19th 2d mo., 1677; theire daughter Mary  
borne 28th 2d mo., 1678.

John Fuller, the sonn of Thos. Fuller and

Rebeck Putnam, were marryed 22d 2d mo., 1672; their daughter Elizabeth borne 22d 6 mo. '73; daughter Bethiah borne ye 22d 1st mo., '76. John Fuller the father deceased 26 6th mo., '75.

Thomas Flint and Elizabeth Johnson were marryed ye 12th 6th mo., 167-; their daughter Ruth borne the 11th May, 1679; son Timothy borne the 30th of September, 1680; ye son John borne 21st June, 1684; son Joseph borne 1st August, 1687; daughter Abigaile borne 8 August, 1692.

John Foster Jun'r, his 2d son John borne by Mary his wife ye 15th 9th mo., 1680; their sonn John the eldest deceased the 14th 7th mo., 1680; their youngest sonne Jonathan borne 14th June, 1683; yr sone Eben borne 22d Feb'y, 1685; son Benjamin borne 11th March, 1687; daughter Mercy borne 15th July, 1689; son James borne by Mary his 2d wife 12th 2d mo., 1693.

Joseph Foster married ye 21st November, 1683, to Anna Wilson, relict of Robt. Wilson; his daughter Ruth born by her October 18th, 1684.

Benj. Foster, son of Sam'l and Sarah Foster, born May 24th, 1689.

Richard Foster, son of Sam'l Foster and Margery his wife, born Dec. 19th, 1693; their daughter Mary born Nov. 8th, 1695; their daughter Margaret borne Feb'y 3, 1697; their son Jona. born 1699; Bartholemew born Feb'y 23d, 1701-2.

Thomas Feild was married to Mary Leache March 2d, 1680; his son Thomas born 17th January, '81; his daughter Mary born 4th 7th mo., '83; 5th December was born his son Samuel.

Benja. Fuller, the sone of Benj. Fuller, was borne ye 25th day of Feb'y, 1686-7.

John Felton, sone of Jno. Felton, his daughter Elizabeth borne ye 28 Feb'y, 1678; sone Sam'l borne Jan'y 1st, 1682; son John borne 22d August, 1686; his wife Mary dyed 12th December, 1688.

Jacob Fuller, sone of Thomas Fuller, his daughter Eliza borne by Mary his wife 19th Feb'y, 1687: their daughter Mary borne 20th 8th mo., 1684.

Abigail Felton, daughter of Nath'l Felton Tert and Eliza his wife, born at Salem 12th May, 1699; son Sam'l born Aug. 7th, 1701; their son Malachy born May 14th, 1705; daughter Mary born March 16th, 1707; daughter Eliza born May 17th, 1709; son Nath'l born Dec. 29th, 1710. Nath'l deceased April 3d, 1712; son Benja. born Sept. 9th, 1712; son Nath'l 2d born May 9th, 1714; their son Isaac born March 6, 1716-17; their son Sam'l died Feb'y 2d, 1717-18.

Sam'l Foster, his daughter Anna borne July 26th, 1683; daughter Sara bo. Oct. 9, 1685; Joseph born 14th March, 1687.

Margery Foster born Feb'y 4th, 1705-6.

Jno. Flint, sone to Thomas Flint and Eliza his wife—yr sone Samuel born 12th 10th mo., 1679: his son John borne 8th Feb'y 1687: Hanah borne 4th April, 1685; Stephen born 29th December, 1687; Joshua borne 28th 10th, 1689; their daughter Ledia borne the 20th July, 1696—Joseph borne—their daughter Sarah born Aug't 18th, 1700; Eliza born Jan. 10th, 1702-3.

Sam'l Fraye married to Mary Carrell in ye year 1678. Daughter Mary borne 21st Aprill, 1680; son Samuel borne 27th March, 1682; his wife Mary died in ye year 1682. Married again unto Ann Upton in Aprill 4th, 1684.—Hanah borne by his wife Ann 5th May, 1685; Elizabeth born 19th October, 1686; daughter Ann born 20th June, 1688.

David Foster, son of David Foster and Hanah his wife borne 19th March, 1688-9; son Jonathan borne 10th Jana., 1690-1; their son Sam'l born 24th December, 1692; their daughter Hanah born 3d Decem'r, 1694; daughter Eliza December 27th, 1696; son Joseph 1st February, 1698-9.

George Felt, his daughter Mary borne by his wife Hana at Casco baye 13th October, '87;



his sone George borne 10th May, '90; his sone Jno. borne 8th May, '92; his son Jonathan borne on the 21st day of March, 1693; his daughter Jeminah borne 19th Feb'y, 1696-7.

Mary Flint daughter of Thomas Flint and Mary his wife, was born the 11th November, 1680; their son Ebenezer born the 6th Aprill, 1683; their son William borne the 17th July, 1685; their daughter Elizabeth Flint borne the 30th August, 1687; their son Jonathan borne the 8th November, 1689; their daughter Ann Flint borne the 29th Sep'r, 1691; their son Samuel Flint borne the 29th Sept., 1693; their daughter Ledia Flint borne the first day of June, 1695.

Alice Flint deceased October 5th 1700.

Mary, dau'r of Sam'l Gardner, bo by Mary his wife 5th 6th, '58, and died 3d April, '62.

Joseph Graften married to Hasina Hubbard at Hingham by Capt. Hubbard, 29th 8th, '57; Joseph there son bo 17th 6th, '58, and dyed the 11th July, 1709.

Jo'n Green married to Mary Warren by Maj. Hathorne the 7th 10th mo., 1659; their daughter Abigaile borne ye 22d 12 mo., 1660; da. Mary borne 1st March, '63; Sara borne 14th August, 1666; Elizabeth borne 20th February, 1667; son John borne the 28th June, 1672.

Mr. John Gedney married to Susana Clearke by Major Hathorne the 4th May, 1659; their son John borne 5th March, '59, '60; da. Sara borne 6th 5th, '62, and dyed 19th of ye same month; da. Susana borne the 4th March, '63; da. Sara borne ye 12th April, 1666; son William borne the 25th May, 1668.

Mary, da'r of Robert Gray by Elizabeth his wife, borne ye 3d 2d mo., 1661. Robert Gray deceased ye 23d, 11th, '62, the father.

George Gardner, his da'r Bethiah borne by Eliza his wife ye 3d 4th, '54; da'r Hittabell borne ye 23d 2d, '59, and dyed ye 8 May, '59; son Ebenezer born ye 16 6, '57; son George dyed 21, 6, 62.

John Grafton and Seeth his wife were married by Major Hathorne 1st 10, '59; da. Mary

borne 7th 7 mo., '60; da'r Seeth 28 April, '65; da'r Abigaile borne ye 12th August, 1667.

Joshua Graften, ye son of Joseph Graften, borne by Hana his wife ye 9th 2d, 1660; their daughter'r Martha borne ye 7th 6th, 1658.

William Galt deceased 1 2d, '59.

Rich'd Gardner, his da. Deborah borne by Sara his wife ye 12th 10th, '58; their son Rich'd born 23d 8, '53; son James born ye 19th May, '62; da. Damorice dyed 25th, 9th, '62.

Robert Gray, his son Thomas by Eliza his wife born 12th 3d, '56; their son Edward borne ye and deceased May, '57; son Robert borne ye 10th 3d, '59.

Reuben Guppy, his son John borne by Ellin his wife 12th 8th '48; their son Ruben borne ye 6th 11, '50.

John Grover married Sara Barney 13th May, 1656; their da'r Sara born 28 10 mo., '59; Hana b 9th 9 mo., '62. Sara dyed 26th 9 mo., '62.

Mr. John Gardner, his son John borne by Priscilla his wife ye 20th 12th mo., '53; their son Joseph born ye 8 5, '55; da. Priscilla borne 6th 9th, '56; son Benjamin born 3d 12th, '58, and dyed 23d 6, '62; da'r Rachell born 3d August, '62; their 2d son Benjamin borne 17 May, '64; da'r Ann borne 30th 12, 1667; son Nathaniell borne 24th 7 mo., 1668; da'r Mary borne 27th May, '70.

Bartholmew Gale married to Martha Lemon by Major Hathorne 25 5 mo., '62; ye sd Martha dyed 23d 10 mo., '62; said Bartholmew married to Mary Bacon 1st 12—their son Abraham borne 18 9 mo., 1666.

Bartholomew Gedney married to Hana Clearke ye 22d, 10 mo., '62; had his first child, Bartholmew, born ye 4th 2 mo., '64, and dyed 12th August following; son Jonathan borne 14 4, 6—and died 14th, 6, '65; 2d son Bartholmew borne 2d 6, '66, and dyed 2d 7 mo., '66.

Mr. Sam'l Gardner, da'r Eliza borne in May, 1660, ye 30th daye.

Eleazer Gedney married to Elizabeth Turner by Major William Hathorne ye 9th June, '65; their son Eleazer borne 18th March, 1665-66; da'r Elizabeth borne ye 2d 4th mo., 1669; Ruth borne 24th May, 1672; Mary borne ye 27th August, 1674.

Nathanyell Grafton and Elizabeth Maverick were married by Major William Hathorne the 6th Aprill, 1665; their da'r Elizabeth borne ye 18th 10th mo., 1667; dau'r Remember borne ye 29th 7th mo., 1669; Priscilla borne ye 12th March, 1670; the said Nathanel Grafton deceased at Barbadoes 11th 12th mo., '70.

#### REV. JOHN HIGGINSON'S ADVICE TO HIS CHILDREN, CALLED HIS DYING TESTIMONY.

The paper of which the following is a copy has been in the family of the transcriber for four or five generations. It is either the original or a very early copy, bearing upon it the marks of time, but is still very distinct and legible. Mr. Felt alludes to this (I think) when he says, page 348 of his Annals, that Mr. Higginson writes in 1708 "advice to his children, called his dying testimony;" but I cannot learn that it has ever before been published. It is now in possession of Mrs. Sarah Narbonne of this city, who, like myself, descends from Mr. Higginson through Nathaniel Andrew, who married Mary, the daughter of Nathaniel Higginson, son of Hon. John H., who was son of Rev. John. B. F. BROWNE.

#### MY LAST WORDS TO MY CHILDREN.

1st May, 1708.—2 Samuel 23, 1.—Now these be the last words of David. I Chronicles 28, 9,—And thou Solomon my son, know thou the god of thy fathers and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind, for the Lord searcheth all hearts and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts, if thou seekest him, he will be found of thee, but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off forever.

Genesis 18, 19. For I know him that he will command his children and his household

after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do Justice and Judgement that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.

I came over to New England in the year 1629 with my honoured Father and was acknowledged to be a member of the Church of Salem and upon Examination by the pastor was received to full Communion and admitted to the Lord's Supper and I give thanks to God for his wonderful merey to me all my life, especially for his giving me a grounded hope of my Salvation by Jesus Christ according to the blessed Gospel.

1. Make conciences of secret prayer by yourselves.

Matthew 6, 6, but thou when thou prayest enter into thy closet and when thou hast shut the door pray to thy father which is in secret and thy father which seest in secret shall reward thee openly.

2 Timothy 1, 3. I thank god whom I serve with my forefathers with a pure conscience that without ceasing I have remembrance of thee in my prayers night day (yt is) morning and Evening.

2. Keep up family religion, family prayer and reading the Scriptures and family catichising in Mr. Cotten's Chatechise, teaching all in the family that are capable to read, asking what they remember of the chapter yt is read and the sermons yt they have heard, there should also be writing and repeateing of Sermons as a help unto that end.

Genesis 21, 33. And Abraham planted a grove in Bersheba and called thereon in the name of the Lord, the everlasting god.

Deuteronomy 17, 18, 19. And he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priest and levites—and it shall be with him and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his god, to keep all the words of his law and these statutes to do them.

Zachary 12, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. And I will pour upon the house of David and upon the Inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace;

and of supplication and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced and they shall mourne for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first born, in that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of hadarim in the valley of Megidon, and the land shall mourne every family apart, the family of the house of David apart and their wives apart, the family of the house of Nathan apart and their wives apart, and the family of the house of Levi apart and their wives apart: the family of Shimei apart and their wives apart, all the families that remain, every family apart and their wives apart.

Psalms 79, 6. Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name.

Jeremiah 10, 25, pour out thy fury on the heathen that know thee not and on the families that call not on thy name.

Eph. 6, 4. And ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Proverbs 22, 6. Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it.

3d. Remember to keep holy the Lord's day forever according to the fourth commandment.

4. having been baptized and so Engaged unto God the father, Son and Holy Ghost and unto Jesus Christ and the true Christian Religion forever, you and yours also as they grow up and that you solemnly and personally own the Covenant of God.

Acts 2, 42. And they continued steadfast in the Apostle's Doctrine and fellowship and of breaking of bread and in prayer.

Dutn. 26, 17, 18, thou hast avouched the Lord this day to be thy God and to walk in his ways and to keep his Statutes and his Commandments and his Judgements and to hearken unto his voice, and the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people as he

hath promised thee, and that thou shouldst keep all his commandments.

Dutr. 29, 12, that thou shouldst enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God and into his oath which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day.

Nehemiah 10, 28. And all they that have separated themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God, their wives their sons and their daughters every one having knowledge and having understanding.

Isaiah 56, 4, 6. For thus saith the Lord unto the Eunuchs that keep my Sabbaths and choose the things that please me and take hold of my Covenant, also the strangers that join themselves to the Lord to serve him and to love the name of the Lord to be his servants, every one that Keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it and taketh hold of my Covenant.

That you seek admission to the Lord's Supper in the way of the Gospel so as to observe the Commands of Christ in doing this in remembrance of him.

5. That you seek the Lord while he may be found, and therefore to seek earnestly to God in the use of all the means of grace (but not in your own strength) that you may obtain mercy and win Christ, and that he would pour his Spirit of grace upon you, working faith and repentance in you, and that you may be sincere and upright in all that you do.

Isaiah 55, 6. Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near.

Matthew 16, 26. For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and loose his own Soul, or what shall a man give in Exchange for his Soul?

Phillipians 3, 9. And be found in him not having my own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness of which is of God by faith.

Hebrews 4, 16, let us come boldly unto the throne of Grace that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need.

1 Chron. 29, 17. I know also my God that



thou tryest the heart and hast pleasure in uprightness.

Isaiah 44, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Yet now hear O Jacob my servant and Israel whom I have chosen, Thus saith the Lord that made thee and formed thee from the womb which will help thee; fear not O Jacob my servant and thou Jesurun whom I have chosen. For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty and floods upon the dry ground. I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed and my blessing upon thy offspring and they shall spring up as among the grass as willows by the water courses. One shall say I am the Lords and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord and surname himself by the name of Israel.

6. That you be of some private Christian Meeting once a month.

7. I am of opinion that the singing of psalms in harmony is too much neglected.

8. That amongst other good books I desire you to read often my little book of making your peace with God, it contains the substance of all saving truth, and so the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen!

Your dying Father, J. H.

### NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 3.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

Massachusetts as a colony was the first to issue silver money in 1652, and copper, as an independent State, in 1776. The wants of Massachusetts for a circulating medium led to the establishment of a mint, where the various coins of other nations, which their trade had introduced, could be converted into coins of less value than the sterling of England—thus hoping to obtain a currency which would remain with them. This project of a coinage was probably agitated some time before it actually took place, inferring from the fact that shillings have lately appeared dated 1650; these, if not the work of modern artists, must, I think, have been patterns struck in England.

They are of superior workmanship to those adopted in 1652, and might have been rejected on account of the expense attending their execution.\* That experiments were made with a view to copper coinage is evident, as I have one of Massachusetts dated 1652, of pure copper, presenting no appearance of being a counterfeit, and is the only one that I ever saw.†

During the long period that the New England money was struck little change appears in the inscription or type, most of the variations, if any, arise from the multiplicity of the dies used and the slipping of the coin in stamping. The New England money does not appear to have circulated much out of Massachusetts; but notwithstanding the wish of our fathers to have it retained here, it soon found its way to England, where, from its being struck lighter than the English money of the same names, continual objections were made to its coinage by the merchants of England; this was the principal difficulty which the Mint in Massachusetts encountered, together with the objections made by Charles II. and James II., who considered it an infringement of their royal prerogative and finally caused its operations to cease about the year 1686.

An order for a coinage and the preparation for it was made by Massachusetts on the 31st of May, 1652.‡ The coins were to be shillings, sixpences and threepences—to have their

\* A pine tree shilling of 1650 is in the collection of H. M. Brooks, Esq., of Salem; that one, however, is not nearly so well executed as one which Mr. Brooks informs me was once in his possession, and which, he now thinks, is in a collection in Philadelphia. I understand that there is one also in a collection in New York.

† This coin I obtained in Salem more than twenty years ago. Coins were then of but little value and counterfeits were not made.

‡ Hutchinson says in his History of Massachusetts that the Mint was established in 1651, but gives no authority for the statement. Snelling has copied the same without any remarks. And also Ruding, but he thinks that Hutchinson must have been mistaken. In this opinion I concur.

value on one side and N. E. on the other; § but owing to their being hammered out to the size of the same coins of England and being of less weight, were thinner and consequently subject to clipping and washing, their coinage was stopped on the 19th of Oct., 1652. The short period allowed for erecting the buildings and procuring everything necessary for carrying on a coinage left but little time for striking coins and only a few pieces could have been struck, as is shown by their extreme scarcity, none but the shilling and sixpence are known to exist; the threepence, though ordered, was probably never struck. The scarcity of these coins is shown by a letter written to Thomas Hollis, April 18, 1768, by Dr. Elliot, in reply to one requesting him to procure some of these coins. He informed him that he could find no one who had ever heard of the Massachusetts Samaritan coin, and he considered it a medal. The N. E. sixpence and the penny of 1652 some had seen, but he could not procure them—that the other New England coins were plenty and the shillings of four or five different dies. June 12, 1771, he sent him the N. E. sixpence, and remarked that it was the only one he ever saw. The first coinage of the Mint was the N. E. shillings and sixpences, both of which are in my collection and weigh 72 and 36 grains each. This is the full weight they were ordered to be struck, being twenty grains less than the shilling of the Commonwealth of England and five grains less than the English two pence; thus it ap-

§ The abbreviated character and the rude appearance of the coins makes it somewhat probable that they might have been an imitation in some respects of a coin struck before and after that period by the Spanish provinces of South America for currency, and which appears to have been circulating here at that time under the name of Cobb money; they were irregular pieces of silver hammered down sufficiently to receive an abbreviated inscription and date, with an imperfect device of the arms of Spain; they were of the exact weight of the piece of eight and its lower denominations, and had on them their value in Arabic numerals.

pears instead of coining it two pence in a shilling of less value than the English coin, as it was enacted, it was found to be two and a half-pence. When these coins were struck Massachusetts was on the most friendly terms with the Parliament of England. Some of her most powerful friends were members, and it is likely the proceedings of Massachusetts were known to them and met their approval, as no objection is found to be made by them at that time. || The Parliament commenced their coinage in 1649, and appeared to have been willing that Massachusetts should do the same, in 1652, if they thought it would accrue to their benefit.

## MISCELLANEA.

### JOURNEY FROM BOSTON TO SALEM.

The following letter, written by an esteemed resident of Salem at that date, will give your lady readers an idea of the perilous undertaking in those days of a winter's journey home after paying a visit to Boston. Fortunate for "Peggy" that crinoline was not in fashion at that period. J. C.

Boston, March, 1860.

Salem, Feb. 18, 1790.

Brother N.

I arrived at my house about 2 o'clock, but met with a disaster upon the road which has lamed me a little. Passing the Sluice the ice lay so sidling I was afraid to ride over lest the slay should run over the Bridge. Peggy got out to walk over and I set on the side of the slay to drive over and got over safe. Peggy in passing was taken by the wind and must have gone over the Bridge if she had not set

|| The system of coining then was very simple compared with that at the present time. The gold or silver of the hammered money was first cast from the melting pot into long bars; these bars were cut into square pieces of exact weight for coins, which with the tongs and hammer were forged into the round shape and blanched in boiling water and then stamped with a hammer to make them perfect money. This method of coining was introduced into England by Edward I. and continued until the year 1662.

herself down. Seeing that I went to help her and left the horse—he set out after I had assisted Peggy; I pursued after the horse and ran till I was very much spent and finally got hold of the slay but my strength was spent and I was not able to get forward to get hold of the bridle; I slipped and fell but was loth to lose my hold of the slay and suffered myself to be drawn upon the ice, I suppose, twenty rods, at length I worked myself forward got the bridle and stopped the horse, but found myself extremely spent and much bruised and faint with my exertions. I feel pretty comfortably now; one of my ankles is very much swelled, but I hope it will go off soon. I now send by B— Mrs. ——— mogisons and the green cloth—am obliged to her for them—all my family are well—my regards to your family from your affectionate Brother.

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FORMATION OF THE BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.  
GROWING INTEREST IN THIS COUNTRY IN COLLECTING COINS, ETC.

On Saturday, March 3, a number of gentlemen interested in coins and medals met at the rooms of the N. E. Historie-Genealogical Society in Bromfield street, Boston, and proceeded to organize themselves into an association to be called the Boston Numismatic Society. The following persons were elected officers:—

Dr. Winslow Lewis, President.

Jeremiah Colburn, Esq., Vice President.

Henry Davenport, Esq., Treasurer.

W. S. Appleton, Esq., Secretary.

The formation of this society and similar associations in other parts of the country within a year or two indicates the growing taste among our people for collecting and studying the history of coins and medals; a department of historical research hitherto greatly neglected.

It is well known that in Europe numerous collections of coins were made centuries ago and great numbers of books were published on the subject of Numismatics. In this country, until within a comparatively short period, the subject has received but little attention from

any one; hence it is now exceedingly difficult to procure fine specimens of our early coinage; indeed, the United States coins of only ten years back, can rarely be found in fine condition. Strange as it may appear to “outsiders,” early American coins in fine condition, or some particular dates in any condition, are harder to procure and command vastly higher prices from collectors than coins issued by the Greeks and Romans centuries before Christ. A glance at the reports of late sales in New York and Phila. will confirm the truth of this. A specimen of the Tribute money of Tiberius Cæsar, struck in the time of our Saviour, can be imported for about two shillings and sixpence, while an American half dollar of 1797 has recently been sold, at auction, for \$23!

In this city there are several fine collections which contain many specimens of rare and unique coins. The late venerable Dr. Holyoke (who died in 1829 at the age of 101 years) was, we believe, the first coin collector in this vicinity; but we think his cabinet contained chiefly foreign coins. M. A. Stickney, Esq., has been, for many years, engaged in this pursuit and has an immense and exceedingly valuable collection of the coins of all nations.

H. M. B.

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MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE DEAN  
FAMILY IN SALEM, BY E. S. W.

November ye 5th; 1731, we were married by the Reverend Mr. William Jennison.

Mary Dean, our first child, was born May ye 16th, 1733.

Hannah our 2d child, was born feb'ry ye 16th, 1735, and Died in December, 1736.

Hannah, our 3d child, was born March ye 19th, 1737, and Died June ye 30th, 1738.

George Dean, our 4th child, was born October ye 3d day, 1738.

Hannah Dean, our 5th child, was born June the 8th day, 1741.

John Dean, our 6th child, was born Aprill the 24th day, 1743.



Benj'n Dean, our 7th child, was born March ye 3d, 1747.

From an old manuscript in handwriting of Capt. Thomas Dean, who died Aug. 24th, 1759, at 61 yrs 6 mos. He mar'd

1st Martha Gillingham, who died Dec. 24, 1729, in her 31st year.

2d Mary, dau. of Benj'n? Ward.

By Martha Gillingham he had issue, Thomas, who m'd 1st Sarah Phippen and 2nd Mary Cash.

Martha, who m'd Joseph Searle, Jr.

Mary Dean, the first of his children by his second wife, mar'd 1st, Nov. 28, 1754, George Ropes, and 2nd, May 1st, 1760, Sam'l Waters.

George Dean, the 4th child, died at Greenwich, Eng'd, probably unm'd.

Hannah, the 5th, mar'd Stephen Mascoll and died Oct. 18th, 1834.

John, the 6th, died at Martinique, a young man.

Benj'n, the 7th, m'd Susannah Collins Sept. 28, 1769, and d Dec. 10, 1826.

Thomas Dean<sup>2</sup> by his wife Sarah Phippen (who d Mch 18, 1752) had one child, Sarah, b Mar. 3, 1752, d Nov. 5, 1834; she mar'd John Becket, but had no issue.

By his second wife, Mary Cash, (who d Feb. 20, 1794) he had Mary, Martha, Thomas, Mary, William, George, William, George, Christina and George.

Of these Thomas m'd Lydia, dau. of Benj'n and Esther Waters.

Mary m'd Joseph, s n of Benj'n and Esther Waters.

Christina m'd John, son of John and Bethiah Ward.

George m'd Sarah, dau. of Joshua and Hannah? Phippen.

Martha Searle had one or more children.

Mary Dean by George Ropes had one child probably; by Samuel Waters she had Samuel, George, Mary and Hannah. Of these

Samuel m'd Sarah Leach and d abt 1795.

George d at the Cape de Verd Islands May 13, 1789, unm.

Mary d Aug. 19th, 1839, unm.

Hannah m'd William Becket and d.

Hannah Dean by Stephen Mascoll had Hannah, Mary, Stephen and Sarah. Of these Hannah, b Aug. 20, 1768, d May, 1859, mar'd 1st Jesse Kenny of Middletown,

" 2d Philip Cottle of French extraction.

Mary mar'd Thomas Robbins and had no issue.

Stephen mar'd Nancy Thorndike of Beverly and d 1846.

Sarah mar'd George Sinclair and d May 30th, 1802.

Benjamin Dean by Susannah Collins had Benjamin, John, Susan, Elizabeth, Mary, Sarah, William Collins. Of these

Benj'n, John and Susan died unm'd, Sarah and William d infants, and Elizabeth mar'd Benjamin Chandler and d June 5, 1837,

Mary mar'd William Hunt and d April 11, 1855.

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FROM AN OLD NOTARIAL RECORD BOOK IN CLERK OF COURTS' OFFICE, SALEM.

Beverly, January, 1742-3.

Martha Williams of Beverly in the county of Essex in new England widow aged about eighty-five years, Testifieth and saith that she was very well acquainted with John Knight late of said Beverly, mason, and that she heard him say that his Father William Knight was a mason and a Deacon of a Dissenting Congregation in England, and that he came over with one Hathorne and others for the Enjoyment of the Liberty of his Conscience and died at Lynn in New England, and that said William had a House plaistered on the outside with plaister of Pelis and an Estate in Lands in England also the Liberty of Killing Deer and Rabbits in a certain Park there, and that he the sd John was born in England, came over into New England with his Father, went into England again in the Time of the civil wars Listed himself

under one Colo. Blundel in the service of the Parliament, was at Abington when Prince Maurice entered the Town but was beat out by Blundel, that he continued in the service of the Parliament for years, that he then married and came into New England, where he had Issue John his Eldest Son, William and Joseph, Emma and Martha. He also saith that he went again to England about anno 1772 to get the Estate which his Father left there, (as he said) where she heard he married again and died. She alsoe saith that she knew John Knight the reputed Eldest Son of sd John and that he had Issue, John his reputed Eldest Son, who now lives at Manchester in the County aforesd, a Carpenter by trade and that [she] knows of no other John Knight at Manchester aforesd and further saith not.

her

MARTHA  $\bowtie$  WILLIAMS.  
mark

Essex, ss. Beverly, January 17, 1742-3.

Then Martha Williams made oath to the truth of the within Deposition to which she has put her mark and the same is taken to by in perpetuum rei memoriam.

Jurat Coram,

BENJAMIN LYNDE, JUNR. } Jus. of Peace.  
ICHABOD PLAISTED, } Quorum unus.

John Porter of Wenham in the county of Essex in New England, aged about eighty-five yeares, Testifieth and saith that he knew John Knight late of Beverly in said county mason, that he was a tall man, that he went to England about A Domi 1672 and left behind him his Eldest Son who is now dead, Joseph, William, Emma and Martha his other children, that it was said by people in the neighborhood that sd John was gone to England for an Estate left there by his Father and that he had married a Second wife in England and said John Porter's father saith that he knew sd John Knight reputed Eldest Son John dead, and that he had issue, John his reputed Eldest Son who now lives in Manchester in said county, a Carpenter by Trade, and that he knows of no other John

Knight at said Manchester and further saith not.

JOHN PORTER.

Essex, ss. Beverly, January 17th, 1742-3.

Then Mr. John Porter made oath to the truth of the above Deposition to which he hath put his hand and the same is taken to by in perpetuum rei memoriam.

Jurat Coram. BENJA. LYNDE, JUN.

ICHABOD PLAISTED, Justice Peace

Quorum unus.

THE ONCE FOREST COVERED ISLANDS OF SALEM HARBOR.

"We appoint and empower John Clifford, Edward Woodland and Joseph Phippen Sen'r to take care for the preservation of the wood and timber upon Baker's Island and Moulton's Misery, and to seaz upon and bring away such wood as they find cut by men of Marblehead; and alsoe to informe the Selectmen of any such trespass which they find done att any time, by any person of any other towne; and to have the wood they see seaz for their own use, and themselves and all other persons are prohibited from falling any trees on said Islands, without license from the Selectmen, only have liberty to cut up the wood already ffallin; and hereby Francis Colins is dismissed from having any power or care of these islands." (Selectmen's Records, Salem, 27 Dec., 1673.)

THE FIRST CONNEXION WITH NORTH SALEM.

"The Petition of Jas. Symonds with his Northfield neighbors and others concerning making a causeway over ye North River at Symond's Point (so called) sufficient for horses and carts to go over, provided ye causeway or way be made not higher than low water mark and yt ye town shall not be at any charge thereabout from time to time nor att any highway leading to it, with this proviso the Petition is granted." Town Rec. Salem, March 25, 1705.

“Ordered yt Doctor Barton have a note on ye Town Treasurer 17s 10d, being for Disbursements on people yt wr sick of ye small pox att ye Misery” [island.] Salem Rec , Aug. 16, 1705.

#### A CAVEAT TO THE STEAM FIRE ENGINES OF OUR DAY.

“Order to the Treasurer to pay Nathaniel Phippen 48s for 24 water buckets for the Town's use in case of fire.” (Twenty-four water buckets and two stout leather ones had been previously ordered. The water buckets were undoubtedly wooden pails.) From Salem Records, Feb'y 2, 1729-30.

#### INDIANS TAKING SALEM FISHING VESSELS.

1677, July 25. The Lord having given a commission to the Indians to take no less than thirteen of the Fishing Ketches of Salem and captivate the men, (though divers of them cleared themselves and came home,) it struck a great consternation into all the people here. The Pastor moved on the Lord's day, and the whole people readily consented, to keep the Lecture day following as a Fast day; which was accordingly done, and the work carried on by the Pastor,—Mr. Hale, Mr. Cheevers and Mr. Gerrish, the neighbor ministers, helping in prayer. The Lord was pleased to send us some of the Ketches on the Fast day, which was looked on as a gracious smile of Providence.

Also there had been nineteen wounded men sent into Salem a little before. Also a Ketch with forty men sent out from Salem as a man of war to recover the rest of the Ketches. The Lord give them good success.—*First Church Records.*

#### WINTER ISLAND.

“1637, Feb. 16, granted by the town of Salem to M. Jackson, 2 others, Pasca Foote and 4 others, each half an acre of land at ‘Winter Harbor,’ for fishing trade and to build upon.” *Original Town Book as quoted by Felt.*

[The following is quoted from the original, in possession of M. A. Stickney, Esq.:]

Salem, May ye 4th, 1732.

The Day Aboue Mentioned Having a Meting, all ye Shoareman upon Winter Island have Agreed Amongst themselves to keep their own Horses and them that are to be lett in and upon Winter Island for this present year to Harbage to begin ye 10th of May to Enter them upon said Iland at Twenty Shellings to be paid at thier Entryes to Samuel Foot per Each and To be Tatered During ye Hole Time he or They Keep them upon ye said Iland and If they Break loose by Neglect aboue Twenty-four Hours at Each Time to forfeit and pay vnto ye Proprietors of sd Iland from Each person see offending ye Sum of Twenty Shellings from ye Time of Entryes to ye Time of Taking them of. Witaess our Hands,

SAM'L FOOT,  
PAUL MANSFIELD,  
JOSEPH ENGLISH,  
MALACHI FOOT,  
RICHARD PALMER,  
JOHN TOUZEL.

#### ERRATA.

On page 24 of preceding number, for “an only accident” read “only an accident.”

On page 47 of preceding number, 11th line from top, for “Mrs. Whillingly” read “Mrs. Whilloughby.”

On page 58, of this number, insert Barker and Magoun as builders of the Frolic.

On page 58, for “Samuel C. Hardy,” commander of sloop Polly, read “Samuel C. Handy.”

On page 58, for “William Huliss,” builder of sloop Scorpion, read “William Hulin.”

On page 76 of this number, in Sarah Osburn's examination, for the question “why do you imply them to hurt them” read “who do you imply then to hurt them.”

On page 86, line 7th from top, for “1769,” read “1767.”



# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.]

June, 1860.

[No. 3.]

## HISTORY OF THE SALEM AND DANVERS AQUEDUCT.

BY C. M. ENDICOTT.

"Where water, clear as diamond spark,  
In a stone basin fell.  
Above, some half-worn letters say,  
"Drink, weary pilgrim, drink, and pray.  
For the kind soul of Sybil Gray.  
Who built this cross, and well." "

[Scott's Marmion.]

It is conceded by all medical men, that pure water, equally with pure air, is among the first requisites to the health of a city; and it is also generally acknowledged that analysis has demonstrated our city to be supplied with as pure, if not the purest water of any place in the Union—that it is no figure of speech to say it is as "*clear as diamond-spark*," and so free from vegetable decomposition and acids, that it exerts no action upon lead, or any other deleterious substance, with which it comes in contact.\* All visitors, as well as our own citizens who have left for a residence elsewhere, are usually impressed with the conviction, that a glass of cold water from the springs which supply Salem, or in other words, *Salem Aqueduct water*, is as exhilarating, and to them more refreshing

than a draft of England's ale. And those far seeing men who contributed to confer this inestimable blessing upon our city are worthy, like our motto, of perpetual remembrance as the benefactors of our race. The late Dr. Holyoke expressed the opinion that the health of our city was much improved by the introduction of such pure water; and that several agonizing complaints, such as stone in the bladder, troubles in the kidneys, and bowel complaints generally, were much lessened, and in some instances almost wholly eradicated since that period.—Our Puritan fathers were not insensible to its excellence, which is thus spoken of by a recent pleasant writer: "Even the *common spring water* in the country was averred to be superior by those zealous historians whose pens were dipped in rose water. Wood says "it is farre different from the water of England, being not so sharp, but of a fatter substance, and of a more jettie color; it is thought there can be no better water in the world." It was probably from the consideration of the benefits thus con-

\* A piece of lead through which the water had coursed upwards of twenty-five years in Barton Square was found as fresh and free from any corrosion as when first laid down; and this has been found the case throughout the city.

ferred that the town of Salem did not, until within a few years, tax the real estate of the Company.

Several small individual enterprises had been simultaneously undertaken for supplying a small portion of the inhabitants bordering on Danvers by means of an aqueduct; for instance, a fountain was built and logs laid down in 1796 to supply Frye's Tavern and the inhabitants in the immediate neighborhood. It was incorporated under the name of the "*Proprietors of Frye's Aqueduct*" in 1807, but was operated several years before by private individuals.—The fountain was situated in the Horse Pasture. Also another, under the name of the "*Union Aqueduct*," which had its fountain in the Pickman land, and was incorporated in 1801; the first consisting of only five individuals, viz: Daniel Frye, Eleazer Pope, Jacob B. Winchester, John Stimpson, James Brown; and the last of only six, viz: Caleb Low, Rob't Shillaber, Sam'l Purinton, Step. Larrabee, Amos Purinton, Lydia Trask.

But the first concerted plan, however, of laying down an Aqueduct on a grand scale and supplying the inhabitants *generally* of Salem and Danvers with pure spring water from the grounds in the neighborhood of Spring Pond was first conceived in the year 1796. Salem in particular had suffered much inconvenience from a want of a sufficient supply of good, wholesome water for drinking, culinary and laundry purposes. Their works were then and have ever since continued to be situated upon the southerly side of the old Boston road, just this side of Brown's Pond and about half a mile in a North-Easterly direction from Spring Pond—the ground here being very spongy and most of the year full of water. No water within a circuit of six miles from Salem was found so pure as in these grounds. Their operations were at first very primitive and simple, consisting of a large size fish hog'shead for a fountain, sunk into the earth, and *saplings of three inches* bore for the main pipe. As might be expected these did not long continue. In fact, all their precautions indicated a want of

confidence in the undertaking from the beginning, which probably arose from doubts as to the quantity of water the grounds would supply.

The first meeting held was on the 30th December, 1796, at the Sun Tavern, when Jacob Ashton was chosen Chairman and John Jenks clerk; which meeting resulted in the choice of a committee, consisting of Edward Southwick, Wm. Gray, Jr., and Joshua Ward, to procure an ACT OF INCORPORATION, and to purchase the necessary logs, contract for boring the same and also to contract with the owners of land through which the Aqueduct is to pass for that privilege, and also to do whatever they may think proper to forward the business as the season and circumstances may require. It may be interesting at this time to recount the names of such public spirited citizens of Salem and Danvers as attended that preliminary meeting, all of whom have passed "to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns," viz: Abel Lawrence, Wm. Gray, Jr., Sam. Gray, Joshua Ward, Ich. Nichols, Wm. Orne, Jerath. Peirce, Wm. Lang, Nath. West, Jacob Ashton, Squiers Shove, John Jenks, Edw. Southwick, Jona. Dean, Jos. Fenno, Benj. Carpenter, Abner Chase, Philip Chase, Aaron Wait, Jacob Crowninshield, Jos. Aborn, James Bott, Edw. Pulling, Folger Pope, John Gardner, Jr., Sam. Derby, John Norris, John Daland. Besides these were the following persons interested in the undertaking who did not attend this preliminary meeting, viz: Elias Hasket Derby, Wm. Prescott, Benj. Pickman, Benj. Pickman, Jr., Benj. Goodhue, George Dodge, E. A. Holyoke, John Gardner, David Nichols, Sylvester Osborne, Wm. Stearns, Benj. Watkins, Eben. Putnam and Zadock Buffinton.

The memorial subsequently submitted by this committee to the Legislature was as follows:

To the honourable Senate and the honourable House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

The memorial of William Gray, Jr, of Salem, in

the county of Essex, Merchant, Edward Southwick of Danvers, in said county of Essex, Merchant, and Joshua Ward of said Salem, Merchant, for and on behalf of themselves and others, their associates, respectfully show:

That the Inhabitants of the said Town of Salem are in general but poorly supplied with water, and at no time with water that will wash, and that at this time there are many wells in that town which are dry—that there are within a few miles of that Town many ponds and springs, from which the Inhabitants of said Town may be abundantly supplied with good water by means of an Aqueduct. And that many persons of that and the neighboring towns have associated themselves together for the purpose of Petitioning this honourable Court for a charter of incorporation, and for this intention have appointed your memorialists a committee to obtain such charter of incorporation,

Wherefore your memorialists pray this honourable Court that they and their associates in said business may be incorporated with such powers and under such restrictions as your honours may judge proper, for the purpose of bringing fresh water from said ponds and springs into the said town of Salem. And as in duty bound will ever pray.

Signed, WILLIAM GRAY, JR.,  
EDW'D SOUTHWICK, } Committee.  
JOSHUA WARD,

January, 1797.

A charter was accordingly obtained, dated 9th March, 1797, under the style of the "PROPRIETORS OF THE SALEM AND DANVERS AQUE-DUCT, for the purpose of conveying fresh water by subterranean pipes into the towns of Salem and Danvers," but designated no particular place from which they should bring it. It authorized the proprietors to hold real estate not exceeding thirty thousand dollars, and gave them liberty to enter upon and open any part of the streets, highways or townways in Salem and Danvers for the purpose of placing such pipes as may be necessary for the building and completing or repairing such Aqueduct. It was also provided that the towns of Salem and Danvers severally shall have the privilege of placing conductors into the pipes for the purpose of drawing such water therefrom as may be necessary *when any Mansion House or Barn or other building shall be on fire* without pay-

ing therefor. It further provided for a protection of the logs so laid, "that if any person shall maliciously or wantonly injure said aqueduct, he or she upon indictment and conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding three hundred dollars, one-half to go to the proprietors and the other half to the use of the town; and shall be liable to pay treble damages to said Proprietors, to be recovered by action of the case."

The proprietors organized under this charter on the 7th April, 1797, by the choice of Wm. Gray, Jr., President, Jacob Ashton Vice President, John Jenks Treasurer, and Joshua Ward, Edward Southwick and John Norris, Directors, and on the 19th Oct. of the same year Thomas Nichols was chosen Agent. The number of shares were ordered to be one hundred of one hundred dollars each, making a capital of TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. On the 14th day of Nov. they "established rules and regulations for the direction of those persons who take water." The next year (1798) the company built a reservoir of 10 feet deep and about 24 feet square on Gallows Hill, and agreed with the Proprietors to pay them six dollars per year for the term of seven years. They completed their works and began to supply water to the inhabitants in the spring of 1799, and paid the first dividend of profits in Nov. of that year. On the 14th March, 1799, Wm. Gray, Jr., bought, in his own right, of Wm. Shillaber 11½ acres of land in the Horse Pasture, contiguous to the Aqueduct Fountain; and 21st Feb'y, 1800, the President and Directors were authorized to purchase the land where the fountain was situated—which had been already anticipated by Mr. Gray. Mr. Gray conveyed to Jona. Shillaber, March 30, 1800, all but one acre, which he reserved probably for the use of the Aqueduct. They continued to make dividends until Feb'y, 1804, and divided in all forty-one dollars per share in seven years, being a fraction less than six per cent. on their capital. On the 21st Feb'y, 1800, the income was found inadequate to the necessary repairs and expenses attending the



Aqueduct, and the price for consumers was increased from five dollars per family to 60 cents per month. In August, 1802, the old fish hogshhead fountain gave out and it was found necessary to build a new fountain, when the Company bought of Caleb Low 5 acres of land, belonging to the estate of William Shillaber, and erected a new fountain under the supervision of Wm. Gray President, Joshua Ward and John Norris Directors, to the Southward and Westward of the old one, and voted "to cover it with a roof to keep out the filth that had injured the water." In June, 1803, the agent was directed to open the pipe that led to Wm. Gray's wharf and dispose of water at twelve and a half cents per hogshhead. In Feb'y, 1804, it was discovered the saplings which constituted the main logs were also giving out, which discouraged many of the undertakers, and the project appeared likely, at this time, to be abandoned—the stockholders were perfectly aghast when it was proposed to lay down a new log of five inch bore, and the question was asked, "who could be expected to find sufficient funds for that purpose?" Our highly respected townsman, the late Jos. Peabody, who had but recently become a stockholder, enquired how much would be required for the purpose, was answered at least \$20,000, replied, "*I will be answerable for it.*" This gave new impulse to the drooping energies of the company and it was immediately "Voted That a new log be laid down for the Aqueduct of a bore not less than five inches, and that the President and Directors be and they are hereby authorized to assess such sum and sums of money to carry the business of laying down the new log into execution." In June, 1803, Eben'r Moulton was appointed to oversee and take care of the Aqueduct. He is to attend to the Fountain, Cistern, principal pipes and the branches, to see that they are in order and to keep them in repair and that no person wastes the water. If he can obtain fifteen branches in Norman Street he is to carry the Aqueduct into that street, beginning at Capt. Wm. Orne's house in Summer Street and Mr. Eveleth's in Nor-

man Street and continue both ways until he meets at or near the common sewer in Norman Street. Between the years 1804 and 1807 the company assessed two hundred and sixty-five dollars a share, as authorized by the vote of February, 1804, making altogether 26,500 dollars. In 1804 the Directors thought best to employ some person to contract for the logs and engaged Capt. Asa Towne, who was immediately despatched for that purpose.

In July, 1805, the Proprietors "Voted That the logs of 5 inch bore be continued down Essex Street as far as Richard Ward's, if there be logs enough for that purpose, and that two logs of 3 inch bore be carried on each side of the pavement as far as John Gardner's corner leading to the common." In this month the Directors reported to the Proprietors "that they had endeavored to obtain what information they could respecting the rent proposed for the use of the water from the Aqueduct, and among others they had procured the rates that the Boston Proprietors had for the water they supplied," which after being read they

Voted to adopt the Boston prices as the rate for the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct, and that for the use of the water from the Aqueduct the following sums shall be paid annually:

- |   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1st For a family of five persons.....   | Eight dollars.           |
| 2d For a family of six persons and less than twelve.....  | Ten dollars.             |
| 3d For a family of twelve persons or upwards.....   | Twelve dollars.          |
| 4th For a Public or Boarding house  | Twelve dollars.          |
| 5th For a West India Goods Store from   | Eight to Twelve dollars. |
| 6th For a Mansion house and West India Goods Store under the same roof to be supplied from one tube only, not to exceed | Sixteen dollars.         |

On the 26th Nov., 1805, the Proprietors met at the Sun Tavern, to determine into what streets and how far the main tube of the Aqueduct shall be further laid, when they "Voted that Mr. James Bott, the Superintendent, be and hereby is authorized to procure such a quantity of logs and of such sizes as he shall think necessary for the Aqueduct for the next season, for carrying it further into the lower part of the town and for branches."

Between Feb'y, 1804, and November, 1807, the Company made no dividend of profits, their earnings being wholly absorbed in the outlay of laying a new log and extending their works, besides the \$26,500 assessed upon the Proprietors. The Company had now expended on their works \$44,100, including lost dividends, making the shares stand at 441 dollars each.

In Jan'y, 1810, Wm. Gray, Jr., resigned his office as President of the Corporation, having removed to Boston during the past year, and Jacob Ashton, Esq., was chosen in his place. In 1813 the Company bought from the heirs of Lydia Proctor, who was the daughter of Wm. Shillaber, 4 acres of land, and on the 6th September, 1813, they bought of Wm. Gray, Jr., the one acre of land reserved by him in the sale to Jona. Shillaber in 1801. In Feb'y, 1811, a suit was settled with Wm. Gray, Jr., one of the Company's earliest patrons, for money he represented as having paid Capt. Asa Towne, his agent, for James Gridley, on account of machinery for boring logs for the Company, which cost the corporation some 1230 dollars. Of the merit of this demand the records make no mention, but we have the guarantee of the officers, Jacob Ashton, Joseph Peabody and Joshua Ward, with their counsel, William Prescott, that it was not considered a fair claim and therefore was resisted.

On the 14th June, 1814, a meeting was called of the Proprietors in consequence of the frequent complaints of the failure of water, when it was voted "that a committee of three persons be chosen to superintend the business of the Aqueduct Fountain and to devise means for the increase in the supply of water," which committee consisted of Jerath. Peirce, Ichabod Nichols and John Derby. At the same time it was voted "inexpedient to sell any of the land owned by the proprietors and that the President and Directors be authorized to lease such part of the land as they may think best for a term not exceeding *ten years*." In Sept., 1814, the Company paid for building and repairing the Fountain *seven hundred and sixty-one* dollars, also suspended the collection of rents, and

hired of John Jenks *twelve hundred dollars* which was to be paid by vote "out of the first money which may be collected for rents on account of the Corporation." In 1814 the Proprietors bought two rights in the Sheep Pasture of Eben'r Jacobs, and in December of the same year they petitioned the C. C. C. Pleas for a partition of the said Sheep Pasture, "*as they hold it in common with others unknown,*" and they are desirous of holding the same in severalty. This petition was not granted until the year 1840.

In 1816, in consequence of great complaints having been made by persons who have branches of the Aqueduct that they have not been supplied with water sufficient for the use of their families, the proprietors were instructed at their meeting in January to order that from and after the 1st day of May next all branches leading to manufactories, such as distilleries, tan-yards, tallow-chandlers, soap-boilers, brewers, curriers, bathing-houses and stables, be discontinued, and further "*Voted, That every man who has a branch of the Aqueduct, and shall refuse or neglect strictly to comply with the rules established by the company, shall be deprived of the use of it; and the agent of the corporation is hereby required to give notice to every individual who takes the water, that the branch of any one, who shall waste or give away the water, or allow the drawing place to be left so exposed as that his neighbors may come and take it, shall immediately be cut off; and that every person, whose drawing place is not in his dwelling-house or out-house, shall, within fifteen days, inclose it in a box, the door of which shall be locked, so that no person shall draw water but for the use of the families that pay for it; and any person who shall refuse or neglect to comply with this regulation shall, at the expiration of the fifteen days from and after this seventh day of May, 1816, be deprived of the use of the water.*"

In 1816 the Corporation paid B. C. Gilman eight hundred dollars for instruments and machinery to discover leaks in the Aqueduct—this



proved an unnecessary and dissatisfactory expenditure.

In 1817 the Proprietors bought of Arch. Rea, Ezra Northey and Sam'l Holman, Jr., Executors of the estate of Jonathan Mason, a lot of land on Sewall street, where they subsequently built a reservoir of 22,000 gallons capacity and erected some small buildings for their own use. In Sept., 1817, John Jenks being through indisposition incapable of attending to the duties of Treasurer and Clerk, the books of the Corporation were surrendered to the President, Mr. Ashton. In Nov., 1817, Benj. Blanchard was chosen Agent of the Proprietors, and was also chosen Clerk of the Corporation at a subsequent meeting.

The company went on smoothly from 1807 until 1818, making regular semi-annual dividends, passing during that period only three, amounting to about *four thousand dollars*, which were absorbed in the outlay on the works. At this time (1818) a want of water began again to be experienced, and a committee was chosen, consisting of Jacob Ashton, F. H. Derby, Jos. Peabody, Joshua Ward and John Osgood, "to take the subject respecting the Aqueduct *generally* into consideration, and to make a report of the state of the same at an adjournment." The supply to manufacturers had been stopped two years previous, and yet the supply for families was not sufficient. Also, voted—in anticipation of a large outlay, "that the Treasurer be authorized to hire three thousand dollars for the use of the Aqueduct." On the 10th Nov., 1818, a meeting of the Proprietors was called, "to receive of the Directors and Agent of the Corporation such information respecting the present state of the Aqueduct as they may be able to give, and to adopt such measures for procuring a greater and more regular supply of water as the Proprietors may think expedient." This Committee did not report at this meeting, but the Proprietors, never tiring in their endeavors to satisfy the public, "*Voted unanimously*, that the Directors be authorized to lay a range of logs from the Fountain to the Town Bridge, or

further if necessary, and that the expense thereof be defrayed, as far as practicable, from the income of the Aqueduct, and that they also be authorized to hire money or raise it by assessment on the Proprietors, if they should find it necessary." In 1819 the Proprietors made an arrangement with the Salem Iron Factory Corpo. to erect a boring mill at such place and on such terms as the directors and agents of the parties shall agree. The first logs were bored by hand, in various places, and proved very imperfect, and were not bored by machinery until this time. The officers of the Corporation were now Jacob Ashton President, Jos. Peabody Vice President, E. H. Derby, Joshua Ward and John Stone, Directors. Nov. 11, 1818, "The Directors requested the Agent, Benj. Blanchard, to proceed to Manchester in New Hampshire and elsewhere, to ascertain on what terms he could procure *15,000 feet of yellow pine for logs*, to be 11 inches heart at the small end." The cistern or reservoir being situated in the horse pasture, [known as the Gallows Hill reservoir] and in case they have occasion to place another there, in December, 1818, the Proprietors bought of the estate of Curtis Searl one right and a half in that division of common lands in Salem formerly known by the name of the *horse pasture*, afterwards a part of *Gallows Hill Pasture*. Feb'y 8, 1819, the Directors authorised the President to procure at the Salem Bank a loan of one thousand dollars and give his note for the same on account of the Proprietors of the Aqueduct. On the 19th April, 1819, "the Proprietors of the Gallows Hill Pasture agreed that the Proprietors of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct may occupy the cistern or reservoir they now have in the pasture, with liberty to pass to and from, repair, rebuild, or enlarge the same, on condition of their relinquishing to the Proprietors of this pasture the use of a right and a half, or cow lease, being the land bought of the estate of Curtis Searl, to this Proprietary, so long as the said parties are satisfied therewith." On the 12th Oct., 1819, the Proprietors bought the right of 26 persons, resident



in Salem and Danvers, "to enter into their lands and there dig up the earth to a sufficient depth and of sufficient width, for the purpose of laying and sinking one or more pipes or logs for an Aqueduct from the Fountain of said proprietors at Spring Pond, so called, in Salem, or elsewhere, into the settled parts of said towns, so as to supply the inhabitants of those towns with fresh water. This was preparatory to laying down what was afterwards known as the *Pond Log*—for which the Company bought the 15,000 feet of yellow pine.

On the 28th July, 1820, "John Osgood, Esq., with the Agent, Benj. Blanchard, was requested to visit the Fountain to ascertain whether it is necessary to make any alterations and repairs, and if it should be found necessary the said Agent be authorized to agree with any person or persons to make such repairs and alterations." The Company did not make any dividends of profits from Nov., 1818 to May, 1821, all their earnings being expended in laying down the new log. On 22d March, 1822, Benjamin Blanchard was sent to Boston to ascertain what he could obtain iron castings for, to unite the aqueduct logs. In Oct., 1829, the Company bought of Eben'r and Sam'l J. Shillaber a lot of land back of Federal street, from the middle of Carpenter street to the channel of the North River, for a convenient place to store logs, and built there a building to protect them from the weather. They also bought a lot of land situated near their fountain, of Jacob Gallucia, containing about one acre. The office of President became vacant by the death of Mr. Ashton in the winter of 1829-30 and on the 14th Jan'y, 1830, Jos. Peabody, Esq., was chosen to supply his place. Mr. Peabody was an efficient officer, took great interest in the Company, and continued its President until his death in 1844, having been some 40 years associated in the direction of the Corporation. The Company from 1821 made regular dividends semi-annually and went on smoothly for several years. No complaints were made of a deficiency of water; but the greatest obstacle they had to encounter during that period

was in 1834, when a project was in contemplation for laying down a *new* aqueduct, which originated in the *common misapprehension* of the immense profit of the present one, and a misunderstanding with one of the water-takers, who violated with impunity and insult the Rules and Regulations established by the Proprietors. Thus does the private spleen of an individual often work its way prejudicially on the public mind. An Act of Incorporation was obtained and most of the stock subscribed for, when they opened a negotiation with this corporation; and on the 10th of October, 1834, a meeting was held in consequence by this company, who always have been the servants of the public and willing on all occasions to hear any complaints, whether reasonable or otherwise. They chose at this meeting a committee of nine stockholders, "to examine into the state of the affairs of the corporation and the expediency of altering any of the by-laws, or establishing new ones, and making any regulations as to the price at which the water is furnished, and of adopting any measures which the present circumstances may require, with instructions to report at a future meeting of the Corporation." This Committee reported on the 23d of October, and the result was a considerable deduction in the tariff of prices, but with such modifications that the income of the Company was not materially diminished and they were still able to hold their heads *above water*. The officers of the Company at this time were Jos. Peabody President, E. H. Derby Vice President, John G. King, David Perkins, Wm. F. Gardner, Nathan Robinson, Directors. The consequence of this alteration in the tariff of prices was the abandonment of the new aqueduct and all proceedings on the part of the new company. Thus ended this unjust and cruel warfare upon a company to whom the city, in its beginning, was under the heaviest obligations—which came to it with healing on its wings, and the opposition to which it was subjected had its origin in such an unworthy and mercenary motive.

During this year (1834) the Company laid

down the first iron pipe of six inches bore, from North street down Essex street as far as Newbury street, or what *was* formerly called John Gardner's corner, and which still continues in a very fair state of preservation.—This outlay of five thousand dollars was also paid for out of the earnings of the Company. The want of water was now apparent, and it had now become necessary for water takers generally to affix pumps to their branches to enable them to get any water, and in the year 1839 the Corporation applied to the Legislature “for such additional powers as will enable them so far to extend and improve the works of the Corporation as to provide a full and constant supply of water for the use of the inhabitants of Salem and Danvers, and for power to increase the number of shares of said Corporation if the same shall be necessary.” They obtained such power from the Legislature, dated April 6, 1839, which was accepted by the stockholders at their annual meeting on 2d of May, at which time a committee of nine stockholders was appointed “to consider whether any additional measures ought to be taken by the Corporation to furnish a more adequate and constant supply of water, and whether it is practicable and expedient to enlarge the number of shares for that purpose, and to consider of and recommend any improvements in the management of the affairs of the Corporation which they may deem for the interest of the Proprietors.” This committee subsequently reported, “That from representations made and from their own investigations, they are fully satisfied that the quantity of water brought into the city by the present main pipes is inadequate to furnish the inhabitants who depend upon the Corporation for their supply of water, and this deficiency is probably owing to the following causes—*first*, extensive leaks and serious obstructions which it is impossible to discover before the season is far spent. *Secondly*, that the number of new branches added since the main was laid down in 1819 reduces the head of water so fast, that with the pipes in good repair they would but imperfectly furnish the amount

of water required. Your committee therefore recommend that the corporation cause a new wooden pipe without branches, for the supply of customers, and connected with iron joints, to be laid down from the fountain to the reservoir on Gallows Hill; they also advise that a committee be authorized to procure on loan the funds requisite to pay for said pipes, and to apply one-half of the water rents (after providing for the annual disbursements) to the liquidation of the principal and interest of said loan, until the same shall be fully paid.” At a subsequent meeting the report was accepted, and that the Directors with Gideon Tucker and Ephraim Emmerton constitute the finance committee. Nine thousand dollars were subsequently hired of the Savings Bank for the purpose of laying down this pipe, which was paid for out of the earnings of the Aqueduct. On the 5th Nov., 1839, it was voted “expedient to connect the logs lately laid down from the *new* Fountain to the reservoir on Gallows Hill to the main iron pipe near Summer street, and that the same be immediately carried into effect.” In Nov., 1840, in consequence of the want of water experienced at this time, a log was “laid from the Pool to the lower fountain, so that a portion of the water may be drawn from the pool to the fountain.” A deficiency of water was still experienced, and the Directors had at one time in contemplation to conduct the waters from Brown's Pond to the present fountains on the land of the Corporation, and for this purpose appointed a committee of three persons to consider the expediency of it. This was, however, never adopted. In September, 1843, that old and faithful officer of the Corporation, Benj. Blanchard, died, much lamented by his associates, the President and Directors of this Corporation. Mr. Blanchard was thought not always to have sufficiently combined the *fortiter in re* with the *suaviter in modo*; but his duties were perplexing and onerous, while keeping a watchful eye for the interests of the Corporation. The Company continued to reserve one-half the rents arising from the use of the water to liquidate



the loan of 1839, but in Nov., 1844, omitted one dividend altogether. At this time the expenses of the Corporation were uncommonly large, by removing and repairing the Boring Mill and putting up a steam engine for boring logs. It was estimated up to this time the Company had expended one hundred thousand dollars on their works, or \$1000 per share. The Company from this time until 1849 were evidently failing in the quantity of water, with the pleasant prospect of its soon giving out altogether; and were groaning under the constant new applications for water, feeling the supply was not *then* adequate to the demand; when, fortunately for the Company as well as for the town, the Steam Cotton Mill was suffering for the want of pure water for its boiler and turned its attention to the Aqueduct, the Proprietors of which commenced to buy up the shares, evidently with a view to get the control of the Corporation. This, while it alarmed many timid stockholders, was the most fortunate circumstance which could have befallen the Company—for while the energies and confidence of the old stockholders were evidently drooping, and they were doubtful what course was best for them to pursue, believing all they had left was their franchise, and while they were considering by a committee the power of the Corporation for procuring an adequate supply of water for the purposes contemplated by the charter, and the expediency and feasibility of increasing those means by laying down other and larger pipes, also of increasing the capital stock of the Corporation, they were relieved from further anxiety by the action of the new stockholders, who addressed a letter to the Directors, requesting them to call a special meeting for the following purposes, viz: “to determine if the stockholders will vote to bring a larger supply of water into the city, and to ascertain if they will extend their pipes and water into South Salem, and to determine if they will increase the number of Directors to nine, and to consider if they will issue four new shares of \$100 each for each old share, and to ascertain if they will make four hun-

dred new shares in addition, of \$100 each, to enable them to lay down an iron pipe of 12 inch bore from the present fountains to near the head of Federal street.” This meeting was called on the 28th Nov., 1849, and the stockholders voted to adopt all the above suggestions and the Corporation was thrown completely into new hands. Nearly the whole old Board of Directors having resigned, a new organization of the company then took place, consisting of Wm. D. Waters Pres’t, Eben’r Sutton Vice President, Joseph S. Leavitt, John Lovejoy, Wm. Lummus and C. M. Endicott Directors. One of the first acts of the new organization was to authorize the Treasurer to hire, from time to time, an amount of money not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, and to give his note or notes in behalf of the Company for the same. They immediately laid down an iron pipe leading through Union street to the Steam Cotton Mills in South Salem, and the Company gave permission to the Factory to draw water therefrom during the night time. Under the impression of some informality at the meeting of Nov., 1849, on the 9th of March, 1850, at a special meeting, the Corporation “voted to choose five Directors to fill vacancies,” when David Pingree, Philip Chase, Wm. D. Waters, Sam’l B. Walcott and Rob’t Peelle were chosen. At this meeting the Proprietors so far altered the By-laws as to make the whole number of shares in the corporation one thousand, and that the par value shall be one hundred dollars. The new stock was eventually all taken up, but it dragged heavily for some time, under the impression that the whole undertaking was likely to prove a failure; that the grounds would not furnish a sufficient supply for the increased demand, and for which the engineers would give no encouragement; and the Company at this time applied to the Legislature for liberty to lay a log to the waters of Spring Pond, and for increasing their capital to \$200,000, which was granted May 2, 1850 and which the stockholders accepted at their annual meeting in May, 1851. The new organization now made strenuous efforts in laying down an iron pipe of 12 inch bore from the



fountain to the head of Federal street, and revised the tariff of prices, making, however, no alteration in the price at which families had been formerly supplied. The main pipe of 12 inches, measuring 16,165 feet, was all completed in the most perfect manner in the summer of 1850, under the charge of George W. Drury of Groton, Mass., with the able superintendence of the President, Wm. D. Waters, Esq.; and when it was ascertained there was sufficient water to fill the pipes, the Proprietors began once more to breathe easy. They also built a new reservoir or cistern, on their own grounds, capable of holding some 652,000 gallons of water.

But the President's work was not completed as to laying down the branches until the autumn of 1851, when, on the 3d of November of that year, the following preamble and vote was passed by the board of Directors, viz: "The important work of laying down a 12 inch iron pipe from the fountain to the entrance of the city, and also substituting and laying down pipes of the same material in most of the streets in place of the old wooden logs, thereby furnishing an abundant supply of water—the same having been completed under the able superintendence of our President, Wm. D. Waters, Esq., to the entire satisfaction of the Directors—therefore voted—That in addition to such compensation as may be satisfactory, that a piece or pieces of silver plate, not exceeding in value the sum of five hundred dollars, be presented to Mr. Waters by the Directors of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct Corporation, as a token of their respect for the acceptable manner in which he has executed the undertaking." In addition to this the Directors voted, Nov. 1, 1852, "That a compensation of twenty-five hundred dollars be allowed the President for his services during the progress of the works, embracing a period of three years."

The Company went on harmoniously and satisfactorily to the public and to themselves from this time, making a fair dividend of profits, extending their works into North and South Salem, where they had not been before, and re-

laying the streets with iron pipes, as the old wooden logs decayed. They had an abundant supply of water for all purposes, and no complaints of a deficiency reached the Directors until 1859, when the business of Tanning and Currying had so much increased that these manufacturers demanded a larger supply of water than they had heretofore received. They laid their complaints before the city government, and a committee was chosen to confer with the Aqueduct Company. The impositions heretofore experienced, it was thought, from this class of consumers as to the quantity of water used had always caused them to be looked upon with suspicious eyes; but whether unjustly or not is not the province of the narrator to comment upon, but merely to state the fact, that as far back as 1813 it was considered "the price of the Aqueduct water to the Tanners was too low for the quantity they used, *therefore* Mr. James Bott, the Agent, was directed to make a new agreement with them." In proof of this supposition, it was found the quantity was abundantly sufficient for all domestic purposes on such days as these manufacturers did not make use of it, as Sundays and holidays. Always desirous, however, of serving all classes of customers, and particularly such a useful class to the prosperity of the city as the Tanners and Curriers, the Directors laid down, under the able superintendence of their President, Wm. D. Waters, Esq., an additional 6 inch iron pipe, from the main pipe at the head of Federal street, in Boston street, down Essex street to the head of Summer street; and also at the same time extended the main pipe of 12 inches into Spring Pond, as authorized by the Legislature in 1850. They however first built a most substantial filterer of two boxes, the outer one 16 feet square and the inner one of ten feet square, and had the space filled with some forty tons of rotten rock for the water to pass through before entering the pipe; also affixed a gate of 12 inches diameter to graduate the quantity of water taken from the pond, and have never as yet had occasion to raise it beyond *one inch*. The cost of lay-

ing down these pipes, together with the amount expended beyond the sum raised by creating new stock in 1850, induced the Directors to look into the whole cost of the Aqueduct, or *the construction account* since its first formation, which, after a careful analysis of expenditures, was ascertained to be 246,200 dollars, or 246<sup>20</sup>/<sub>100</sub> per share, and the Company thereupon doubled their stock in November, 1859, and it now consists of two thousand shares at one hundred dollars each, equal to two hundred thousand dollars, on which their dividends will be hereafter predicated. The Corporation have now some forty miles of pipes, including all the branches; and the number of water takers has swelled from 500 to 3600.

The duties of the Agent and Collector are comparatively onerous and perplexing, and can be appreciated only by those who are conversant with them. The shifts and turns at deception in the use of water are manifold, and prove how sadly we have departed from the standard of truth as demonstrated by Jennie Deans in the Heart of Mid-Lothian—but

"When *self* the wavering balance shakes  
Tis rarely right adjusted."

As the Agent has principally to rely upon the water takers in one case to render a true and accurate account of the number in a family, and in the other the quantity of water used, he has all sorts of people and all sorts of consciences to deal with, from the strictly honest and reliable, to those who appear preposterously to acknowledge no property in water, which is a gift in the providence of God, forgetting that the providence of God does not lay down pipes or convey water through them to their doors, and therefore believe it a venial offence to deceive in the use of it.

The height of the fountains is 57.3 feet above medium high water, and Spring Pond 63.6 feet. The quantity of water is now equal to supply an indefinite population. The reservoirs and fountains are capable of holding some 1,100,000 gallons, besides the great and inexhaustible reservoir of Spring Pond, containing

59 acres, which at present is scarcely used, but is merely a *corps de reserve* in case of need.—Ten thousand pounds of this water contains only <sup>300</sup>/<sub>1000</sub>th of one pound of solid foreign matter—this consists of silicious earth, sulphate of soda and common salt, the proportion of salts being about one-half; the evaporation of 20,000 pounds of this water will leave only *one pound* of these.

The perplexing lawsuits and various impositions this Company have experienced throughout its whole existence, we have forborne to recount or comment upon, as they would show up the worst phase in human nature. Suffice it to say, it has evidently been believed, that while they will not accord to corporations, *souls*, they at least believe they have purses to filch and fatten upon.

The present officers of the Corporation are, Wm. D. Waters President; Jos. S. Leavitt Vice President; David Pingree, John G. Waters, Robert Peele, Aaron Perkins, Henry Cook, Eben'r Sutton, C. M. Endicott, Directors; Wm. Jelly Agent and Collector; C. M. Endicott Treasurer and Clerk. Annual Meeting first Thursday in May.

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THE HOPKINS FAMILY IN RHODE ISLAND, TO WHICH STEPHEN HOPKINS, ONE OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1776, BELONGED.

BY C. C. BEAMAN.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute,  
Thursday, March 8, 1860.

On a high ridge of land, twelve miles west of Providence, on the turnpike road to Hartford, may be seen a little cluster of graves. They lie in the Northwest part of Scituate, (Chopmist Hills.) a farming and manufacturing town of some four or five thousand inhabitants.

These resting places of the dead are in close proximity to the road, at the west end and outside of the wall of a kitchen garden, cultivated for many generations, and lying on the opposite

side of the road to a large house, built in 1775 by Lt. Governor West, and known as the "Governor West House." On the same site, or very near it, stood a moderate sized house, erected some seventy years earlier, and removed to give place to the present edifice. The prospect is very extensive from this spot in all directions.—Scattered farm houses, with woods and orchards and ploughed fields filling up the landscape, present the aspect of an ordinary hill town of the country.

He who chose this place for a homestead, and whose axe was among the first to level the trees for a clearing, is lying with his wife in the little household burial place already described. No inscription is upon the rude stones at either end of their graves, but the position may be ascertained with considerable certainty among the few hillocks, some of which are of recent erection and have stones cut with the names of the dead. William Hopkins died in 1738, and his wife some few years earlier.—Their celebrity is now chiefly dependent upon that of their distinguished sons, Col. William Hopkins, Governor Stephen Hopkins and Commodore Ezek Hopkins, neither of whom, however, has received that biographical attention which their position, talents and services would seem to demand. Almost every one is familiar with the trembling signature of Stephen Hopkins to the Declaration of American Independence. This was occasioned by a nervous affection of the right hand, which had compelled him for some years when he wrote to guide his right hand with the left. This shaking handwriting has given him a notoriety, but so little is known of him otherwise, that even the cause of the tremulousness is not understood. It is quite time that an attempt should be made to gather up some particulars of his history and spread them before the public. The effort to make him a descendant of the person of the same name who came out in the Mayflower to Plymouth in 1620 has not been successful.

Thomas Hopkins, the first ancestor in America of Gov. Hopkins, came from England to Providence in the earliest settlement of the

town, and had a house lot assigned to him in 1638. He was elected Commissioner from Providence to the Court of Commissioners in 1650, and in several subsequent years down to 1668. He married Elizabeth Arnold, sister to Benedict Arnold, the first governor of Rhode Island. Major William Hopkins, son of Thomas, married Abigail Whipple, daughter of John Whipple, one of the first settlers of Providence. His only child William was a pioneer in the settlement of Scituate. His wife, Ruth Wilkinson, was descended from an old soldier of Oliver Cromwell, Capt. Lawrence Wilkinson, whose son Samuel, the father of Ruth, denominated in written documents "Capt. Samuel Wilkinson, Esq.," was a highly respected citizen of Providence.

The marriage of Ruth is connected with a pleasant anecdote. William Hopkins was in the employ of her father. The lovers could not muster courage enough to speak to the "awful Justice," for Mr. Wilkinson held that office, so dignified in former days. In the house or office it was the custom to post up "Intentions of Marriage." The timid lovers, who had often looked with an envious or emulous eye upon such important steps preliminary to a "consummation devoutly to be wished," wrote a notice of their "intentions," and placing it unobserved upon the table of the "Justice," watched to see how it would be regarded. Squire Wilkinson, as they saw by a peep through the door, took up the paper, read it and deliberately posted it up in the proper location. There were some blushes on the cheeks of Ruth that day, probably, but the desired approbation thus ingeniously obtained, soon led on to marriage, and some new land in the then large town of Providence, extending to the bounds of Connecticut, where Ruth's brother, Lieutenant Joseph Wilkinson, also went to live, was selected for farming operations. Here a house and barn were built in the woods, ten or a dozen miles inland, and in this home the newly married pair began to live in wedlock.

Tradition informs us that a little meadow on



Mr. Wilkinson's farm yielded the first crop of hay for the winter fodder of the cow he brought with him. The beavers having flooded the meadow by building a dam, the trees rotted down and the grass grew up of itself. The same authority handed down in the family has given us an exploit of Mr. Wilkinson's wife, (Martha Pray was her maiden name,) illustrative of the times. One day, in the absence of her husband at work two miles off, a bear came near the house and climbing up a sweet apple tree, the only one they had, began to shake it in order to eat the fruit. Martha was highly indignant at the freedom taken with her tree and not a little regretted the absence of the lieutenant, whose gun loaded for wild game was in its place ready for use. The apples continued to rattle on the ground, as if to spur the resolution of the backwoodsman's wife, and she seized the gun and rushed out of the back door to chastise the intruder. Taking aim, she fired at bruin, and instantly dropping the gun, fled into the house and fastened the door, without daring to look behind. When Mr. Wilkinson came home she informed him of the occurrence, and on going to the tree he found the bear lying on the ground, having been killed by the shot.

We can form some idea of the influences under which the children of William and Ruth Hopkins were trained in early life from such an incident. Some poetry in Gov. Hopkins's history of Rhode Island, and attributed to him, gives us a view of the privations and penury of the early settlers of the State :

"No house, nor hut, nor fruitful field,  
Nor lowing herd, nor bleating flock;  
Or garden that might comfort yield;  
No cheerful, early crowing cock.

No orchard yielding pleasant fruit,  
Or laboring ox or useful plough;  
No neighing steed or browsing goat,  
Or grunting swine or feedful cow.

No friend to help, no neighbor nigh,  
Nor healing medicine to relieve;  
No mother's hand to close the eye,  
Alone, forlorn, and most extremely poor."

The children of William Hopkins were, William, Stephen, John, Esek, Samuel, Hope, Abigail and Susanna; five sons and three daughters. We shall speak at this time only of three of these, namely, William, Stephen and Esek.

WILLIAM was born in 1705, and being the oldest son, and bearing both his father's and grandfather's name, was probably admitted to more privileges than the other children. He went to England soon after he reached the age of manhood and obtained the favor of a presentation at Court. He is said to have been very handsome and manly in appearance, and he so favorably impressed one of the royal Dukes that he gave him a Colonel's commission. A part of the dress he wore at Court is now in the possession of his great grandson, William Hopkins Cooke, Esq., of Barrington, R. I.—He married an Angell and had a son, Christopher, who married Sarah, daughter of Judge Daniel Jenckes. Joanna Hopkins, daughter of Christopher, married Nicholas Cooke, son of Nicholas Cooke, who was, at the time of her marriage, Governor of R. I. Col. William Hopkins died before the Revolutionary War, in his native State.

STEPHEN HOPKINS was born March 7, 1707, and was consequently in his 70th year at the time he signed the Declaration of Independence. No particulars of his boyhood are preserved. As there were no schools in those days in his neighborhood, he must have been taught at home by his mother, and also by his Uncle Wilkinson, a surveyor, living within two or three miles. From early youth, probably as young as Washington, he was employed to survey land.

At nineteen he married Sarah, the youngest daughter of Major Silvanus Scott of Providence. The marriage took place June 27, 1726. On this occasion his father gave him a deed of 70 acres of land, and his Grandfather Hopkins bestowed on his "loving grandson," as the deed reads, an additional tract of 90 acres of bordering territory. He continued to reside on his farm and on that of his father,

which came into his hands, until he was thirty-seven years of age, when he removed to the seaport of his native town, or Providence, and entered into trade and commerce on South Main street. When Scituate was set off from Providence in 1730, at the age of twenty-three, he was chosen Moderator of the first town meeting. This fact is significant of the esteem in which he was held. The following year he was elected Town Clerk, which then, as now, included the registry of deeds and of probate. This office he held for ten successive years and then resigned it. The books, in his beautiful handwriting, are still preserved. In 1733 he represented the town in the General Assembly and was made Justice of the Peace. In May, 1739, he received the appointment of Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. In May, 1751, he was made Governor of the State, and at subsequent times filled the office. in all nine years. The town of Providence seems to have made him the standing moderator of her Town Meetings, so often and regularly was he chosen. In 1757 he headed a list of thirty-six men (his son George being one of the number,) as ready to march against the French and Indians, who had suddenly invaded the Northern frontier, carrying ruin and terror in their path. Their speedy retreat prevented the setting out of the expedition. In August, 1774, he, with Samuel Ward, was elected to represent the State in the General Congress at Philadelphia, and served there for several successive years. He exerted himself in Congress for decisive measures, saying on one occasion, "that the time had come when the strongest arm and the longest sword must decide the contest, and those members who were not prepared for action had better go home."

His wife was with him at Philadelphia, June 21, 1775, when he wrote to his daughter Ruth at Providence the following letter :

"BELOVED RUTH—I wrote you on the 25th May and gave you an account of our journey hither. Since then I have had an ill turn and two or three fits of the fever and ague, but am now well. Your mother has not been very

well for several days and is now quite poorly. I hope she will soon be better. George (his son) I expected to have seen here, but believe he is gone to South Carolina. Col. Washington will set out from here in a day or two for New England, to take the command of the Continental army, of which he is appointed Commander-in-Chief. He will be accompanied by Gen. Lee, who also has a command in that army, which is taken into the pay of all America."

It was at this time that Washington, passing through Providence, was sent by the town authorities to lodge at Gov. Hopkins's house, although he and his wife were absent. Ruth had only a few black servants in the house, and as her father lived in a very plain way in his small house, the relatives and friends of the family tendered the loan of China, glass and other articles, but the patriot's daughter proudly replied, "*that what was good enough for her father was good enough for General Washington.*"

He was a member of the naval committee, and John Adams, who was also a member of that committee, thus alludes to him in the third volume of his autobiography :

"In this place I will take the opportunity to observe, that the pleasantest part of my labors for the four years I spent in Congress, from 1774 to 1778, was in this naval committee.—Mr. Lee, Mr. Gadsden, were sensible men and very cheerful, but Gov. Hopkins of R. I., above 70 years of age, kept us all alive. Upon business his experience and judgment were very useful. But when the business of the evening was over he kept us in conversation until 11 and sometimes till 12 o'clock. His custom was to drink nothing all day, nor till 8 o'clock in the evening, and then his beverage was Jamaica spirits and water. It gave him wit, humor, anecdotes, science and learning. He had read Greek, Roman and British history, and was familiar with British poetry, particularly Pope, Thomson and Milton, and the flow of his soul made all his reading our own, and seemed to bring to recollection in all of us all we had

ever read. I could neither eat nor drink in those days. The other gentlemen were very temperate. Hopkins never drank to excess, but all he drank was immediately not only converted into wit, sense, knowledge and good humor, but inspired us with similar qualities."

Gov. Hopkins was esteemed an excellent mathematician, and was extensively engaged from youth to advanced age in surveying land. In taking the survey of a tract of land he passed over a plain thickly set with shrubbery. Soon after he found that his watch, which cost twenty-five guineas in London, was missing. Supposing that the chain had become entangled in the bushes and the watch thereby pulled from his pocket, he set the course back and found it hanging on a bush. He was associated with Benj. West and others at Providence, June 3, 1769, in making observations on the transit of Venus over the sun's disc.

He acted in concert with JAMES OTIS and SAMUEL ADAMS in those earlier contests with arbitrary powers, which paved the way for the Revolutionary War, doing in Rhode Island what they did in Massachusetts. In 1754 he was appointed a member of the Board of Commissioners, which assembled at Albany, to digest and concert a plan of union for the Colonies. He wrote a pamphlet in support of the rights and claims of the Colonies, called "The Rights of the Colonies examined," which was published by order of the General Assembly. With the celebrated James Otis of Boston, that ardent apostle of liberty, he so keenly sympathized as to come to his aid in a political controversy for freedom.

Mr. Howard, of Halifax, published in 1765 a letter to a friend in Rhode Island, in which he ridiculed the plan of American representation in Parliament and openly defended the justice and expediency of taxation by English authority. Mr. Otis gave a spirited reply, in which was much acrimony and personal abuse. This drew forth a sharp personal retort from Mr. Howard; and Mr. Hopkins took up the controversy, defended Otis and overwhelmed their common opponent with sarcasm and in-

veective. At a special town meeting held in Providence, August 7, 1765, Gov. Hopkins was chairman of a committee chosen to draft instructions to the General Assembly on the Stamp Act. He was not Governor in that year. The resolutions reported by that committee were the same that Patrick Henry introduced into the House of Delegates of Virginia, but with a sixth additional. Those resolves passed in the Assembly, including the fifth, which had been rejected in the "Old Dominion." The additional resolution stated, that "WE ARE NOT BOUND TO YIELD OBEDIENCE TO ANY LAW OR ORDINANCE DESIGNED TO IMPOSE ANY INTERNAL TAXATION WHATEVER UPON US, OTHER THAN THE LAWS AND ORDINANCES OF RHODE ISLAND."

This measure showed that Rhode Island stood in the very front rank of opposition and that Stephen Hopkins headed the movement in his State, as did Otis and Samuel Adams in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia.

We should not forget, in giving a sketch of the life of Gov. Hopkins, his taste in poetic composition. He had severe domestic afflictions in the loss of children and that of his first wife very near together, and their loss drew forth some lamentations in verse. His son *Silvanus*, a youth about nineteen years old, was cast away on Cape Breton shore April 24, 1753, and barbarously murdered by the savages. Another son, *John*, died at Cadiz July 20, 1753, thus bringing very near together the death of two children. Here is one of two pieces written on these occasions :—

"On prickly stems as gayest rose-buds blend,  
Sweetly diffusing odors all around;  
Yet leaf by leaf the blasted flowers descend,  
And on the stocks thorns only then are found.

When I look back upon my hopeful sons,  
Cheerfully smiling round my youthful mate,  
My soul within me sadly sinks and mourns  
The ruined riches of my former state.

Does Fate delight to shower his blessings on us,  
That we may think our happiness complete;



Then suddenly to snatch all comfort from us,  
And make his triumph in our weak defeat?

Are Heaven's designs so far above our reach,  
On what we thought our blessings chiefly stood,  
Kindly interposing thus to make a breach,  
To show us plainly what's our real good?

And can the holy God, supremely just,  
For any blinded sinner's hated guilt  
Give up the lives that never here transgress?  
To make us see—must kindred blood be spilt?

O, low in thought! O, weak to understand!  
In vain doth man inquire and man complain;  
My ways, though right, he ne'er can comprehend—  
Silent submission is all he can attain.

There let him rest in humbleness of mind,  
Keep in due bounds the passions of this life;  
And in my goodness he shall always find  
The comforts of his children and his wife.

All souls are mine, and bodies I afford  
Such and so long as my great scheme requires;  
Examine not the doings of thy Lord,  
But in Him find the source of all desires."

We have testimony in these lines of the affectionate parental heart. His daughter Ruth often and warmly uttered, "Never was father kinder than he was to us children." He was twice married, living with each of his wives just twenty-seven years. His second wife was Mrs. Smith, a widow with three children, whom he married Jan. 2, 1755, in the Quaker Meeting House, still standing in North Providence. At the time of his second marriage he connected himself with the "Friends" or Quakers, of which denomination Mrs. S. was a member. At the death of this wife, January 20, 1782, he was deeply afflicted, saying, that it was the heaviest, because his first bereavement found him in the vigor of life and he could bear it better, but now, in old age, he could ill conceal the blow. He has inscribed his feelings on her gravestone:

"O, my companion and fellow traveller,  
Thou hast left me to finish my journey alone!"

President Manning said of these lines, that

if Gov. Hopkins had never done anything else, they would be sufficient alone to show him to have been a man of genius and feeling.

Three years more of widowhood, and a prolonged and distressing illness closed his earthly career. He had the loving attentions and faithful care of his daughter Ruth to the last, and she greatly smoothed the pathway of his setting life. To her he left his books and furniture and his house, which is still standing, for her lifetime. His death took place July 13, 1785, and he was buried in the North burial ground of Providence, in a grave between his two wives, near to some of his children, and bordering upon some of the family of his son, Judge Rufus Hopkins. The Jenckes family, relatives and intimate friends of Governor Hopkins, are also buried in the vicinity, so that those who lived together in sweet intercourse and affection are now sleeping side by side in a lovely rural cemetery, adorned by nature and art. The beautiful monument erected to his memory by his native State bears the following inscription:—

On one side:

"Sacred to the memory of the illustrious  
STEPHEN HOPKINS,  
of Revolutionary fame:

Attested by his signature to the Declaration  
of our National Independence.

Great in Council from sagacity of mind;  
Magnanimous in sentiment;

Firm in purpose, and Good as Great,  
From benevolence of heart, he stood in the first  
rank of Statesmen and Patriots.

Self-educated,

Yet among the most learned of men;  
His vast treasures of useful knowledge;  
His great retentive and reflective powers;  
Combined with his social nature, made him  
the most interesting of companions in private life."

On another side:

"His name is engraved on the immortal  
record of the Revolution and can never die.  
His titles to that distinction are engraved on  
this monument, reared by the grateful  
admiration of his native State,  
In honor of her favorite son."

On a third side we read:

HOPKINS,

Born March 7, 1707.

Died July 13, 1785.

There is no accurate portrait of him. When Trumbull painted his picture of the signers of the Declaration of Independence he was dead, and his son, Judge Rufus Hopkins, who very much resembled his father, was taken for him.

In some respects he resembled FRANKLIN,—self-taught, sagacious, philosophical, unselfish, humorous, social, firm, laborious, brave and patriotic. He was born the year before the celebrated printer, and like him, was much in the public councils, looked up to for advice, depended upon in trying circumstances, for many years before the Revolutionary War and during its progress. His name will go down to the latest posterity as one of nature's true noblemen and a patriot of long and tried service. He affords us one of the noblest and most animating specimens of self-made men, who have fought their way up to eminence by the inherent craving after knowledge, the irrepressible will, moulding all things to itself, and extracting from everything around means for advancement.

In 1738 William Hopkins, the father of Governor Hopkins, then a widower, in expectation of the death which soon came, dictated his will, which is still in preservation, the signature indicating a very poor penman. To Stephen, a favorite son, as he had previously deeded to him his farm, little or nothing was left; and indeed, the property bequeathed could not in all be more than a few hundred dollars. One bed and bedding, one chest and his wearing apparel and some little money to his daughters are about all. Esek, a tall, athletic youth of nineteen, received a *gun* and ox-chain, and after his father's death took the gun upon his shoulder, and, a homeless orphan boy, set out to seek his fortune in the wide, wide world. Proceeding to the head waters of Narraganset Bay, to the little seaport of Providence, described by an English visitor in 1741:

"This pleasant town doth border on the flocks,  
Here's neighbors, orchards and more back the  
woods;"

he there sought a voyage.

GENERAL WASHINGTON addressed this lad 38 years afterwards, Ap'l 14, 1776, as ADMIRAL Hopkins, but *now* he was "a youth to fortune and to fame unknown." As the small craft in which he sailed as a green hand to one of the W. I. ports passed down the bay on her voyage, the landscape so full of beauty and interest, and the features of the distant climes to which he was bound already impressing themselves on his ardent imagination, how glowed the bosom of the aspiring and brave youth, thus suddenly emancipated from the seclusion of his forest home.

Success crowned the farmer's boy in his new vocation. He had found his place; and soon rose through the grades of office to be the master and owner of vessels. He made Newport, then a place of considerable commerce, his residence. As Bishop Berkeley said in 1729, "the most thriving place in all America for business." Here he married Miss Desire Burroughs, daughter of Mr. Ezekiel Burroughs. In 1755, having acquired considerable property, he abandoned the seafaring life and removed to Providence.

Twenty years after this, in 1775, the enemies of liberty in America having made descents at Newport and other towns on the Narragansett Bay, carrying off live stock for the supply of the British troops shut up in Boston, the town of Providence appointed Capt. Hopkins commandant of a battery of six eighteen-pounders at Fox Point. This was done Aug. 29, and Oct. 4 following the Governor commissioned Brigadier General Ezek Hopkins in command of five companies to be raised for the protection of the Colony from such depredations.

One month afterwards the Continental Congress gave him command of the navy about to be established. His brother Stephen, of the Naval Committee of Congress, thus writes him respecting the appointment:

"Philadelphia, Nov. 6, 1775.

Dear Sir,

You will perceive by a letter from the committee dated yesterday, that they have pitched upon you to take the command of a small fleet, which they and I hope will be but the beginning of one much larger.

I suppose you may be more serviceable to your country in this very dangerous crisis of its affairs by taking upon you this command than you can in any other way. I should therefore hope that this will be a sufficient inducement for you to accept of this offer. Your pay and perquisites will be such as you will have no reason to complain of. Such officers and seamen as you may procure to come with you may be informed that they will enter into pay from their first engaging in this service, and will be entitled to share as prize the one-half of all armed vessels, and the one-third of all transports that shall be taken.

You may assure all with whom you converse, that the Congress increase in their unanimity and rise stronger and stronger in the spirit of opposition to the tyrannical measures of administration.

I am your affectionate brother,  
STEPHEN HOPKINS."

The appointment was accepted and the fleet, consisting of the ships Alfred, Capt. Dudley Saltonstall, and the Columbus, Capt. Whipple, the brig Andrew Doria, Capt. Nicholas Bidle, and the Cabot, Capt. John B. Hopkins, and the sloops Providence, Fly, Hornet and Wasp, put out to sea Feb. 17, 1776, with a smart northeast wind, and cruising among the Bahama Islands, captured the forts of New Providence, Nassau. This was a very fortunate affair, for the heavy ordnance and stores proved quite acceptable to the country in its defenceless state. Seventeen cannon, from nine to thirty-six pounders, were taken at Fort Montague, and seventy-one cannon, from nine to thirty-two pounders, from Fort Nassau, besides mortars, shells and round shot, chain and double-headed shot and other articles.

On the commodore's return, when off Block

Island, April 5, 1776, he took the schooner Ilawke, of six carriage guns and eight swivels, and the bomb brig Bolton of eight guns and two howitzers, ten swivels and forty-eight hands, well found with all sorts of stores, arms, powder, &c. The Glasgow man of war was engaged very early in the morning of the next day but made her escape.

The celebrated JOHN PAUL JONES, then a lieutenant on board the commodore's ship Alfred, which was one of the vessels engaged with the Glasgow, wrote to a friend soon after the combat:

"I have the pleasure of assuring you that the commander-in-chief is respected thro' the fleet, and I verily believe that the officers and men in general would go any length to execute his orders. It is with pain that I confine this plaudit to an individual; I should be happy in extending it to every captain and officer in the service. Praise is certainly due to some, but alas! there are exceptions."

Considerable blame was attached to the fleet for not taking the Glasgow, and the ship Columbus, Capt. Whipple, was particularly censured.

The President of Congress wrote Com. Hopkins a letter of a complimentary character and said:—

"Tho' it is to be regretted that the Glasgow man of war made her escape, yet as it was not thro' any misconduct, the praise due to you and the other officers is undoubtedly the same."

Every one is acquainted with the difficulties which Gen. Washington encountered in organizing a stable and efficient army out of a raw militia, whose term of service on short enlistments was often expiring at the very moment when they were most needed. Similar obstacles were met by Com. Hopkins in the navy, and his force was wholly inadequate to protect the long line of American coast and meet the disciplined and large navy of Great Britain. But he performed good service and helped on the good day coming. Almost like NELSON, HOPKINS became a synonym for naval heroism and for American patriotism. An engraving



of the Commodore, a splendid figure and handsome, open countenance, as indeed belonged to him, was made in France and circulated there and in America. In the picture was a Liberty Tree and the motto, "An appeal to God." A rattlesnake was drawn on the ground ready to spring, and over it were the words, "Don't tread upon me." Below the portrait of the Naval Hero was written, "Hopkins, Commander-in-Chief, la Flotte Americaine." Another likeness, with the tree only, was made. Both of these are in the collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. The portrait very much resembles the Hon. John H. Clarke of Providence, the grandson of Com. Hopkins.

The commodore was some one or two inches over six feet in height and finely proportioned. He built hima house in North Providence, where a niece still resides. Much of his furniture remains, but a large and old fashioned clock, one hundred years old, and a venerable chair have been given within a few years to Brown University and are placed in their Library Room. His death took place in 1802 and he was buried in a private lot. His monument has the following inscription:

"This stone is consecrated to the memory of Ezek Hopkins, Esq., who departed this life on the 26th day of Feb., 1802. He was born in the year 1718, at Scituate, in this State, and during the Revolutionary War was appointed Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the naval forces of the United States. He was afterwards a member of our State Legislature, and was no less distinguished for his deliberation than for his valor. As he lived highly respected so he died, deeply regretted by his country and his friends, at the advanced age of 83 years and 10 months.

Look next on greatness!  
Say, where greatness lies!"

JOHN ADAMS on several occasions defended him in the Naval Committee and in Congress against what he termed "that anti-New England spirit which haunted the proceedings of Congress," and was turned against Com. Hopkins. When the trial was over Mr. Ellery of Newport went to Mr. Adams and said, "You have made the old man your friend for life;

he will hear of your defending him and he never forgets a kindness."

The old man *did* remember the services of Mr. Adams in his behalf. "More than twenty years afterwards," says Mr. A. in his autobiography, "the old gentleman hobbled on his crutches to the inn at Providence, at fourscore years of age, one-half of him dead in consequence of a paralytic stroke, with his eyes overflowing with tears, to express his gratitude to me. He said he knew not for what end he was continued in life, unless it were to punish his friends, or to teach his children and grandchildren to respect me. The President of Rhode Island College, who had married his daughter, and all his family showed me the same affectionate attachment."

The parents of these three distinguished sons should be gratefully and honorably remembered. What a family were William and Ruth Hopkins, rearing in their small and rough boarded farmer's house among the wooded hills, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century!

"'Tis wonderful  
That an invisible instinct should frame them  
To royalty unlearned; honor untaught;  
Civility not seen from other; valor  
That mildly grows in them, but yields a crop  
As if it had been sowed!"

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#### ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 72.

*Ann Burt, 4th mo., 1673.*

The Will of Ann Burt, dated 8 of January, 1664, mentions William Basset jun'r, John Basset, Elisha Basset and Samuel Basset, when their children are 18 years old, Elizabeth Basset, Sarah Basset, Merriam Basset, Mary Basset and Hannah Basset, Ellen Bartrom to

the wife of William Bartrom, Lydia Burrill; I appoint my Brother Francis Burrill and Goodman Crofts overseers; witnesses, Francis Burrill, William Crofts. Administration granted to William Bassett; probated at Salem 26 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate, taken 18 March, 1672-73, by William Crofts and Francis Burrill. Amount 47, 2, 6.

*Robert Morgan, 4th mo., 1673.*

Will of Robert Morgan, dated 14th October, 1672, mentions my wife Margaret, my son Samuell, wife's father Norman, son Benjamin, Robert and Bethia, sons Joseph and Moses. I appoint son Samuel sole executor and Ensign Corning and John Stone overseers; witnesses William Rodney (?) and John Trask. Probated 24 4, 1673.

An Inventory of the above estate, am't 219, 14, 00, taken by John Gally and Thomas Rikson. Allowed November 10, 1672.

*Tho's Coldham, 4th mo., 1673.*

Will of Thomas Coldham, dated 10 March, 1672, mentions Cousin Sarah Traske, sister Whitney's children, mentions his mother and father, Rob't Ingalls, sen'r, Ruth Moore and John Moore, Cousin Sarah Harte(?). Witnesses Richard Haven, sen'r, and Richard Haven, jun'r. The court appoint Thomas Coldham and Richard Whitney administrators this 26 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate mentions his sister Martha Whitney and her children, his father, Thomas Coldum, his mother, Johana Coldum. Allowed 24 4, '73.

*William Charles, 4th mo., 1673.*

The will of William Charles, dated this 31 of December, 1672, mentions dear wife Sarah executrix, with my lovin Cousin James Dennis, mentions to take of my loven friends, Mr. Moses Mavericke, Mr. Samuel Cheever and Richard Norman, my cousin Robert Charles, to my cousin James Dennis, his children which he hath or may have by my cousin Mary, his present wife, to Mary Dennis, jun'r, and James

Dennis, jun'r. Witnesses, John Peach, jun., Joseph Doleber. Probated 27 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken Feb'y 10th, 1672-3, by John Peach, sen'r and Samuel Ward. Amount 224, 15, 00. Allowed 4, '73.

*William Flint, 4th mo., 1673.*

The Will of William Flint, Salem, dated 15th September, 1671, mentions wife Alice Flint, sons Thomas, Edward, my son John Pickering. To my sonn Joshua Ward his son Joshua I give one ten acre lot in the south field which I bought of Capt. James Smith. To Anthony Needham, to John Hathorne of Salem, my sone Jos. Picker. Witnesses, Maj. William Hathorne, sen'r, John Hathorne and William Hathorne. Probated 26 4, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 22d April, 1673, by Edmund Batter and Hilliard Veren, sen'r. Amount £911, 15s, 00d. Allowed.

The Testimony of Edmond Batter, aged about 64 years, saith that he was with William Flint ye day before he died, did then speak with him about his will and whether he did not see cause to give something to his daughter and granddaughter, he answered he did intend to doe for his son Pickering and was sorry it was not down to that purpose, but company comming in he ended for the present, then he that testifieth this said he would leave him for the present and come the next morning, which he did; but then the said Flint was not in a capacity condition to be spoken with, &c. Sworne in Court 27th 4, '73.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clk.

The Testimony of John Hathorne, aged about thirty-one years, Saith that when hee wright ye will of William Flint hee asked him what hee would give to his dafters; his answer in genl was, hee had given them something already and said further hee had or intended to give to his sonn Pickering a parcell of land in ye South field, and would not suffer me to enter itt in ye will, intending to lay itt out to him, which is to the best of my remembrance.—Sworne in Court at Salem 27 4, '73.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clk.

The Testimony of William Hathorne aged about twenty seven years, Saith that hee heard Goodman Flint say, hee had or intended to give unto his sone Pickering, a parcell of land which was not long before he made his will. Sworne in Court at Salem 27, 4, '73.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clk.

William Hathorne doth testify that on ye 18 1 mo., '71-2, yt I was sent for to William Flint to hear his will read, about which hee had much considered before, I asked him why he gave so little to two of his daughters, he told me had given them something already and he would give itt to his wife who would doe for his daughters, and yt he would doe well by Thomas, his son, because he had been an obedient child to him, when itt was all he told me it was his will and yt it was written according to his mind and desired me to be a witness to ye same, and further saith not. Sworne in Court at Salem 27 4, '73.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clk.

*Sam'l Leach, 4th mo., 1673.*

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Leach, taken the 26th of June, 1673, by Nicholas Merritt, Richard Hedson, Edw. Humphrey. Amount 47, 9, 00. Allowed 27 4, '73, and Administration granted to Moses Maverick, Francis Johnson and Robert Knight.

*Thomas and John White, 4th mo., 1673.*

Will of John White of Lancaster, in the county of Middlesex, in New England, yeoman, dated 10th March, 1672-73, mentions daughter Hannah, son Josiah White, And one-half his farm in Wenham to his daughter-in-law Ruth, wife of his late son Thomas White, and the other half to her son Thomas White when 21 years of age, "at her decease her half to go to her son and daughters;" his (John White's) "daughters Joane, Elizabeth, Marie and Sarra, who are disposed of in marriage, have already received their portion." "Hannah, his youngest daughter, who has lived with him;" his son Josiah White executor; witnesses, Roger Sumner, Ralph Houghton and John Lewis.

An Inventory of the above estate. Amount £189, 00, 00.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas White, late of Wenham, taken by Walter Hayefield, Charles Gott. Amount 81, 08, 02; the debts amount to 130, 2, 4. Allowed in court at Salem 27 4, '73.

*John Fairfield, 4th mo., 1673.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Fairfield of Ipswich, taken 20th of 9th mo., 1672, by Thomas Fiske and Richard Huttin. Amount 241, 05, 6. Administration granted to Sarah, ye relict, at court in Salem 27 9 mo., '72. The court do order that all the estate of John Fairfield be put into the hands of Danill Killum, the now husband of Sarah Fairfield, until the children come of age, viz., John Fairfield, daughters, viz., Trifana and Elizabeth, all under 14 years, in Court at Salem 27 4 m., 1673.

*Elenor Robinson, 4th mo., 1673.*

An Inventory of the estate of Elinor Robinson. Amount £5. Allowed in court at Salem 27 4, '73.

*Rich. Charlescraft, 4th mo., 1673.*

An Inventory of the Estate of Richard Charlescraft, taken 27 of June, '73. Amount £9. Anthony Needham Administrator. Allowed 27 4, '73.

*Eliza'th Mansfield, 9th mo., 1673.*

The will of Elizabeth Mansfield, of Lynn, dated 20th of 2 mo., 1667, mentions son Joseph Mansfield, daughter Elizabeth Mansfield, my grandchild Elizabeth Mansfield, my grandchild Deborah Mansfield, my son Joseph daugh, my grandchildren John Mansfield and Joseph Mansfield, mentions land that her husband did give to her son Andrew Mansfield. I appoint my son Joseph executor and Mr. Thomas Laughton and Capt. Thomas Marshall overseers; witnesses, Nathaniel Kertland and Samuel Hartt; allowed 26 9 mo., '73.

An Inventory of the estate of Elizabeth Mansfield, aged about 87 years, who died about the 1st day of September, 1673, taken



by Nathaniel Kertland and Henry Rhodes. Allowed 26 9, '73. Amount 184, 18, 00.

*Josiah Walton, 9th mo., 1673.*

"We whose names are underwritten being present with Josiah Walton when he was brought in first from sea after his wound by lightning, on June 23, 1673, affirme and declare, that upon the company mention to ye sd Josiah Walton that he would settle his estate, he ye sd Josiah Walton being of perfect memory and apprehensive of his dissolution, did declare that his will was that his Brother Nathaniel Walton and his sister Martha Munjoy should have his grey horse for their owne betwixt them, and his other estate he gave it to his Mother Walton, for her use and benefit during her naturall life, and after her decease to be disposed off by her, and divided among his brothers, Nathaniell and Samuell Walton, and his three sisters, Martha Munjoy, Elizabeth Conant and Mary Bartlett, to enjoy an equall part, all alike, Saving that his sister Munjoy should have the better part, and that ye land should not go out of ye name of ye Waltons." Signed, Samuell Checver, Moses Mavericke and James Dennes. Administration was granted unto the widow Elizabeth Walton in court 27 9, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken November 4th, 1673, by Samuel Ward and James Dennes. Amount ———. Allowed 27 9, '73.

*Bridget Window, 9th mo., 1673.*

The Deposition of Samuel Worcester and Elizabeth his wife about the estate of Widdow Window, mentions her son-in-law Nicolas Wallington and his son John Wallington, her grandchild Sarah Wallington, her son James Travis; taken upon oath this 25th of November before me, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Com. Administration granted to Nicholas Wallington and James Travis 26 9, '73.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 9th October, 1673, by Samuel Worcester and John Tenny. Amount £26, 1s, 1d.

*John Baldwin, 9th mo., 1673.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Baldwin by Nathaniel Pickman, Francis Collings.— Amount 65, 10, 6. Administration granted to Arabella, ye relict, in court 28 9, 1673.

*John Humphrey, 9th mo., 1673.*

An Account of Administration on the estate of John Humphrey, returned to court by Edmond Battor 28 9, 1671.

*Nicholas Patch, 9th mo., 1673.*

Inventory of the estate of Nicholas Patch of Beverly mentions his two sons John Patch and Thomas Patch. To John Patch 4 acres of meadow by the Dodges farm, 2 acres by Longham. To Thomas Patch 14 acres of upland, &c. John and Thomas exors.

*Sarah Longhorne, 1st mo., 1674.*

To this Honoured Court now sitting at Ipswich 4 3, 1674, Constante Crosbie, grandmother to this orphan Sarah Longhorne, understanding that Daniel Wickam is like to be persuaded to accept of Gardianship for her, I thinking that she had need of one that hath more experient to Oversee her and for other reasons I am very unwilling and doe desire that such a thing may not be proceeded in or granted till Thomas Longhorne of Cambridge, her Uncle, knows and gives his consent; for he takes more care of the children than I expected he would have don; not more at present, your poor and humble servant and Handmaide, Constante Crosbie." Also a petition of Sarah Longhorne.

*Ralph Ellingwood, 4th mo., 1674.*

The will of Ralph Ellingwood, dated January 7th, 1673, mentions Wife Hellen executrix, son Ralph when 21 years old he to pay my other sons, viz., John, Joseph, Benjamin and David, and my daughters Mary and Elizabeth. Witnesses, Thomas Pickton and his wife Ann. Allowed 3 5 mo., '74.

An Inventory of the estate of Ralph Ellingwood of Beverly, taken 30 January, 1673, by Henry Skerry, sen'r, Tho. Rooper and John

Massey. Amount 352, 12, 2. Allowed 3 4 mo., 1674.

*Robert Leach, 4th mo., 1674.*

An Inventory of the estate of Robert Leach of Manchester, taken by John West and Paul Thorndike. Amount £464, 00, 00. Administration granted to Alice, the relict, at court 1, 5, 1674.

*Thos. Newhall, 4th mo., 1674.*

The Will of Thomas Newhall, senior, of Lynn, dated 1st April, 1668, mentions sons Thomas Newhall and John Newhall, my brother Farrington, son Thomas Browne's children, son Richard Haven his children, viz, Joseph Haven, Richard Haven, Sarah Haven, Nathaniel Haven, and Moses Haven, to be paid when 21 years old, my two daughters Susannah Haven and Mary Browne. I appoint son Thomas Newhall ex'or, witnesses, Thomas Laughton and Robert Potter, proved 1 5, '74.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 25 4, '74, by Oliver Purchis and Robert Burges, Amount 173, 01, 7½. Allowed in court at Salem 1st 5 mo., '74.

*Walter Price, 4th mo., 1674.*

The will of Walter Price of Salem, dated 21st of May, 1674, mentions sonne John, "I confirm what was promised him upon his marriage," my wife Elizabeth Price, son William Price, my grandchildren, viz: Elizabeth Price, Anne Price, Elizabeth Croade and John Croade, my son "to give his sister Hannah Croade," my daughters Elizabeth Burke, Hannah Vehren and Anne Bradstreet, I appoint my wife, Elizabeth and son John Price joint executors, and my brothers Capt. William Gerrish of Newbury, and Capt. Thomas Lothrop of Beverly, to be overseers, witnesses, Edward Norrice and Benjamin Gerrish. Allowed 1, 5, '74.

*Hugh Alley, 4th mo., 1674.*

The Will of Hugh Alley, Sen'r, dated this 2d 11 mo., 1673, mentions son John Alley, grandchild John Linsey, and his brothers Elizer Linsey & Samuel Linsey, when of age; to

Martha Miller and her child Martha Miller, mentions his wife. Witnesses, William Bassett, Ellenor Lambert and John Alley. Administration granted unto the relict Mary Alley, 2 5, '74.

An Inventory of the above estate taken this 12 mo., 1673, by us, William Bassett and John Lewis, Amount 60, 17, 4. Allowed 2 5, '74.

*John Legg, 4th mo., 1674.*

The Will of John Legg, senior, dated 16th of November, 1672, mentions wife Elizabeth, three sons, Samuel, John and Daniell, Daniell being my youngest son, my son Samuel's two children, my son John his two children. Witnesses are Samuel Ward and Edward Humphrey. Administration granted to the sons Leift Samuel, John and Daniell, 2 5, '74.

An Inventory of the above estate taken the 25th May, 1674, by Samuel Ward and Erasmus James, Sen'r. Amount £316 13s 02d. Allowed 1 5, '74.

*Robert Prince, 4th mo., 1674.*

The Will of Robert Prince, dated 24th May, 1674, mentions sons James and Joseph Prince, when of age, daughter Elizabeth Prince. I make my wife executrix, and I appoint Thomas and John Putnam overseers, proved at Salem 30 4 mo., 1674.

*Mich'l Patridge and Thos. Hooper, 4th mo., 1674.*

"The Account of ye vioag of Mickaell Partridg and Thomas Hooper, who were drowned in ye month Apriell: here at Salem," "£45 7s. This being divided between 4 men comes to £11 6s 9d a man." Taken by Erasmus James, Sen'r and Christopher Norbee.

*John Tarbox, 4th mo., 1674.*

The will of John Tarbox, Sen'r, of Lynn, dated 25th 9 mo., 1673, mentions wife, sons John Tarbox, Samuel Tarbox, my grandchild, Samuel Tarbox, "I bequeath unto every one of my sonn John Tarbox his children and my sonn Samull's children, one ewe sheep a peece

I appoint my wife executor, and my friends, Capt. Marshall & Thomas Laughton Sen'r of my overseer. Witnesses, Thomas Laughton, Sen'r, and Robert Burges. Probated 2, 5, '74.

An inventory of the above estate taken 20th of 1674, by Thomas Laughton and Robert Burges, Amount 159 6 6. Allowed 2, 5, 1674.

*Tho's James, 5th mo., 1674.*

An inventory of the estate of Thomas James, taken 3d of April, 1667, by Nathaniel Holton and Michael Shaffin, Amount 1, 10, 2.

*Eliz. Churge, 9th mo., 1674.*

An Inventory of the estate of Elizabeth Churges, taken 16th 6 mo., 1674, by Maj. William Hathorne and Hilliard Veren, Amount 6, 13, 8d. Allowed in court at Salem.

*Walter Price, 9th mo.*

An Inventory of the Estate of Walter Price, died ye 4 June, 1674, taken by John Hawthorne and John Higginson, Amount £2058, 14, 4½d. Allowed 26 9, '74.

*Lot Conant, 9th mo., 1674.*

The Will of Lot Conant, dated 24 of ye 7 mo., 1674, mentions aged about 50 years, mentions wife as executor, and his five sons and five daughter, "also that my kinswoman Mari Leech, have a cow or heifer at her being married or going from my wife." Mr. John Hale, Capt. Lathrope, and my brother Exercise Conant to be overseers. Witnesses, Roger Conant and Exercise Conant. Allowed 26 9, '94.

An Inventory of the estate of Lot Conant, taken ye 29 of September, by William Dodge, Sen'r and John Raiment, Amount 722, 16, 00. Allowed in court at Salem, 26 9, '74.

*Tho's Meere, 9th mo., 1674.*

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Meere taken 11th of 7 mo., 1674, by Hilliard Veren and Thomas Cromwell, Amount 15, 11, 00. Allowed 24 9, '74, and his brother John Meers appointed Administrator.

*Walter Boaston, 9th mo., 1674.*

An Inventory of the estate of Walter Boaston presented to the court 27 9, '74, by the relic to whom Administration was granted. Amount 11, 05, 7, taken by John Legge and Robert Bartlett.

*Abraham Whittier, 9th mo 1674.*

"At Court the 26 9 mo., 1674, at which his brother Edward Whitier had administration granted of my Father's estate, and my brother is dead, and no person that I now understand is left to pay me my legacy." I am under 21 years of age, signed by John Whitier.

"The 6 of 6 mo., '74, Beeing desired by John West of the Creeke to goe with him to Mr. Gidneye's, where Abraham Whittier lay sick," he willed as follows: to his son Edward one half of the house and land and enjoined him not to sell it, as his wife was to have the other half of the house and land during her life for the bringing up the children which he had by her, and at her death to go to the children which he had by his last wife, I give to my two children by my first wife. Signed by George Keaser and John West as witnesses. Administration granted unto the son Edward Whittier, in court the 23 of 9 mo., 1674.

Inventory of the estate of Abraham Whitteare, late of Manchester, taken 22 6 mo., 1674, by Thomas West and Samuell Seeath, (?) Amount 76, 10, 0.

An account of Administration of the above estate.

*John Marsh, 9th mo., 1674.*

The Will of John Marsh of Salem, dated March 20th, 1674, mentions Wife Susanna, sons Zachary, Samuel, Jacob, Ezekiel and Benjamin, daughter Bethiah. I appoint my wife and son Samuel executors. Witnesses, Nathaniel Holten and Anthony Buxton, they are also appointed overseers. Allowed 26 9, '74.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 23rd of November, 1674, Amount £135 4s 6d.—Allowed 26 9, '74.



*John Black, 5th mo., 1675.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Blacke, Senior, taken 12 2 mo., 1675, by Thomas Earthrope and John Hill. Amount 11, 10, 00d. Allowed.

*Elias White, 5th mo., 1675.*

An Inventory of the estate of Elias Whity, which was Servant to Robert Stone, and was Drowned at winter Island in a boat carrying fish ashore, taken by Edw. Mould and John King, Amount 9 14 0d. Administration granted to ye Marshall Henry Skerry, in court at Salem, 22 5, '75.

*Alexander Lillington, 4th mo., 1675.*

(Papers relating to the estate of Alexander Lillington, a true copy of each.)

L. S.

"Albermarle County in the } By the Depu-  
Province of Carolina. } ty Governor.

Whereas It hath beene sufficiently made appeare to me, that John James & Joseph James (the Sons and heirs of Thomas James late of this county but formerly of New England are both deceased Intestate and Alexander Lillington, having intermarried with Sarah James the sister and sole heir-ess to the said deceased John and Joseph James, and appearing before my selfe & Councell desire Letters of Administration in their owne Rights, of the said deceased's Estate, which being consented to, without Contradiction, and for the better credit and Confirmation of the same, where ever this may happen to come, it was Ordered that the Seale of the County be thereto affixt. I doe therefore give & grant to the said Alexander and Sarah his wife for the reasons aforesaid full power and authority to aske receive and Administer on all the lands houses goods chattels, debts, dues, demands and generally of all ye estate both reall & personall late of the said deceased's, & out of the said estate which shall soe come to their hands or possession well & truly pay all Just debts due & owing by the deceased soe fare forth as the said estate will extend or amount unto, they having given for security

Capt. James Blount & Mr. Thomas Eastchurch, truly to Execute & performe Relating to the premises as an administrator ought to doe by the Lawes of England or of this place. Given under my hand, & Sealed with the Seale of the County this 19th day of March In the yeare of Our Lord 1674.

JOHN JENKENS, Dep't Gov'r."

(A Letter directed as follows:)

"for our hon'd friends The Magistrates of Salem Here In New England."

"Hon'd And Christian friends.

Herewith goes a member of this colliny, Alexander Lillington, whose occasions call him to y'ur Jurisdiction, to looke after an estate, reall and personall, in right of his wife; Sarah the daughter of Thomas James, formerly an Inhabitant in y'ur Countrey but some years since departed this life; in these parts, whose left Ishue, besides his said daughter, two sons John and Joseph: both which beeing since dead, the said estate, (in law and equity) belongs to the said Sarah, as the only survivor. As for such estate, which the said deceaseds were possessed of in this collony, the Said Lillington is invested therewith, by virtue of an Administration, granted to him by this Court. A Testimoniall whereof (attested by our Register, with the seale of the Collony, Affixed thereunto) hee carrys with him to Show yo'r Court of Salem, yett he beeing dubious, that those whose are in possession, of the said estate there will prove litigious. And if swayed by a worldly interest may weary him with law sutes, unless he will comply, with these selfish and covetous desires, in regard hee is altogether a Stranger in yo'r parts, and so his creditt not likely to furnish him with money (which Solomon saith answers all things) to wage law (therefore hee desires letters from us to yo'r Worship's, as depending (for help and assistance) wholly on yo'r Justice such a reasonable requests by no means could wee deny him, though wee know (by the fame yt is spread) yo'r readiness to distribute to all according to equity. However though wee are assured that so it is, and that we speake to those who pro-

fesse to live, a life to come, yett (as stewards of god) in the hearers behalf, wee thinck expedient to desire yo'r worsprs to make yo'r wisdom, and justice, operative to countercheck any subtilty or deceipt, that may bee suggested by his opposers yo'r station alloweth yo'r grate advantage, yo'r are the first figures that stand for more in publique concernes then all that follow after. We hope therefor yo'r will show yo'r selves worthy patriotts, and justly defend him against all cunning fraud, but especially that hee may not bee put of with delays. The doing whereof as it will bee of grate concernment to him, so we shall take it as a favor to ourselves, and if it laye ther'th in our awaye, bee ready on all occasions to retalliate. Thus committing you to the protection of the omniscient power: with hearty commendations tendered we take leave to subscribe ourselves.

From ye Court of Albemarle the 12th March 1674-5.

Sirs, yo'r friends & Servants,

THO. CULLEN, JOHN JENKENS, Dp'ty Gov.  
JOHN HIXON, JOHN B\*\*\*\*\*.

"Albemarle. These are to certify all whome in may conserne, That Allexander Lillington was lawfully maryed wth Sarah James, the daughter of Thomas James, accordinge to the arte of the Country the 16th of September, being in ye yeare of Lord 1669, by me ffrancis Godfrey, to the certainty and truth whereof I have hereunto sett my hand this 10th of October, Anno domo, 1674.

Test, THOMAS HARRIS,

FFRANCIS GODFREY.

The Testimony of Caleb Lambe, aged 36 yeares or thereabouts, testifyeth and saith, that being in the Countie of Albemarle, in the Province of Carolina, in the year 1674-75, being at a Court held in March, where being Alexander Lillington, who suing for letters of Administration in right of his wife and he proving himselfe to be the husband of Sarah the daughter of Thomas James late deceased, the said Court ordered him Letters of Administration.

John Pelton, aged 30 yeares or thereabouts,

testifyeth to the above written. Taken upon oath before me May 20, 1674.

DANIEL DENISON.

*Margaret Sandin, 5th mo., 1675.*

The last will of Margaret Sandin of Marblehead, made this 20th of August, 1667, mentions that she was late wife of Arther Sandin, "Samuel and Ephraim Sandin, the children of John Sanden my son late deceased," "the children of Nicholas Merritt by Mary my daughter, being in number eight sons and daughter." "to the sons at 21 yeares and daughter at 18 yeares. I appoint my son Nicholas Merritt and Mary his wife executors. Witnesses, Mary Veren, Henry West and Hilliard Veren, sen'r. Allowed 23 5, '75.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by Christopher Lattemerc, William Browne and Nathanell Walton. Amount £17 3s 0d. Allowed in Court at Salem 23 5, '75.

*Thos. White, 5th mo., 1675.*

An account of Administration on the estate of Thomas White, returned into court in Salem by Ruth White the relict, 23 of July, 1675.

*Thos. Coldham, 4th mo., 1675.*

The Will of Thomas Coldham of Lynn, aged about 86 yeares, dated March 14th, 1674-1675, mentions wife Joannah Coldham all my planting ground in the township of Lynn containing about 24 acres, viz., 12 acres of it being my house Lott and the rest of it with mowing grounds adjoyning to it, being called by the name of Turkye ffeild, the whole containing 14½ acres and is bounded with the land of Richard Moore and Joseph Mansfield, and all my meadow ground, (viz:) 5 acres of Salt Marsh in Rumney's Marsh, betwixed Edward Baker's marsh and the marsh of Richard Haven (or Hazen). Also 2 acres of Rumney's Marsh lyeing betwixed the marsh of Mr. Whiteing and the marsh of Andrew Mansfield and 2 acres of marsh lying in the — before the towne, lying by the marsh of Moses Chadwell. Mentions grandchild Samuell Symonds, my son Clement Couldum. I appoiint my loveing wife

and my brother and friend Mr. Henry Rhodes joint executors. Witnesses, Samuell Rodes and Joseph Rhodes; probated 21 5, '75.

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Coldham of Lynn, who died the 8th day of April, 1675, taken by Francis Burrill and Nathaniell Handforth. Ammount 313, 19, 6d. Allowed 21 5, '75.

*Henry Lee, 5th mo., 1675.*

The Will of Henry Lee of Manchester, dated 12 Feby, 1674, mentions his wife Mary Lee, son John Lee, Samuell and Thomas Lee, my two daughters Hannah and Sarah Lee. I appoint my wife Mearey Lee executrix and friends Thomas Jones and William Benet, the last named are witnesses; probated in Court at Salem 21 5, '75.

An Inventory of the estate of Henry Lee, taken 29 of March, 1675, by John West and William Bennet. Amount 144, 00, 00d.

*Peter Barron, 1675.*

The Will of Peter Barron of Marblehead, fisherman, dated 28th of August, 1675, being prest and commanded to go against the Indians, doe give unto my Master Elias Hendly all my estate and apoint him my executor.— Witnesses, Edward Humphreys and John Merrett. Allowed 15 of 10 mo., '75.

*Thos. Browning, April, 1675.*

Diviston of the estate of Thomas Browning by his sons-in-law, Joseph Williams and Isaac Meachum—the land to be divided, viz., sd Joseph Williams to have the 10 acre lott in southfeild lying betweene Nathaniell Pickman and John Pickerings land and 1 acre of Salt Marsh lying by Marblehead Bridgand 1 acre of marsh in southfield, between the marsh of Richard Prince and Paule Mansfield's marsh,  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre of marsh by the Deacon's marsh by the mill pond; mentions at the decease of their mother-in-law Mary Browning, Isaac Meachum to have 5 acres called Mousers, also  $\frac{3}{4}$  acre of salt marsh lying between the marsh of Joshua Buffum and Richard Prince's marsh,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the ground in Towne, the half that lyes from the water to

the north; dated 17 2 mo., '75; witnesses, Hilliard Veren sen'r and John Bateholder.

*John Treby, 9th mo., 1675.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Trebie taken November 24th, 1675, by John Peach, sen'r, and James Dennes. Amount 74, 11, 06. Allowed 30 9, '75, and administration granted to Mary relict of ye deceased.

*Phillip Nowell, 10th mo., 1675.*

An "Inventory of the estate of Phillip Nowell seaman, who by a sad providence was drowned at sea upon the coast of New England, out of a vessell whereof Mr. Habbacuck Turner was Commander, bound for Salem in New England from france, being about ye 15th day of this inst., November;" dated 25 November, 1675; taken by Richard Croade, John Beckett and John Pallot, returned by William Dicer, who requests power of administration, 21 10 mo., 1675.

An Inventory of the above estate in the hands of and returned by Habb. Turner, amounting 41, 16, 03; returned 22 10, '75, and sd Turner appt administrator.

*Abel Aseph, 9th mo., 1675.*

Administration on the estate of Abel Aseph, ship carpenter, who was killed by the Indians at Bloody Brook, 18th September, 1675, (he was in company with Capt. Lathrop) was granted unto Edmund Batter in behalf of his brother living at Boston.

*Capt. Thomas Lathrop, 9th mo., 1675*

"This is a true Inventory of the estate of Capt. Tho. Latrop, of the Towne of Beverlye in the Countye of Essex, and whoe died in the warrs betwixt the English and the heathen," taken the 11th of November, 1675, by Paul Thorndike and John Hill. Amount £734, 04, 00d. Allowed 22 10, '75, and administration granted to Berthiah ye relict of ye deceased.

"To the Honoured County Court now sitting at Salem. The humble petition of Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster, Showeth, that whereas Capt. Thomas Lawthrop, who lately lost his



life in ye service and cause of God and his country, being his wife's own, dear natural brother, dying intestate and without issue, he humbly conceives himself on ye behalf of his wife to be ye true naturall proper heir of his estate left, and therefore his duty to make his humble address to this Honourable Court, that he may declare and legally plead the same. To which end he came and attended ye court neer a weeks space; But ye Court by publick occasions of ye Countrey being necessarily adjourned, he was forced to return home, and resolved (God willing) to attend ye Court ye time appointed. But by ye providence of God, ye season being extraordinarily stormy and himself under bodily infirmity, he could not possibly come without apparent hazzard of life, limb, or health, yet had cautiously left order and instructions for his son to appear for him in such an exigences, which accordingly he did, though not in season, being by the same providence also hindered. So that the Honoured Court (no heir appearing) granted administration to his sister Lawthrop, according to what then appeared. But seeing ye estate was not then settled nor ye case fully issued, many things alledged being dark and dubious, and nothing legally proved, and he hath much to say, to invalidate yt very writing given in and ye seeming force of it. He humbly requests this Honored Court, that being a party so neerly concerned and interested, he may have ye liberty of making and pleading his clame and title according to law. And for ye better security of what shall be judged to be his right, he may be joyned together with his sister Lathrop in administration of ye said estate. And he shall as in duty bound pray, &c."

"To the honred Court now sitting at Salem this last November, 1675. The humble addresse of Bethiah Lawthrop widdow of Capt. Thomas Lawthrop of Beverley, who lately dyed in the warrs between the English and the heathen, sheweth:

That whereas it hath pleased the onely wise God to take away my dear husband in the

warrs, whoe hath not disposed of his estate by any written will, which I know ofe, wherefore I humbly crave the favor of this honoured Court to settle the same, and for the end, that his estate may be settled according to my dear husband his desire, if the honored Court shall see meet soe to doe I shall trewly relate, as from his mouth to mee, as followeth, when hee began to Recover of his last sickness, which was about this tyme of ye last year, he sitting upon his bed called me unto him and said to mee I have been considering of setting matters in order, and said, The catles and the moveables I will not medle with, I will leave them to thee. The ten acre lott, on which the house standeth, I will give to the Towne, as a token of my love, for the use of the ministrye, after thy decease. And the Land, without the gate, that is to saye, the plaine and the little pasture together with the lands in ye woods aboute Snake hill shall bee for my sister Cheevers her children after my decease. And to my brother Joshua Rea, his 4 youngest children I give £5 apiece after thy decease. And to Noah fiske I give £20, to bee paid out of ytept: of that land which lyeth in the woods towards my brother Joshua Rea his farm, after thy decease. And considering his adopted daughter Sarah Gott, whom hee called after his owne name, (viz.,) Sarah Gott Lowthrop, whoe hath lived with us a shild and soe remaineth with mee, hee saide shee should have a shild's portion, there is for her a verye good flarme. Concerning the lands above written to my sister Cheever her shildren, my husband ryding with me to Wenham a week before the last court of Election, rydeing through parte of the sd land, said againe to mee, this parte of the land I give to my sister Cheever, shewing mee a convenient pease to sit an house uppon, the which if this Honoured Court shall see meet to allow which is my dear husband's disposal of his estate as signifide to me—I shall remaine your honors humbly to serve you.

BETHIAH LOWTHROP,"

## EXTRACT FROM AN OLD JOURNAL.

May 12, 1800. This day the first number of a new paper came out, published by Wm. Carleton, called the *Impartial Register*. "Its appearance is respectable," says the editor of the Salem Gazette.

" 17, 1800. Timothy Pickering dismissed from the office of Secretary of State by President Adams, and Mr. Monroe appointed in his place.

N. B. Mr. Pickering refused to resign when requested by the President.

" 25, 1800. Died at Boston on Wednesday last, Hon. Moses Gill, Lieut. Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this State, and this day buried with suitable respect. Since the last election, the Governor (Sumner) and Lieut. Governor have both died.

June 24, 1800. Major General Hamilton honored Salem this day with a visit. He passed a few hours at Mr. Pickman's, where he dined—after which he proceeded on his journey to Portsmouth.

## PHILIP ENGLISH.

## PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 85.

The next victim of those arrested on the 21st was Sarah Wildes. She too was of Topsfield, and, like Mrs. Easty, behaved with all the firmness and dignity of innocence at her examination. Anna Putnam, Marcy Lewis,\* Mary

\* This Mercy Lewis, it will be remembered, was the most vehement of the accusers against Mrs. Easty, and it may be that that excessive virulence was caused by a desire to prove to the Court that she, as one of the afflicted ones, was especially hated and tormented by a witch, the more especially as

Walcott of Salem Village, and others appeared as her accusers. Deliverance Hobbs also accused her, when she herself was examined, and there appears on the Court Records a petition of Ephraim Wilds, son of Sarah Wildes, (*who, as Constable of the town of Topsfield, was called upon to arrest Wm. Hobbs and Deliverance, his wife,*) in which (while he begs the Court to consider that his mother has always instructed him in the Christian religion and the ways of God ever since he was able to take instruction) he plainly intimates from certain circumstances his conviction, that Deliverance Hobbs accused his mother out of revenge for *his* arresting her! According to another petition of his, he had stopped old Mrs. Redington, (the same that accused Mary Easty) who had been circulating some witchcraft stories against his mother, by threatening to arrest† her husband for it and make him pay damages for the defamation—whereupon Mrs. R. said she knew no harm of Mrs. Wildes. In yet another petition of his, he intimates that a third person, who probably appeared against his mother, may have done so out of revenge, because, although on the point of an engagement to her daughter some years before, yet he had thereafter avoided her, as the mother had believed some stories that old goody Remington had told her against his own mother. By such papers as these on record we can see, that, under the "outcry" of witch-

*she had been herself charged with witchcraft* by Deliverance Hobbs on the 22d of April, and may have been laboring under suspicion in consequence. To save herself may have been the ruling motive, and would account in one way certainly for the unparalleled sufferings she endured *for two days and a night* at the hands of Mrs. Easty. See the account of Mrs. Easty in this article.

† A worthy gentleman of Boston having been accused during this witchcraft persecution by some Andover accusers, sent by some of his particular friends a writ to arrest the accusers in an action for defamation, with £1000 damages, and with instructions to inform themselves of the certainty of the proof. This stopped the accusations at Andover.—(See *Calef*, page 232.)

craft, private piques and grudges may have been gratified—certainly could have been; and Revenge readily clothe itself in the garb of penitence and accusing Guilt. There was indeed a terrible earnestness in this tragedy all round; for every passion was brought into play for good or evil. The temptation to confess,\* or accuse others, in order that their own lives might be spared, was an awful one to many, apart from any and all other motives. As was natural at such a time, the weak and wicked looked out after themselves, and the innocent and virtuous had to bear the guilt and shame.

Sarah Wildes, like Mrs. Easty, was condemned and executed. She was one of the

eleven sent to Boston jail on the 13th May, and in company with Mrs. English. Mrs. Easty appears not to have been sent to Boston until after her second arrest, while her sister Cloyce was sent April 12. In July both these latter named women were brought to Salem for trial, and there is a blacksmith's (Robert Lord's) bill on file, charging the county for iron fetters and handcuffs for the legs and arms of these (as well as two other women), and putting them on. The object of this was to prevent any motion of the arms and feet, because those tormented by the witches in that day professed (and were believed) that they were so under the influence of their tormentors, that they were at times compelled to imitate their every motion, and sometimes at imminent danger to their own lives—the slightest motion on the part of the tormentor having at times a dreadful meaning,\* power and significance, utterly unknown to those not tormented, or not initiated into the secrets of witchcraft.

On the 19th of July Mrs. Wilds was executed, and in company with Sarah Good,† (be-

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\* *Calef*, speaking of the temptations to confess by those accused of witchcraft in 1692, says—"besides that powerful argument, of life, (and freedom from hardships, not only promised but also performed to all that owned their guilt,) there are numerous instances, too many to be here inserted, of the tedious examinations before private persons, many hours together; they all that time urging them to confess, (and taking turns to persuade them) till the accused were wearied out by being forced to stand so long, or for want of sleep, &c., and so brought to give an assent to what they said, they then asking them, were you at such a witch meeting, or have you signed the devil's book, &c., upon their replying yes, the whole was drawn into form as their confession."

"But that which did mightily further such confessions was their nearest relations urging them to it. These seeing no other way of escape for them thought it was the best advice that could be given; hence it was that the husbands of some, by counsel often urging and utmost earnestness, and children upon their knees entreating, have at length prevailed with them to say they were guilty." *Calef* page 236. The confessions of Mary Osgood, Mary Tyler, Deliverance Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilson and Hannah Tyler, all of Andover, prove that *Calef* is correct in his statement.

*Calef* says—"And though the confessing witches were many, yet not one of them that confessed their own guilt, and abode by their confession were put to death." Page 234. According to him about fifty confessed—above an hundred and fifty were put into prison, and above two hundred more accused. (page 233.)

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\* *Calef* states this of the examination of Martha Cory, one of those accused of witchcraft—"When the accused had any motion of their [her] body, hands or mouth, the accusers would cry out, as when she bit a lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if she grasped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being pinched by her, and would produce marks, so of the other motions of her body, as complaining of being prest, when she leaned to the seat next her, if she stirred her feet, they would stamp and cry out of pain there." Pages 188-9.

† "At the trial of Sarah Good, one of the afflicted, fell into a fit, and after coming out of it, she cried out of the prisoner for stabbing her in the breast with a knife, and that she had broken the knife in stabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the Court, a young man was called, who produced a haft and part of the blade which the Court having viewed and compared, saw it to be true. And upon enquiry, the young man affirmed that yesterday he happened to brake that knife and that he cast away the upper part, this afflicted person being present, the young man was dis



fore named,) Rebecca Nurse of Salem, Elizabeth How of Ipswich, and Susannah Martin of Amesbury—the same woman we have before mentioned as accused of bewitching Mrs. Browne of Salisbury some *thirty* years before. This Susannah Martin exhibited great wit, tact, presence of mind and good feeling on her examination, and intimated pretty plainly that her accusers were possessed of the Devil. She acknowledged that she had no compassion for the afflicted, perhaps believing that their torments were assumed. The strength of this woman's mind appears through all the horrors by which she was surrounded. Her accusers complained that they could not come near her—had terrible fits and torments in the attempt. Whereupon said the Magistrate—"What is the reason these cannot come near you?" "I cannot tell; perhaps the Devil bears me more malice than another." "Do you not see (said the magistrate) how God evidently discovers you?" "No!" said the sturdy woman—"not a bit for that." "All the congregation think so," said the magistrate." "Let them think what they will," was the reply. "What is the reason these cannot come near you?" again asked the magistrate; to which she replied, "I do not know but they can if they will, or else, if you please, I will come to them." Such was Susannah Martin, who appears to have been hunted down by about the whole pack of the wolf-like witnesses. The case of Rebecca Nurse was sad and shocking, and is well stated by *Calef* and in Upham's *Witchcraft*.

The Elizabeth How of Ipswich, who was also executed with Mrs. Wildes, seems to have been a very inoffensive woman, and lost her life, perhaps, through a difference existing between her and a Timothy and Deborah Perley of that town, and the accusation of one Hannah Perley, probably a daughter, whose brother, in the presence of Rev. Sam'l Phillips of Rowley, (and who attests

the fact) once told his sister, "goodwife How is a witch, say she is a witch," and was very properly rebuked by the Pastor at the time for his wickedness, especially as the sister had just cleared Mrs. Howe\* of any witchcraft then practised against herself. (See Vol. Salem Witchcraft.)

One cannot but notice in the complaints, in this witchcraft prosecution, the perfect license taken by the accusers to denounce any and all parties against whom their fancies or imaginations ran. No matter whether these accused parties were bodily present or absent—in prison or out of it—they were often denounced as being present by their *apparitions*, *spectres*, or *shapes* at various imaginary witch meetings, and as persisting in tormenting in such a way the accusers day after day. Thus there was no end to the accusations made against the accused, even after they were safely lodged in prison. As they were supposed and believed to have made their covenants with the Devil, they became owners in consequence of spectres, which resembled their own persons or shapes, and could send these spectres or apparitions to torment others when they themselves were bodily chained and in prison. Hence in many complaints against freshly accused people, the tormented have

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\* The trial of Elizabeth Howe is one of those given by Cotton Mather in his "Wonders of the Invisible World." According to his account of it and the testimony given, Mrs. Howe had attempted to join the Church at Ipswich, and some people there were instrumental in debarring her from the Communion—whereupon various and unaccountable accidents befel them and theirs. One or two deaths happened and were laid to her charge, and several confessing witches affirmed that she was one of those baptized by the Devil at Newbury-falls; before which he made them there kneel down by the brink of the river and worship him. Cotton Mather reports the case of Mrs. Howe evidently as a strong one for the genuineness of witchcraft, but the evidence then and there admitted is really foreign to the matter and inconclusive. It was doubtless sufficient for the credulity of that age, but not for the belief of *reasonable men* of any age.

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missed, and she was bidden by the Court not to tell lies; and was improved after (as she had been before) to give evidence against the prisoners." *Calef*, pages 216-17.

terrible tales to tell of the persecutions of the more obnoxious of those previously accused, and at the same time connect and implicate the last accused with the first. This gives a great complexity apparently to the whole prosecution, though the object of the accusers was only perhaps to perplex the public mind, or clear themselves. The practical effect of this course was to entangle the accused in a complex web of accusations, and involve them in a common danger and ruin. To a great degree this effect was accomplished, not, perhaps, as a preconceived system of tactics, but as the result of the necessity of keeping the public mind continually inflamed against the guilty. *Reflection* was sure to destroy the charm. Thus we have seen how, in Mrs. Eastey's case, the reflection of the magistrates was overborne by the persistent torments of Mercy Lewis *for over two days and a night* after Mrs. Easty was first cleared of the crime, and how the fury redoubled when she was again arrested and examined. If the magistrates had been left free to their reflection, the persecution might then have been checked, perhaps; but neither they nor the public were to be allowed to reflect. The consequence was, of course, a renewed and more terrible excitement. The very presence and answers of innocent, reasonable and sensible prisoners only increased the earnestness of the accusers, who could only maintain the delusion\* by the sacrifice of the inno-

\* We have applied this term throughout to the Salem affair—since it is not pretended now that the afflicted of those days were really tormented by the then accused; and if this be so, then it was an illusion or delusion—the work of the Devil,—or else of the afflicted themselves, which last would be a work of pure malice, or mischief. We think the former. The biblical sin of witchcraft, and the illusion or delusion of 1692 were confounded together by our Fathers—who thought them to be one and the same.

The Scriptures, moreover, furnished no means wherewith to detect such witchcraft; and while our Fathers held to the Biblical sin and punishment, they had to seek outside of the Scriptures for the tests to find and prove the sin. So they sought the works

cent, and by overpowering the reason of the magistrates. There could be no pause or stay in their accusations—and the persistent firmness of innocence was their worst foe; for it tended to bring the public mind to reflection—to itself—and this once accomplished, the charm was broken—the delusion over. Thus, while the accusers were in terrible earnest for evil, the ministers and the magistrates were no less in earnest to suppress what they considered the crime, and obtain confessions of guilt. It was a day consequently of terrible mistakes and terrible wickedness. “The Devil (to use the words of Martha Cory) was come down amongst us in great rage, and God had deserted the earth.”

Edward\* Bishop, husbandman, and his wife Sarah, both of Salem village, (the next mentioned in the warrant of the 21st April) were arrested, and doubtless examined, though no

of Bernard, and Perkins, and Gaule, (all modern,) to ascertain by what *proofs* witchcraft and witches could be discovered. *Calef*, who is very keen in some of his observations, wonders how the Jews waded through this difficulty (the having no directions in the Bible for the detection of witches) for so many ages, without the supplement of Bernard and Perkins (those modern writers on the art of detecting witches and witchcraft) to assist them. *Calef* thought that the true witches and wizards, and sorcerers and necromancers of 1692, were those who prayed to God that the afflicted (by their *spectral* sight) might be able to see and accuse others, that had familiarity with the Devil, so as to be able to know more than by human means the causes of witchcraft, or those who sought the Devil as a familiar spirit—and those who pretended to see the dead by their spectral sight, and asked questions of them, and then denounced the living. And *Calef* had the better of this argument, either in Scripture or fact.

\* According to *Calef*, Bishop was cried out upon, immediately after he had corrected one of the afflicted, an unruly Indian, with his stick, and stating, on the Indian's promising to do better, that he doubted not but he could cure them all (by the same means) with more to the same effect: page 203. This accusation, therefore, has the appearance of malice.



papers relating to their examination can now be found. Enough was found against them to commit them, and on the 13th May they are among the eleven sent to Boston. He and his wife subsequently escaped from prison, and his property was seized in consequence, but (says Felt) redeemed by his son Samuel.

The next party named in that warrant was Mary Black, a negro belonging to Lt. Nath'l Putnam, of Salem Village. She was doubtless examined, as she was committed, and sent to Boston likewise on the 13th May. What became of her, after this, is uncertain. Like Tituba, she may have been sold to pay the prison charges; for it appears that the prisoners or their families had to bear their own expense and maintenance in prison. She may have been released. It does not appear that she ever was tried for witchcraft.

Mrs. English, the wife of Philip, is the last named in the warrant of April 21st, and the facts concerning her arrest have been given in the sketch of Philip English, and as reported by Dr. Bentley of Salem. No record remains of her examination, which, however, was no doubt similar in character to the examinations of Mary Easty and Sarah Wildes, her fellow prisoners on the same complaint, and as accused by the same parties. There remains on record, however, the written complaint of one Sasannah Sheldon against Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, which may have been, probably was, presented to the Grand Jury in Oliver's case, and in which Mrs. English and her husband are both represented as being the companions and assistants of said Oliver, and Giles Cory and his wife Martha, in their persecutions against her, the said Sheldon. This document we shall insert in due time. It proves what we have asserted concerning the custom of the accusers—that they drew into the circle of their complaints, even against particular persons, any and all whom they felt disposed to accuse, and in the most fanciful way. In order to find therefore of what any particular person was accused at that time, it is necessary to examine a great number of complaints and

depositions. As the accusers had no facts to charge, they drew perhaps upon their morbid fancies,\* and thus multiplied fictions indefinitely. Moreover, as the accusers were pretty much the same parties—a stereotyped set—pretty much the same accusations are found throughout, except where varied by some new device, or by new charges brought in by some new parties, who now found in the alleged crime of the accused the cause and solution of various accidents, misfortunes, miseries, mysteries and murders of the preceding thirty or forty years,

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\* If we admit that the majority of the accusers of 1692 believed the charges which they made, were not dissemblers—then they were the sport of unnatural and infernal illusions—or were possessed by evil spirits—deceived themselves by false appearances. There is a striking similarity between such a condition and that of those laboring under “delirium tremens.” In the latter case people see unaccountable sights, are pursued often by invisible enemies, and appear to live in an unreal and horrible world. Thus appear to have lived some of the accusers in 1692, and it is a question admitting of deep research, whether such persons were not suffering under a *spiritual* “delirium tremens,” brought on by a surfeit of the credulous fears, prejudices, misfortunes, religious forebodings and fanaticism of that day. If intoxicating drinks in excess have such an effect on the mind through the body, what effects may not an excess of religious fears and fanaticism have through the mind upon the senses and the soul? What more powerful stimulants than fanaticism and fear and credulity? Is not the soul itself subject to intoxication, whose power is only equalled by the subtlety of the agents employed? Whatever was *sincere* in the illusion of 1692 is entitled to the respect of a searching and philosophical analysis.

When the *mind* is diseased, strange hallucinations haunt and disturb men. Those in such a condition sometimes believe themselves to be wolves, cats, or dogs. A person bitten by a mad dog sometimes imagines and believes himself to be a dog. In that case the mind evidently is acted upon through *bodily* disease. Some of the ancient magicians could so impose upon the minds and imaginations of those who sought them, as to make them believe that those magicians changed themselves into another sort of creature. This power Simon Magus, Appollonius, and Ztyo, are said to have possessed.



or the opportunity to gratify private prejudice, pique, or malice.

As we have before said, and as History has recorded, the delusion centred in Salem Village (now Danvers,) and consequently from that quarter came the first and prominent accusers. Against Mrs. English, as against those accused with her, appeared as accusers, Anna Putnam, Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcott. Susannah Sheldon also accused Mrs. E. then, or subsequently. The name of Ann Putnam appears as an accuser in no less than *nineteen* of the witchcraft complaints against as many parties, and it is very probably the same complainant. Mercy Lewis appears in *ten*, and perhaps more—Mary Walcott or Walcott in *sixteen*—Susannah Sheldon in *eight*—Mary Warren (who may have been one of Mrs. E.'s accusers) in *twelve*—Abigail Williams,\* the niece of Rev. Mr.

\* Abigail Williams (who was a member of Rev. Mr. Parris's family) was one of the four *originally* afflicted, and it will be remembered that Mr. P. was accused by some of his parishioners, after the delusion was over, of going to Abigail Williams, and directing others to her, to know who afflicted people in their illnesses, thus dealing with one that had a familiar spirit. Mr. Parris unfortunately believed in the genuineness of the whole affair, and entered into it with great zeal and credulity. On March 1st he received a volume of Perkins's Works, treating upon witchcraft and the methods of its detection, (Felt's Annals, vol. 2, pp. 475-6) and no doubt made free use of the same. His parishioners charged him with going to Abigail Williams (his niece) and Mary Walcott, and sending others to them, to detect the witches, and we see by the Records that Mary W. is a complainant in no less than *sixteen* cases. Elizabeth Hubbard and Ann Putnam were also two others of the "original" afflicted ones—the whole four being Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, Anna (Ann?) Putnam and Elizabeth Hubbard. Now it appears, that Ann Putnam was an accuser in *nineteen* cases, and Elizabeth Hubbard in *twenty*, and it is not unlikely that Mr. Parris, who knew all these accusers well, used them also as the means of detecting the witches. It is a noticeable fact, that his parishioners charge *him* as being the *beginner* and *procurer* of the witchcraft affliction at the village, and he must certainly have taken a very active, and the *most* active part in the matter in all

Parris, a girl only *eleven* years of age, in *eight*—Elizabeth Hubbard in no less than *twenty* cases—Sarah Viober in *ten* cases. Besides these, the Rev. Mr. Parris, Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll, Thomas Putnam, Edward Putnam, John Putnam, Capt. Jonathan Walcott, and a few others appear as complainants in behalf of various of their neighbors and the afflicted persons. When accusations were once made, and a very large proportion of those on record were made by the above females, there were not often wanting other accusers, from one cause or another; but the main body seem to have come from the village—certainly as against those who were *condemned* and *executed*. As we have before stated, our fathers imagined—were laboring under the terrible hallucination, strengthened by the confessions of the accused—that the destruction of the village, body and soul, was one object sought; and that unless every witch or wizard in the County and State was exterminated, that object might still be accomplished. The Devil possessed the accusers, and they in turn deluded the magistrates. The latter were unfortunately in a fit condition to catch this Plague, and so, like any visible disease, it ran its natural course.

As these accusations of witchcraft against various parties are very often interlinked and interwoven, we have deemed it best to give a summary of the main events up to the time of the arrest of Mrs. and Mr. English, and the fortunes of several of those so arrested. It is very evident, from what proof now remains on record, that both Philip and his wife were purposely mixed up with some of the most odious of the accused, and therefore made to bear a common burden of indignation with them. Neither of them seem to have been accused alone on their own separate demerits, but as the familiar companions and assistants of Bridget Oliver, Giles Cory, Martha Cory and John Willard—all of whom fell victims to the delusion. They were also brought into

respects, to have been charged so especially by his parishioners.

familiarity with, and as the actual companions "of the black man with a high crowned hat," who was no other than the Devil himself, and so generally stated by the accusers.

Before then taking up the case of Mrs. English and husband, we will give a brief abstract of the histories of Bridget Oliver, Giles Cory and wife and John Willard. In fact their story is, in some parts, the story of those two.

Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, was the *first* victim to the madness of 1692, though not the first accused that year. She had been accused, however, in 1680, and was evidently unpopular. No less than five\* indictments were found against her by the Grand Jury, for witchcraft practised on the 19th of April, and both before and since, upon Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard. She was twice examined before the magistrates; and her body searched

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\* The following is a copy of one of the indictments found against her, and will serve as a sample of the generality of the indictments found against others during this witchcraft period. We have previously stated that Bridget B. had *four* indictments against her, but have since found a *fifth*:

Anno Regis et Reginae William et Marie  
nuncie Anglice 7th Quarto:  
Essex, ss.

The Jurors for our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen presents that Bridget Bishop alias Oliver the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the County of Essex, Sawyer, the nyneteenth day of April in the fourth year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King and Queen Defenders of the faith and Divers other days and times as well before as after certaine Detestable arts called witchcrafts and Sorceries, wickedly and feloniously hath used Practised and Exercised at and within the Township of Salem in the County of Essex aforesd in vpon and agt one Mercy Lewis of Salem Village in the County aforesd singlewoman—by which said wicked arts the said Mercy Lewis the sd nyneteenth Day of April in the fourth year abovesd and divers other Dayes and times as well before as after, was and is hurt Tortured Afflicted Pined Consumed wasted and tormented agt the Peace of our said Sovereigne Lord and

for "preternatural Excreescences," at which Imps might suckle. Such an "Excreescence" was solemnly found at first by a chyrurgeon and jury of nine women, though it had disappeared before a second search, and which disappearance may have told against her. The poor old woman persisted in her innocence before the authorities, who were evidently against her, and was of course committed. On the 3d of May, Deliverance Hobbs (arrested with Mrs. Easty, Wildes and English, April 21-2) accused Bridget Bishop, as well as Mrs. Wildes, Osborne, Good, Burroughs, Cory and his wife, and Proctor and his wife. It was a safe thing to accuse, and the safest to accuse those already imprisoned. Bridget B., probably the humblest and most unpopular of the accused, was a good scape-goat and target for malediction. Twenty or more witnesses, besides the sufferers named in the indictment, came forward to accuse Bridget B. of witchcraft. She was fairly overwhelmed with what was then considered *proof*.\* The stories told against her would be

Lady the King and Queen and agt the forme of the Statute in that case made and provided.

Witnesses.

Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis,  
Ann Putnam, jr., Nath'l Ingersoll,  
Eliz. Hubbard, Mr. Sam'l Parris,  
Abig. Williams, Thomas Putnam, Jun'r.

Billa vera.

John Rucke foreman in the name of the Rest of the Grand Jury.

\* Cotton Mather gives the substance of the evidence against Bridget Bishop, being one of the *five* cases he reports in his "Wonders of the Invisible World." At this trial *spectral* testimony was freely admitted—that is, the evidence of those who had seen the spectre, shape, or apparition of *Bishop* committing various witchcrafts, one of whom striking at her shape, a bewitched person cried out that he had torn her (Bishop's) coat in a particular place, which was found upon examination to be torn in the very place. A question or two arises here. Was not the coat torn *before*, and did the accuser not know the fact?

Bridget Bishop being the first condemned, her case was most probably a precedent. She was accused of having, or owning a spectre, (being thereby a *cove-*



ludicrous, could we disconnect them from the tragedy they caused. A Wm. Stacey of Salem deposed against her, that though she had visited him some fourteen years before in a most friendly way, when he was afflicted with the small pox, which conduct at the time he "admired," yet some time after that she hired him to do some work for her and paid him threepence, which appeared to him then to be good money, but he had not gone more than three or four rods before he looked in his pocket for the money, but could not find any. Some time after this he met Bridget in the street, and she asked him whether his father would grind some grain for her. He asked her why she asked that question, and she answered because folks counted her a witch. [The poor old woman was evidently afraid to ask any favors of any one.] He assured her he had no question but that his father would, but (said) he had not gone from her above six rods before the off wheel of his wagon, which had a small load in it, suddenly

*nant* witch) duly commissioned to work mischief. These spectres finally became uncomfortably numerous, *even those of very good people* being often seen by those who were possessed of *spectral* sight, which difficulty Cotton Mather thus notes, "But that which makes this Descent [of Devils] the more formidable is, the multitude and quality of Persons accused of an interest in this *witchcraft* by the *efficacy* of the spectres, which take their name and shape upon them; causing very many Good and wise men to fear, that *innocent*, yea, and some *virtuous* persons are by the Devils in this matter imposed upon; that the Devils have obtained the power to take on the likenesses of harmless people and in that likeness to afflict other people, &c.," page 52.

Calef says—"At the examination, and at other times, it was usual for the accusers to tell of the black man, [Satan] or of a spectre, as being then on the table, &c. The people about would strike with swords or sticks at those places. One Justice broke his cane at this exercise, and sometimes the accusers would say they struck the spectre, and it is reported several of the accused were hurt and wounded there by, though at home at the same time." page 214.

Calef intimates in one place that one of these spectres was seen engaged in mischief *after* its owner had been safely hanged.

plumped or sunk into a hole upon plain ground, so that he was forced to get some one to help him get the wheel out, and that he afterwards went back and could not find the hole. Her apparition, moreover, had visited him in his chamber at night—and about midnight—sat on his bed, and "hopt" upon the bed and around the room with her "coate clapt close to her legges," &c. He subsequently accused her of this to her face, and she was angry with him, telling him that he was doing her more mischief than any one, as people would believe his stories, and she threatened him (he said) for bringing her out about the brass\* she stole; whereupon, some time after this, as he was going to the barn one dark night, he "was suddenly taken or hoisted from ye ground and threw agt a stone wall, after that taken up againe and throwed Down a bank at the end of his house." Some time after this, he "mett the sd Bishop by Isaak Stone's brick kill. After he had passed by her this Deponent's horse stood still with a small load going up the hill, so yt the horse struing to draw, all his Gears and tackling flew in pieces and the cart fell downe." "Afterwards this Deponent went to lift a Bagg of corn of about two bushels, but could not budge it with all his might." He also averred that he "hath mett with seuerall other of her Pranks at seuerall times which would take up a great time to tell of."

He also accused Bridget of bewitching his daughter Prisella (about two years ago) so that she died in a lamentable manner after a fortnight's sickness.

Sam'l Gray|| testified that he had seen Bridget

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\* After reading Stacey's stories against Bridget, his accusation against her of stealing the brass appears to be a myth—the only improbable thing he stated.

|| Calef says, (pages 214-5) that Bridget Bishop alias Oliver having long undergone the repute of a witch, occasioned by the accusation of one Samuel Gray, who about twenty years before had charged her with such crimes—and though on his death-bed he testified his sorrow and repentance for such accusations, as being wholly groundless, yet, the report,



in his house at night, and bewitching his daughter in her cradle, and that she died in consequence. John Hale\* of Beverly charged upon her, by implication, a share in the death of Christian Trask of Beverly, who having been "much given to reading and search ye prophecys of Scripture," got out of her mind and killed herself with a pair of scissors; and having at one time prevented Bridget B. from "receiving ye Lord's Supper in our Church," and having regretted, it would appear, afterwards some of her previous treatment of B., she made friends with B. and her husband,†

taken up by his means, continued, and Bridget was charged again in 1692 and executed.

If Gray died then before 1692, his testimony, written out against her years before, must have been admitted against her in 1692, and this although he had acquitted her on his death-bed! Old testimony of twenty years standing was sometimes admitted against the accused, and seems to have been in this case, *even though disowned by its author!*

\* Can this be the Rev. Mr. Hale of Beverly? His name was *John*. *Calef* says, (page 228) that Rev. Mr. Hale of Beverly had been (before his own wife, in October, 1692, was accused of witchcraft,) "very forward in these prosecutions." *Cotton Mather* published, by authority, a report of the trial of Bridget Bishop and four others convicted of witchcraft, but we do not find in his account any allusion in her case to the testimony of this John Hale! Mather makes no allusion in his work to *any* testimony on the Court files in favor of those accused of witchcraft in 1692, yet he says in his work that he wrote not as an *advocate*, but as an *historian!*

† This Mrs. Trask went once into Edward Bishop's house at night, and finding some persons (probably young people) playing shovel board, took the pieces they were playing with and threw them into the fire, and reproved Bridget Bishop for promoting such disorders, but received no satisfaction from her about it. This was one of the motives which induced her to prevent Bridget B. from receiving the Sacrament.—After this, she (Mrs. T.) was sorry for it, and made friends with Edward B. and his wife, and soon after went distracted, and disturbed on a time public worship in church. All this was laid to the account, probably, of Bridget B. as done for revenge, as well as her death also. It will be noticed that Mrs. T. was

and was thereafter distracted. She finally killed herself—mangling her throat dreadfully with the scissors—whereupon John Hale says, after having seen her, "so that I then judged [judged] and still doe apprehend it impossible for her wth so short a pair of cissars to mangle herself so without some extraordinary work of the devill or witcherafte."

Sam'l Shattuck testified that Bridget B. had bewitched his eldest child in 1680, and that "ever since he has bin stupified and voide of reason, his fitts still following of him." Bridget B. also paid him some money for dyeing certain very mysteriously short pieces of lace, and he put the money she gave him "in a purs among som other money which he locked up in a box and yt (that) ye purs and money was gon out of ye Box he could not tell how."—The Doctors (both native and foreign) had told him, that, in their opinion, his child was "under an evill hand of witcherafte," and he believed Bridget was the cause of it.

Among other witnesses† against her was one

much given to searching the *prophecies* of Scripture, perhaps a common thing then, the research into and ignorant interpretation of which had so much to do with the tragedy of 1692.

† *Saef* says the Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer which tried the witches, "proceeded in the manner of swearing witnesses, viz., By holding up the hand, (and by receiving evidences in writing,) according to the ancient usage of this Country; as also having their indictments in English. In the trials when any were indicted for afflicting, pining and wasting the bodies of particular persons by witchcraft, it was usual to hear evidence of matter foreign, and perhaps of twenty or thirty years standing, about over-setting carts, the death of cattle, unkindness to relations, or unexpected accidents befalling after some quarrel. Whether this was admitted by the law of England, or by what other law wants to be determined, &c." page 233.

According to Cotton Mather (page 95) Rev. Mr. Burroughs was convicted of witchcraft by such evidence as was considered sufficient, "according to the rules of reasoning, by the judicious *Gaule*, in that case directed." It would appear then that *Gaule* was of high, if not the highest authority in such investi-

Jno. Cook, who testified that he saw her standing in his chamber one morning about sunrise some "five or six years agoe," and after grinning on him and striking him on the side of his head, he "saw her goe out under ye End window at a little ereviss about so bigg as I could thrust my hand into." Perhaps the most marvellous story of her doings was that told by John Louder or Lowder of Salem, who was then living as a servant at Mr. John Gedney's\* in S. We shall give this testimony en-

tire, as its reception by the Grand Jury and Court of that day tells far more potently than can any language of ours to what a fearful frenzy the delusion reached, and what horrible imaginations then entered the minds of men.

"John Lowder vs. Bridget Bishop.

"John Louder of Salem aged about Thurtrey two yeares Testifieth and sayth yt about seaven or eight years since I then living wth Mr. John Gedncy in Salem and haueing had some Controversey with Bridget Bishop ye wife of Edw Bishop of Salem, sawyer, aboate her fowles yt vsed te Come into our Orchard or Garden. Some little tyme after which, I goeing well to bed: aboute ye dead of ye night felt a great weight vpon my Breast and awakeing looked and it being bright moonlight did clearly see sd Bridget Bishop or her likeness sitting vpon my stomache and putting my armes of of ye bed to free myself from ye great oppression, she presently laid hold of my throat and almost choked mee and I had no strength or power in my hands to resist or help mysele and in this condition she held me to almost day. some tyme after this my mistress Susannah Gedney was in our orchard and I was then with her, and said Bridget Bishop being then in her orchard wech was next adjoining to ours, my mistress told sd Bridget yt I said or affirmed yt shee came one night and satt vpon my breast as aforesd which she denyed and I Afirmed to her face to be true and yt I did plainly see her vpon wech discourse with her she threatened me. And some tyme after that I being not very well stayed at home on a Lords day and on ye afternoon of sd day the doors being shutt I did see a black pig in the Roome Coming towards mee soe I went towards itt to kick

gations. In "*Enchantments Encountered*," page 22, Mather gives an abstract of Mr. Gaule's method of detecting witches, which see.

\* This Mr. John Gedney (or Gidney) was most probably the Magistrate Gidney, before whom, and his Associates Hathorn and Curwin, Captain John Aldin, (Alden) Senior, of Boston, was examined on the charge of witchcraft, at Salem May 31st, 1692, and committed. Alden's account of the affair Calef has preserved, (pages 210 to 215). If Louder was his (Gedney's) servant, the latter was like his master in credulity, since at the examination of Aldin, whom his accusers had never before seen, and therefore did not know him, on being asked by the magistrates who hurt them, one of them pointed several times to a Capt'n Hill who was in the room, but spake nothing. This accuser had a man standing at her back to hold her up, who stooped down to her ear, and then she cried out *Aldin, Aldin* afflicted her. One of the magistrates asked her if she had ever seen *Aldin*, and she answered, No! He then asked her how she knew it was Aldin? *She said the man told her so.*

A great outcry was then made by this woman against Aldin, and Mr. Gidney bid Aldin confess and give glory to God. Aldin, who was a stout hearted man, replied that he hoped he should give glory to God and never gratify the Devil. Gidney said he had known Aldin many years, had been at sea with him, and always looked upon him as an honest man, but now he saw cause to alter his judgment. Aldin replied to this in a very manly way, and was directed to look upon the accusers, which he did, and they then fell down—prostrated by his looking upon them. Aldin then asked Mr. Gidney, "*what reason there could be given why his (Aldin's) looking upon him did not strike him down as well? but no reason was given that I heard,*" (page 212) Aldin told Gidney that there was a *lying spirit* in the accusers. Rev.

Mr. Noyes was unhappily conspicuous in attempting to silence Aldin, who was again committed, but escaped from prison and fled. If Mr. Gidney, a magistrate, could be so easily deceived, what better could have been expected of his servant? Cotton Mather gives Louder's testimony in his report of Bishop's trial, but his book is rare, and we had already given it, and as accurately copied from the Court Records, before it was our privilege to see Mather's work.



itt and it vanished away. Immediately after I satt down on an narrow Bar and did see a black thing jump into ye window and came and stood Just before my face vpon ye bar ye body of itt looked like a munkey only ye feet were like a Cock's feete wth claws and ye face somewhat more like a man's yn a munkey and I being greatly affrighted not being able to speak or helpe myselfe by reason of fear I suppose, see the thing spake to mee and said I am a messenger sent to you for I understand you are troubled in mind and if you will be ruled by mee you shall want for nothing in this world, which I endeavored to clap my hands vpon itt, and said you devill I will kill you but could feel no substance and itt Jumped out of ye window againe and Imediately came in by ye porch althou ye doors ware shutt and said you had better take my counceill wherevpon I strooke at it with a sticke but strook ye Groundsill and break ye stick, but felt noe substance and yt arme with which I stroke was presently disabled, then it fanished away, and I opened ye back dore and Went outand going towards ye house End I Espied sd Bridget Bishop in her orchard goeing towards her house and seeing her had no power to set one foot forward but returned in againe and goeing to shufft ye dore, I again did see yt or ye like creature yt I before did see within dores in such a posture as it seemed to be ageoing to fly att mee, vpon which I cryed out; ye whole armore of God be between me and you. See it sprang back and flew ouer ye appletree flinging ye dust wth its feet againste my stomacke vpon which I was struck dum and so continued for aboute three days time and also shook many of ye apples of from the tree wch it flew over:

"John Louderapearid before us this 2 day of June 1692 and one the oath that he had taken did own this testimoney to be the truth before us the Juries of Inquest.

"Jurat in Curia.

"Bridget Bishop alias Oliuer on her Tryall denied yt she knew this deponent though ye

orchard of said Bishop Coined and they often had differences for some years."

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 174-5-6.]

Two witnesses (one 57 years old, the other 15) also testified, that on taking down the cellar wall of the old house she (Bridget B.) formerly lived in, and about the year 1685, they found in holes in the old wall "severall popitts made up of Raggs and hoggs Brussells wth headless pins in Them wth ye points outward." Such "popitts" were believed to be the images of persons the witch desired to afflict, and by sticking pins in those images the mischief could be mysteriously and safely accomplished. What was done to the images was also really, though secretly, done to the persons they represented, and sometimes caused the death of the tormented persons.

Among the accusers of Bridget B. is *Susanah Sheldon*, whose name appears as a complainant certainly in *eight* cases, several of those *executed* for witchcraft having been accused by her and her companions. She was about 18 years old, and most probably belonged to the Village, since she is found in company with the accusers there in the depositions before the Jury against Sarah Good, who was very early arrested. She appeared also against Giles Cory and wife, Burroughs, Willard, Phil-

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[NOTE.—It will be seen by this testimony of Lowders, that he had "some controversy" with Bridget Bishop before she thus tormented him, and this may at least have aggravated the hallucination under which he was laboring. That he *believed* he saw such sights may indeed be true—though the *character* of the man does not appear—but that he actually saw such things, as he describes, is of course incredible. Men laboring under "*mania a potu*" see somewhat similar sights, and may not such hallucinations have been caused by believing in witchcraft to the full—by drinking into the mind and soul those strong draughts of credulity, superstition, prejudice and religious and *spiritual* frenzy then so abounding in the Colony? Lowder was probably both ignorant and superstitious, and perhaps in no condition either of *body* or *mind* to repel the visions which then haunted the morbid minds and souls of the Colony.



ip English and others. In both of the only two papers we have found in which Mrs. English is mentioned, Susannah Sheldon was an accuser, and brings them (P. E. and wife) in incidentally as aiders and abettors of the iniquity. She was one of the principal accusers of Philip English; and was especially virulent against him in a complaint made by her against Sarah Procter, and on or about the 23d May, as near as we can judge. In her complaint against Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, Mr. and Mrs. English are mixed in with Bishop and the more obnoxious of the accused, and we shall reserve this document to illustrate the case of Mr. and Mrs. E., as it bears with about as much force against them, as against any of the other parties named in it.

We have seen somewhat of the prejudice and evidence against Bridget B. Long suspected of witchcraft,\* with such a cloud of witnesses against her, with such evidence, she was promptly indicted and arraigned upon five separate indictments before the special Court of Oyer and Terminer held at Salem on the 2d of

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\* It is a noticeable fact, that of those suspected of, and condemned for witchcraft at Salem in 1692 above a third part were members of churches. It was not the old women and the simple and foolish who were then alone suspected. This fact is in confirmation of the causes to which we have in so large a degree attributed the persecutions in 1692. Witches generally had been of the class, whom Spenser, the English Poet, thus describes:

"There in a gloomy hollow glen she found  
A little cottage built of stickes and redes  
In homly wise, and waled with sods around;  
In which a witch did dwell, in loathly weedes  
And wilful want, all careless of her needes:  
So choosing solitarie to abide  
Far from all neighbours, that her devilish deeds  
And hellich art from people she might hide,  
And hurt far off unknowne whom ever she envide."

The New England witches of 1692 certainly do not seem to answer this description in its particulars, even if sharing the malignity and power which the poet has so graphically described, and which were then attributed to what were called *black* or *malefick* witches.

June, condemned, and hung on the 10th. That Court, composed of William Stoughton, Esq.,† and his Associate Justices, were prompt in their efforts to punish this witch, who seems to have borne the first fury of the madness, and was doubtless hung amid the execrations of the people. She died, however, without any confession—a silent martyr—and to judge by some words (intended to be crased) in the Sheriff's return; was "buried in the place"‡ where executed—probably at the gallows foot. When the Committee appointed by the Gen'l Court to distribute pecuniary relief to the sufferers in 1692 sat in Salem, 1711-12, she was one of the six persons, for whom "no person or relation appeared in ye behalfe of for ye taking of ye attainder or for other expences." Obscure, frierless, infamous, hated, she died, and seems to have left none to inherit what was then infamy, but now fame.

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† Stoughton unfortunately was a most bigoted believer in the witchcraft, and guilt of those condemned before him, and even left the bench because of the stay which was at length put to the prosecutions—stating pointedly his disgust, and dislike to the step. (See Calef, pages 88-9, and Upham's Witchcraft page 87.) He evidently thought that justice was obstructed by that stay. Such was the Judge who presided over these trials.

‡ In connection with the burial of any or all those executed for witchcraft in Salem, we append the following valuable tradition, which was sent us by Matthew A. Stickney, Esq., whose antiquarian researches in other branches of history are so well known.

"The late Caleb Buffum, who died at a very advanced age, some years since, in Federal Street, related to me many things, which had been handed down in his family respecting the execution of witches on Gallows Hill. Some twenty years ago, an attempt was made, by digging, to bring to light something of the individuals buried on that Hill, but nothing was found. Mr. Buffum informed me that he was not at all surprised at it—that notwithstanding they were buried with their clothes on, near where they were executed, he had been informed by his grandfather, that their friends, when it came night, disinterred them, and that they identified them by their clothes, and one man from an issue on his arm—that they were carried down from the hill by a bridle path, which ran along the banks of the North River, in the rear of Federal Street, and if they were seen, no objections were made."

We trust Mr. Stickney will be able to reduce to writing all that he recollects of Mr. B.'s traditional knowledge, which we doubt not is as correct, as it is interesting.

# REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE, ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE TRADITION OF THE FIRST CHURCH, BUILT IN 1634.

Read at a Meeting of the Institute, April 26, 1860.

The Committee appointed in July 1859, to ascertain the authenticity of the tradition as to the identity of an old building on the estate of David Nichols, back of Boston street,—having been built from the frame of the first Church ever erected in Salem, and report at a future meeting of the Institute what action it would be advisable for the Institute to take in relation thereto, have attended to that duty, and beg leave to report, that

Your Committee have with unwearied pains endeavored to investigate the subject; for which they were appointed; that they trust they have brought to this important task, the most unprejudiced and impartial minds,—that they flatter themselves they have been only diligent searchers into the truth, in relation to this subject; that they have no private views or aims to gratify—that they have only in common with their fellow citizens, the sincere and ardent desire to investigate, impartially the validity of the testimony on which has rested the belief that this is the veritable building, which the records say was erected in 1634, for the first Church; where our ancestors worshipped the God of their fathers, agreeably to the dictates of their own consciences; and if true, to preserve for all coming time, this humble temple of God, from the all destroying elements; the tooth of time, having already made very free with it.

But while we desire to sift the evidence critically and impartially, on which this tradition is founded, we have wished to do it, in a liberal and catholic spirit, with no narrow or cynical criticism, and to exercise towards the traditional part of the evidence, the liber-

ality which we think honestly and truthfully belong to it. That it has come to us from long lived men, remarkable for retentive memories, and famed for truthfulness; that it is no vague, improbable legend, based upon uncertain and visionary testimony.

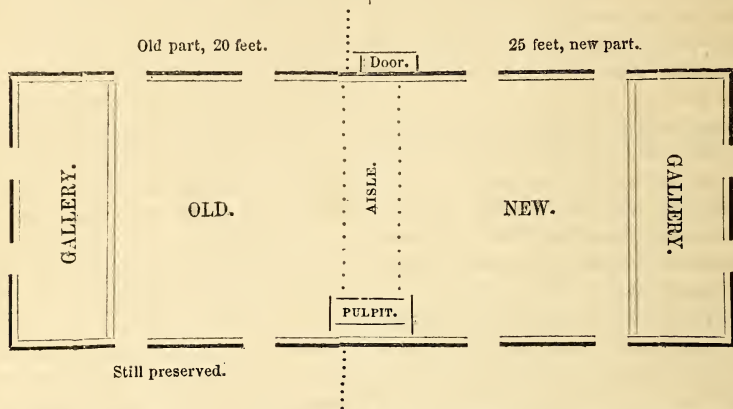
The first question appears to be—is this the frame of the first Church erected in 1634? Is there, in records and reliable tradition, evidence to warrant a belief that it is?

Let us first look into the evidence from the records,—then into the tradition,—and lastly,—the internal proofs from the building itself.

We have the assurance from the records, that the congregation, having worshipped from 1629 to 1634 in an *unfinished* building, of one story, agreed, the latter year, with Mr. Norton to build a suitable meeting-house, which should not exceed the amount of £100. In 1638, four years afterwards, “bills were paid for daubing and glazing this house.” The next year, in February 1639, an agreement was made with John Pickering to build a “Meeting house,” but from what follows, and in which your Committee coincide, it was only an *addition* to the old house; for the town voted on the 31st Dec. 1638, only two months previous, to build an *addition* to the meeting house. The agreement with Pickering was “that it be 25 feet long, the breadth of the old building, with a gallery answerable to the former, one catted chimney of 12 feet long, the back whereof to be brick or stone, to have six sufficient windows, two on each side, and two at the end, and a pair of stairs to ascend the galleries, suitable to the former.” Here only *one* end is mentioned, and a *Meeting House* would of course have had *two* ends. Thus we have the information, also, that the first building had a gallery.

This *addition* made the building twice its former size, exclusive of the five feet which was necessarily reserved for a pulpit, on the side, between the galleries, and a door opposite with an aisle in the middle, a style of

Church building which continued from that day until a very late period. The whole length of the building then was forty-five feet as here represented in the following plan.



In 1647 "Mr. George Curwin and William Lord have undertaken to provide stone and clay for repairs of the meeting house. Mr. Curwin has promised to provide for covering the meeting house, 500 nails, and is promised to be paid to his content." This house continued, as appears by the records, to accommodate the "congregation" until 1670, when the second house was built, of 60 feet long, 50 feet wide and 20 feet stud, situated according to the records "at the west end of the old meeting house towards the prison." The town gave the land to set it upon. On the 17th Aug., 1672, the town "voted, that the old meeting house be reserved for the town's use, to build a skoolhouse and watch house," and be carried "into some convenient place where it may be reformed for the town's use," and it was further voted that "the old pulpit and the deacon's seat be given to the farmers," who were then erecting a meeting house at the Village. The stones of the underpinning of the old meeting house and the clay is given to Mr. Fisk. The "clay of the old meeting house" has probably reference to the floors, which were no doubt made of clay,—boards being scarce, as there were but few saw-mills in the Colony at that early period; this custom of clay floors is still common in the cottages of

Scotland and Ireland at the present day. On the 10th June, 1712, it was proposed to fit up the old watch house, which was built, as we have seen, from part of the old meeting house, as a place "for teaching reading, writing, cyphering and navigation." Now the whole house is converted into a school house or into two schoolhouses, being formerly fitted up for a school house and a watch house." This school house continued in the town's use to May 19, 1760, a space of forty-eight years, when the records inform us a "*new school house*" is to be built, *not* on the same spot as the *old one* in School Lane. "School Lane" is said, in the town records, to have been *afterward* Court Street, and which is *now* Washington street. This *old school house* was situated, says tradition, to the northward of the old Hunt House.

With this entry about the location of the *new school house* ends the town records, which are all missing from May, 1760, to May, 1764, and no doubt the missing part contained the record of the disposal of the old school house. Had this record been preserved, any tradition would have been unnecessary and superfluous. As it is, however, all that is known from 1760, of the old house, is from this source; and there is every reason to believe it was then disposed of, and that Thorndike Proctor, who was at



this time a conspicuous man in town affairs, Selectman and Moderator of Town Meetings, and Grand Jury man, bought the oldest part and re-erected it on his own land, back of what is now Boston Street, where it was used as a tavern or a refreshment house. Here it has slumbered undisturbed for a period of one hundred years. The tradition is to this effect, obtained through Caleb Peirce, Esq., and comes down to us from the Pope family and from Benja. Proctor and his sister, who are the lineal descendants of the said Thorndike Proctor. Mr. Peirce says,

"Joseph Pope, the first of the name who came to New England, was in Salem in 1636; his name appears on the Salem records about that time."

"Joseph Pope 2d was born in ———, married in 1679 Bethusa Folger, aunt to Dr. Franklin."

"Enos Pope, son of Joseph 2d, was born in 1690; he lived near the Fowler house in Boston Street. In 1718 he built the house now occupied by Mr. Wilkins at the foot of Gallows Hill, which was within a few rods of this old building in which Enos 2d was born in 1721, and who died at the age of 92. Enos 3d was born in 1769. My recollections of my grandfather, Enos 2d, are very clear and distinct. Until a few months of his death he was very active, clear minded and communicative. He was frequently enquired of by people with regard to previous events, and he was so exact in his account of dates and particulars that it was supposed he had kept a journal for many years, which was not the case."

"I remember his pointing out the course of the old road, which passed the tavern house and joined the present street directly opposite his house. With Enos Pope 3d I lived near forty years,—he was full of information and anecdotes, and yet very cautious and careful in his statements. It is from him and his sisters, who lived in the family long after their father's death, that I got the account. It was never doubted by them. It should be remem-

bered that the persons I have named were separated only by death, although very long lived; father, son and grandson have lived together in the same house, and the connection that bound the past to the present was never broken for a day. Two persons are now living who were born in the old tavern, viz., Benja. Proctor, aged 84, and his sister. I have just seen them, and find they well remember that it was always known as having been made from the "First Meeting House." Mr. Proctor says he has heard his father say *so more than a hundred times*. A few years ago I mentioned to an older brother of theirs, since dead, what I had heard of its early history, and found him much better informed than I was, and much interested in having the house preserved. It was from him I first learned that the house itself affords so much evidence of its origin."

Thus ends the tradition. The internal evidence that the present building is the identical First Church erected in 1634 are, first, the size of the building, which so completely matches the "*addition*" made in 1639, being 20 feet long and 17 feet wide; secondly, its peculiar construction,—one important point being that a beam, apparently intended for the support of a gallery, is framed in from side to side at about one-third the length of the building; that upon the timber opposite to this beam are peculiar tenons, which, in the opinion of a master builder, cannot be for any other use than the insertion of knees for some support, which your committee believe was for a gallery.

The daubings upon the walls, or plastering as we should now say, composed of clay and chopped straw, also prove the great antiquity of the building, but your committee not being in possession of the fact *how* the building was removed to the present location, are not clear, that this work might not have been added subsequently to its removal. The great pitch of the roof, unusual at that day for dwellings, may have been so designed to give a wider and freer space in the galleries.

Upon a careful review of all the testimony,

your Committee are unanimously of the opinion, that the evidence, thus educed, from the public records, from reliable tradition and from the internal testimony of the building itself, is plain and conclusive. Other great and valuable mementoes of our fathers have rested upon much less evidence, particularly the far-famed, and world-renowned Plymouth Rock. Our records prove that the old meeting-house of 1634 was in existence, in the town's use and occupation down to 1760. The tradition since that period is plain, straightforward and undeniable, covering a space only of two lives, and those of the most veritable character, particularly that of Enos Pope 2d, born in 1721, who died in 1813, and who was forty years of age when it was removed from its place in School lane to where it now stands.

The internal evidence derived from the building itself is alike confirmatory of both records and tradition, and your Committee have no hesitation in saying that in this humble building has been as it were providentially preserved the first Church erected by our fathers in 1634. The same building in which Roger Williams, Hugh Peters, John Higginson and other divines of that day, expounded the scriptures and dispensed the bread of life to their hearers, and it is unnecessary to say, that it is a most valuable memento of our ancestors; identified, as it is, with their pure and simple devotions and pious zeal.

Your Committee would, therefore, in furtherance of the duty which devolves upon them, recommend that this "*Santissima Casa*"—this most holy house, be removed to some suitable place and fitted up internally and externally as nearly as possible to its original appearance, where it would be more accessible to the public, and where pilgrimages could be made to it by every son and daughter of Massachusetts who values our peculiar history and the preservation of memorials connecting us with our fathers, and as they shall stand beneath its restored and sacred roof, the words once uttered to Moses shall steal upon the

mental ear, "*put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest, is holy ground.*"

Respectfully submitted,

April 26, 1860.

C. M. ENDICOTT, Chairman,  
FRANCIS PEABODY,  
GEO. D. PHIPPEN,  
A. C. GOODSELL,  
IRA J. PATCH.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF  
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,  
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 93.

Sam'l Gardner, his da. Mary borne by Mary his wife 29 June, '62; da Margaret born ye 14th July, '64; son Samuell borne 9th 4th mo., 1666; son George b 28th 11th mo., 16—George deceased 5 7 mo., 1668; Jonathan. borne 18 July, 1669.

John Garyen drowned 5 12, '61; his daughter Eliza borne 26 July, '62.

Joseph Grafton married by Mr. Symonds, his worship, to Eliza Browne the 30 4 mo., 1664. The said Joseph deceased at Barbadoes February, 1670.

John Glover married to Mary Guppy by Major Hathorn the 2d January, 1660; their son John borne ye 29th 6th mo., 1661; their son William borne 15th March, 1663; da'r Mary born ye 1st 3d mo., 1666; da. Sarah borne ye 5th mo., '68; Hana 24th 4th '70; son Benjamin borne ye 28th March, 1674; Ebenezer born April 13th, 1685.

John Gilloway and Sara Keazer were married by Major Wm. Hathorne ye 7th April, 1666.

Thos. Goold, his son Joseph borne by Eliza his wife 15 January, '62; their son Thomas borne 16th September, 1664; their son James borne 8 February, (65)—their son Thomas died 1st 12th mo., '67; 2d son Thos. borne 26th February, 1667; son Benjamin borne the

26th August, 1669; Samuell borne the 6th February, 1670.

John Goose married to Mary Robisson by Maj'r Hathorne the 18th day of June, 1665; the sd Mary died ye 9th 9 mo., 1665.

Eleazer Giles and Sara More was married ye 25th 11 mo., '64; theire daug'r Sara borne first January, (1665)—dau'r Elizabeth borne 7th 10th mo., 1667; Hanna borne ye February, 1669; da'r Mary borne ye 14th 12th mo., '72; da'r Susanna borne the 1st March, '73.

Robert Glanfield married to Lyddea Warde the 12th July, 1665; theire daughter Lyddea bor 3d 7th mo., 1666; da'r Abigail bo 20th Aprill, 1668; son Peeter borne ye 7th June, 1670; Robert borne 27th July, 1672; daughter Sarah borne 16th 11th mo., 1674.

Samuel Goldthwrite and Elizabeth Cheever were married the 3d September, 1666; theire dau'r Elizabeth bor 7th 10th mo., '67, and deceased six weeks after; son Samuell borne the 5th of March, 1668-69; theire son Thomas borne ye 14th 12th mo., 1670; son Ezekieil borne the 3d 8th mo., 1674; Hanah borne 9th Aprill, 1686-7; Thomas born 1st March, 1688-9.

Mr. Bartholmew Gidney his da Hana borne ye 19th 6th, '67, by Hana his wife; daughter Liddea borne 9th March, 1669; daughter Bethiah borne 27th May, 1672; Debora borne 3d of January, 1673, and died 9th December, 1674; theire son Samuel born at Salem November 2d, 1675.

Hittabell Goldthwrite deceased 3d May, 1668.

Joseph Grafton, his wife Mary deceased in November, 1674.

Arther Gray and Hanna Hide were married by Maj'r William Hathorne ye 17th of November, 1668; daughter Christian borne the 1st 6 mo., 1670; Joseph borne 26 10 mo., 1672; Mary borne 26th July, '74; Joseph deceased 6 weeks after it was borne.

Samuell Gaskin and Provided Sothwicke

were married 30th 10 mo., '62; theire son Samuell borne the 23d 11 mo., '63; son Edward borne 23d October, '67; Hana borne 2d January, 1669; daughter Provided borne the 22d Aprill, 1672.

Thomas Gardner and Mary Porter were married by Maj. Hathorne 22d April, 1669; theire daughter Mary borne the 14th 12th mo., 1669; son Thomas borne ye 25th 8 mo., 1671; son Habakkuk borne the 25th February, 1673.

Robert Graye and Hana Holt were married the 8th day of March, 1668; Katherine theire daughter borne 15 July, 1670; son Henry borne 17th January, 1671; daughter Jemima borne 23d 10 mo., '73, and died in 7th mo. next; daughter Hana borne 30th 11 mo., '74.

Zachariah Goodell and Elizabeth Beachum were married last of 4th mo., 1666; theire son Zachariah borne 9th February, 1667; theire son Sam'll borne 3d of 10th mo., 1669; son Joseph borne the 23d September, 1672; daughter Mary borne the 27th 9th mo., 1674; son Thomas borne 30th 10th mo., '76; son Abraham borne the 7th 9th mo., 1678; son John borne ye 10th August, 1681; theire son Benja. borne 4th day of July, 1687.

Jehoadan, daughter of Mr. John Grafton borne by Seeth his wife 1st 8 mo., '69; daughter Margaret borne 24th January, 1671; son Nathaniell borne 14 July, 1674.

Bartholmew Gale, his son Isaack borne by Mary his wife 2d 5 mo., '69; son Jacob borne 15 August, 1671; son Bartholmew borne ye 26 Aprill, 1674; theire children Daniell and Mary, twins, borne 17th August, 1676.

Benjamin Ganson, his daughter Elizabeth borne by Elizabeth his wife ye 19 12 mo., 1669; son Benjamin borne ye 7th 5 mo., 1671.

John Guppy and Abigaile Kitchin were married ye 3d 4 mo., '69; theire daughter Abigaile borne the 31 day of May, 1672; Elizabeth borne the 8th February, 1674.

Samuel Gardner, his daughter Hana borne by Mary his wife the 16th Aprill, 1671; son Abell borne the 1st 7 mo., 1673; Mary his



wife deceased the 12th 7 mo., 1675; his daughter Elizabeth deceased the 14th October, 1678.

Samuel Gardner, jr., (son of Left. George Gardner) and Elizabeth Grafton, widow, were married the 24th April, 1673; their son George borne the 28th 11 mo., 1674; daughter Hanna borne the 4th of April, 1676; the said George the son dyed the same year it was borne.

Thomas Greenstad died in July, 1674.

John Glide, his son John borne by Mary his wife ye 24 2 mo., '79.

Thomas Greene, his son Thomas (being his supposed father) borne by Remember Samons the first of April, 1676, and deceased ye first week 7th mo., '77.

Mrs. Damaris Gardner deceased the 28th 9 mo., 1674, and Mr. Thomas Gardner, the husband of ye said Damorice, deceased 29 10 mo., 1674.

Samuell Gray and Abigaile Lord were married 28 10 mo., 1671; daughter Abigaile borne 30th August, 1672, and dyed within ye same yeare.

Eleazer Giles, his son Eliczer borne by Sara his wife 3d 1st mo., 1675-6; Sara his wife deceased 9th May, 1676.

Joseph Gray and Deborah Williams were married 10 6 mo., 1675; their son Joseph borne 9th June, 1676.

Benja. Gray, son of Benja. Gray, born October 3d, 1701.

Adam Goold and Rebecka Cooper were married 15 6 mo., '77; their daughter Rebecka borne the 25th August, 1678; their son John borne the 31st January, 1679.

William Gill and Hannah Meachum were married by Maj'r Will'm Hathorne the 6th February, 1677; their son William borne the 20th 9 mo., 1680; their son John born 20th March, 1682-3; Hanah Gill borne 19th September, 1685; Elizabeth born 18th May, 1689; Ebenezzer borne ye 28th August, 1691.

Isaack Goodell and Patience Cooke were

married 25th 11 mo., 1668; their son Isaack borne 29th March, 1670; daughter Hester borne 17th March, 1671-2; sonn Zachariah borne 15th May, 1675; sonn Abraham borne 3d May '77, and dyed 3 days after; Abigaile borne in the beginning of November, 1678: their son borne ye middle 7mo. and dyed 7 weeks after.

Joseph Hutchenson and Lidea Smale were married the 28th day of February, 1677.

Jonathan, son of Jon. Horne bo 28, 5, '58, and dyed 11, 7 '58.

James Hadlocke married to Rebeca Huthe-son, May '58; their da. Hanna bor July, '57; Sara bo 7th mo '59; Mary bor 2d March '62.

Nehemiah Howard married to Ann Dixy, 11th 6 mo., 1657; their da Sara born ye 3d, 1st mo., 1658; da Hana bo 1st, 6 mo., '61.

John Harrod, son of John Harrod, bo by Gin (or Gen) his wife, 10th, 11th mo., '60; their son Jonathan bo ye 16th April 1662, and both dyed ye last week of April 1662; (Jon. Harrod was married 11th, 5, '59.

Zebulon Hill, his son John bo by Elizabeth his wife, 2d, 4, 1659; there son Phillip borne 24th, 10, '62; son Zebulon, 5, 4, '6—.

Richard Harvey, his da Sara dyed ye 26, 10, '59; his son born Septemb'r, 1660.

Richard Hollingworth, married to Eliza Powell by Mr. Endicott, 23d, 6, 1659; son Richard bo 9th, 6 mo., '61, and deceased August '62; son Benjamin, 28th June '63; son John borne the 12th of May, '65; da'r Abigaile, borne, first March 1667-68; Joseph borne 4th, 2d mo., '70.

Edward Hillyard, his son Edward, born by Martha, his wife, 16, 8, '60; their da'r Eliza born ye 14th, 8, '58; Mary borne ye 30, 3, 59; da'r Sara bo 8th Sept. '62; son David borne 11th, 10th mo., '65; son Jonathan bo the 6th, 12th, 1667.

John Higgeson, his son Frances bo by Sara his wife, 9, 4, '60; his son Henry bo 18, 10, '62.

Joseph Hardy, his son James by Mathew his wife bo 4th, 10, '60; his son Joseph bo 30th, 7, '58—; their son John bo 1st, 1, '58; da'r Hana bo 6th May, '63; son Benjamin borne 5th Sept '65; son William borne last week of Aprill 1669; daughter Martha deceased the 5th, 11 mo., 1674.

Jon. Hill, his da'r Susan, bo by Miriam, his wife, ye 31st, 5th mo., 1660; their daughter Miriam borne 24th, 1st, '58.

Joseph Holton, his son Benjamin, bo by Sara his wife 14th, 12th mo., '57.

Benjamin Hooper, bo by Mathea Lemon, 21st, 11 mo., '56.

William Hollinsworth, his da Susana, by Ellen, his wife, born ye 4th, 1st mo., '58.

Ephraim Herrick was married to Mary Cross, by Maj. Denison, ye 3d July, 1661; their son John bo ye 31st May, '63.

Thomas Hodgman, maryed to Katherine More by Major Denison, October 1661.

Mr. Eliezer Hathorn married to Abigail Corwin, ye 28th, 6th mo., '63, by Maj. Will'm Hathorne; da'r Abigail borne ye 14th, 9th mo., 1665; son George borne ye 17th, 2d mo., 1668, and died ye last week of ye same mo; daughter Elizabeth, borae ye 20th, 12th mo., 1669.

George Hodges married to Mary Hutson, by Maj. Hathorne, 16th, 7th mo., 1663; da'r Katherine borne 20th August, '64; Mary, his wife, died 20th November, '65.

George Hodges, above said, and Sara Phippen were married 24th, 7th mo., '69; their daughter Sara borne the last week in March, 1669-70.

Job Hilliard, married to Mary Oliver, 1st April '61, (his wife Sara deceased 14th, 8th mo., 60;) their da'r Abigail bo 26th, 5th mo., '62; son Benjamin, 6th May '64; their son Job borne the first of June, 1669; Job Hilliard, the father, deceased the beginning of March 1669-70.

Jon son of John Harod, by Em his wife,

borne 28th April '64; son Jonathan borne ye 18th June '66; son David borne the 23d June 1668; da'r Alice borne 28th, 9th mo., 1672.

John Hill, wheelwright, married Lidea Buffum, 26th, 6th mo., '64; their daughter, Liddea borne ye 30th March, 1666; da'r Elizabeth borne the 15th December 1667; son John borne ye 22d, 11 mo., 1670; son Robert borne the 11th September, 1676.

Zebulon Hill, his Da'r Eliza borne by Eliza his wife, ye 1st, 12th mo., 1664; their daughter Mary bor ye 25th January, 1667; daughter Abigaile borne the 21st, 7th mo., 1670; Sara borne 22d June, '75.

Henry Harrod, deceased February, 1663.

Rebecka, daughter of Mr. John Hale, minister of Bass River in Salem, son of Robert Hale late of Charlestowne, carpenter, borne by Rebecka his wife, daughter of Mr. Henry Bile late of the city of Sarum in England, the 28th of Aprill, 1666; their son Robert borne the 3d 9th mo., 1668.

Isaack Hide and Susana Backster were married the 12th July, 1665; dau Christean born in 9th mo., '68, and dyed 3 weeks after; dau Elizabeth borne 27 July, 1671; son Isaack borne ye 6th 2d mo., '74, and died 3 months after; son Richard born 6th March, 1676-7.

Robert Hodg and Mary Pitman were married ye 22d June, '65; da Mary bo 10th March, '65-66; Sara borne 19th Feby, '67; dau Tabitha borne January, 1669; daughter Hanna borne ye 23d Sept, 1672; daughter Elizabeth borne ye 15th 7 mo., '74; sonne Robert borne ye 25 11th mo., 1676; daughter Bethiah borne the 23d October, 1678.

John Horne and Mary Clark were married by Major Denison 30th October, 1667; dau Mary borne the 23d August, 1668, and died the 20th 6 mo, 1669.

Zachariah Herreck, his daughter Mary borne by Mary his wife 10th October, 1654; Elizabeth borne 25th March, 1657; Sara borne 15 October, 1662; Martha borne 5th August, 1665.

John Hoeman and Hester Crason were married 23d 10th mo., 1659. Ye said Hester had a daughter borne out of mariag 18 12 mo., 1668; John borne 22d Aprill, '70; Mordecai borne 3d 6th mo., 1673.

Stephen Hasket, his son Steeven by Elizabeth his wife borne in March, 1668-69, and deceased 14 days after; their son Elias borne the 25th of Aprill, 1670; their daughter Mary borne the 13 March, 1671-2; daughter Sara borne 5 12 mo., 1673.

Thomas Hanson and Mary Robisson, widow, were married the 3d of June, 1669; their daughter Mary borne 3d 10th mo., 1670.

John Holmes and Sara Hone, widow, were married the 21st 2d mo., 167-; their son Joseph borne 14th 12th mo., 1672; Benjamin borne 6th 8th mo., '74; daughter Sarah borne 23d 12th mo., 1676; dau Elizabeth borne 21st July, 1679; daugh'r Jane borne June 1st, '83.

Timothy Hieckes and Dorcas Veren were married the 21st 12th mo., 1671; Dorcas his wife deceased ye 5th 11 mo., '72.

Thomas Howard, his daughter Mary borne by Ruth his wife ye 24th 2d mo., '72; their son Nathan borne the 17th 7th mo., 1673; son Solomon borne the 5th August, 1675.

John Herbert and Mary Follett were married 15th April, 1672; son John borne the 7th August, 1674.

John Hutchenson and Sara Putnam were married July, 1672.

Peeter Harvey and Hana Gilbert were married January, 1670; son Peeter borne ye 10th February, 1670; son David borne 20 September, 1672; daughter Hanna borne the 1st July, 1674; son John borne 14th April, 1676; daughter Mary borne 25th 1st mo., 167-; daughter Sarah borne the 15th April, 1680.

Mr. John Higgenson junr and Sara Savage were married 9th 8th mo., 1672; daughter Mary borne ye 27th 7th mo., 1673; son John borne ye 20th 6th mo., 1675; ye daugh'r Margaret borne 10th November, 1686, and dyed ye 18th Jany, 1688.

Joseph, son of Edward Hilliard, borne by Martha his wife, the 4th January, 1672.

Richard Huthenson and Susana Archer, widow, were married in October, 1668; Susana his wife deceased 26th 9th mo., 1674.

George Hodges, his son George borne by Sara his wife the 18th of March, 1671-72; Mary borne 10th 11th mo., 1673; son Joseph borne 21st 12th mo., 1675; daughter Hanna borne 6th 11th mo., 1677; daughter Dorcas borne 7th April, 1680; their son John borne the 10th 12th mo., 1681; Gemaliell born 8th September, 1685.

George Hacker and Bethiah Meachum were married the last week in September, 1672; their daughter Bethia borne ye 25th 5th mo., 1673, died 9th 6th mo., 1674; their second daughter Bethia the 9th March, 1675-6; sonne George borne the 13th 6th mo., 1678; daughter Sarah borne ye 28th 12th mo, 1680.

John Harrod, his daughter Sara borne by Mary his wife ye 26th 12th mo., 1669; their daughter Elizabeth borne ye 27th 10th mo., 1671; dau Abigaile borne 20th 6th mo., 1673; son John borne the 6th of 9th mo., 1675; daughter Mary borne ye 25th 7th mo., 1678; their son Samuel borne the 29th May, 1682; their son Ebenezar bo 29th 6th mo., '84.

Mr. Richard Hollingworth, his son Caleb borne by Elizabeth his wife, the 22d December, 1673.

Nathaniel Hum and Priscilla Kitchen were married in October, 1672; their daugh'r Priscilla borne the 21st January, 1672; daughter Sara borne the 6th, 8th mo., 1674.

Mr. William Hirst and Mary Grove were married the 30th day of July 1674; ye sone Grove borne 29th August, 1675; daughter Elizabeth borne the 10th March, 1676-7; (Wm Hirst borne 24th August, '79, and dyed 7th, 8th mo., '79; Jno. Hirst borne Sept. 3d, '85, and dyed 4th, 8th mo., '87;) Will'm Hirst borne 20th, 6th mo., '83; Jno. Hirst borne 17th August, 1687; Mary Hirst borne



29th Decemb'r. 1688; Mary Hirst dyed 11th 8th mo., '89; George Hirst bo 14th June '91, dyed June 19th, 1692.

Elcazer Hathorne, his son William borne by Abigaile his wife the 9th May, 1672; son Samuell borne 23d 7th mo., 1674.

Richard Harris and Hana Dove were married the 10th of March, 1670: their daughter Hanna borne the 3d 10th mo., 1673; Richard and John, twins, were borne the 3d of March, 1674.

William Hollis and Kertland Belud were married —; their daughter Elizabeth borne in July, 1672; Mary borne 11th 10th mo., '73.

Jonathan Hart and Lidda Neale were married in 9th mo., '71; their daughter Lidda borne 5th January, '71; son Jonathan borne the 14th April, 1673; son John borne the 6th June, 1675.

William Henfeild and Elizabeth Preston were married ye 12th July, 1671; their daughter Elizabeth borne ye 4th April, 1672; daughter Hanah borne in ye year '74 and deceased 6 weeks after; 2d daughter Hanah borne 4th 1st mo., '76-7.

Mr. John Hathorne and Ms. Ruth Gardner were married ye 22d 1st mo., 1674; their son John borne ye 10th 11th mo., 1675; son Nathaniell borne 25th 9th mo., '78.

Thomas Haines and Sarah Ray were married the 15th 10th mo., 1676; their son John born 14th Aprill, 1678; their son William borne 25th 8th mo., '80; daughter Sarah borne 31st October, 1681; Joseph borne October 18th, 1683; sone Benja. borne 21st Sepr, 1685; Daniell borne 25th August, 1687, and dyed last June '89; Hannah borne ye 25th Sepr, 1689; Thomas borne 17th October, 1691.

Symond Horne and Rebecka Stevens, widow, were married the 28th February, 1675; their son Joshuah borne the middle September, 1677; son Symond borne ye 11th 11th mo., 1679.

Jonathan Horne, son of John Horne and Naomi his wife, deceased October 6, 1701.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 4.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

The second or oak type of the New England money was ordered to be coined by Massachusetts,\* 1652, Oct. 19: "For the prevention of washing or clipping all such peices of money as shall be coyned within this jurisdiction, it is ordered by this Court and authoritie thereof, that henceforth all peices of money coyned as afforesaid, both shillings and smaller peices, shall have a double ringe on either side with this inscription, (Massachusetts) and a tree in the center on the one side, and New England and the date of the yeare on the other side."

No alteration was ordered in the weight, but only of the type and legend; the following is the weight of six shillings of the oak type in my collection: four of seventy-two grains each, one of seventy-five, one as low as sixty-eight,† sixpence thirty grains, threepence‡ seventeen, and four two-pence pieces twelve grains each. The tree appears to be as good a representation of the pasture oak of New England as the skill of the artist could make it, and is found on the shilling, sixpence, threepence and all the two pence, most of which

\* Mass. Court Records.

† This coin was cut so thin from the bar that it did not admit of being rounded and is nearly square, and was saved with others on account of its curious appearance, such as being struck twice, and other variations of the dies. All the coins, the weight of which I have given, are in fine preservation and can have lost but little weight in circulation.

‡ No threepences were coined in England from 1649 to 1670, and I think very few here, till after 1662, as they are the most rare of the series, and I have never seen but one of the oak type.

were probably struck in the year they were ordered, 1662, as they were to be half the coinage of that year. It is pretty certain that the pine was not adopted on the New England coin till some time after 1662. It is not probable that two different types would have been used at the same time; I cannot find any account of its being called pine-tree money till some time after that period. When the actual change of the type from that of an oak to that of a pine took place cannot now be ascertained.

In 1662 Sir Thomas Temple,\* in an interview with Charles II., calls the tree on the N. E. money an oak, and to conciliate him, who considered their coinage an infringement of his royal prerogative, the royal oak in which he found a shelter from his enemies.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### NOTICE OF BEING CHOSEN TYTHINGMEN.

To Constable Nehemiah Willowbey :

You are heareby Required in his maj'y name to give notice vnto Lt John pickering Manasses Marston and John Horne; that thay and every one of them are chosen Tytheing Men, And you are to warne them to appeare at the next County Courte to bee held the last Tuesday of this Instant mo being the twenty-fifth day of the sd mo., there to attend the County pleasure vntil the Oath bee Administred vnto them According to law.

Pr JOHN HATHORNE In the name  
and by order of the Selectmen.

Salem 11 9 mo., '79.

Likewise to warn Thomas Stacey Tytheing man as aboue to Attend with the rest.

pr JNO. HATHORNE by order  
Salem 11 9, '79. of the Selectmen.

I have warned all the within mentioned to appear according to the tenor of the within warrant.

21 9 mo., '79.

pr me, NEHEMI WILLOUGHBY, Constable.

#### RETAILER'S LICENCE.

Salem, July ye 26, 1690.

The Selectmen of Salem doe approve and allow Mr. Nehmiah Willoughby of Salem to Sell and Retaile Wine, Rum and other Strong drinks w'thout doores. In behalfe of the rest of the Selectmen.

Attested,

Jos. WOLCOTT.

#### CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION AS COMMISSIONER.

At a Meeting of the freemen 10th Noubr, 1679.

Chosen ffor Commissioners for the Towne ffor this Yeare Mr. William Browne sen'r, Mr. Edmo. Batter and Mr. Bartholmew Gedney.

This is a true Cotype taken out of the Records.

JOHN HATHORNE, Record'r.

To the Selectmen.

Salem, 28th Nov'r, 1679.

#### AN ORDER TO WARN SOLDIERS.

Salem, August 21, 1703.

Sergeant William Beckett,

You are in her majesties name hereby Required forthwith to warn, & give notice unto the Severall persons here underwritten Thatt they appear at my Dwelling House before me, with arms & amunition compleatt according to Law on the 23rd Day of this Instant august Being Munday att two of the Clock In the afternoon, there to attend further orders for her majesties Special Service, They being Enlisted according to Law, and If any of them be nott at Home, you are to Leave a notification at there Houses or usuall places of abode In writing that they appear as above-said, faill nott, SAM'LL BROWNE, Capt.

—John Waldron, Jun'r	John Elkins
Sam'll Pudney	—Joseph Ingersoll
—Sam'll fclton	John Harvy
—Rob'tt Moulton Jun'r	—fra Skerry

\*Mass. Archives, Life of Thomas Hollis.

—Phillip English Jun'r  
 Dan'll Jett  
 —John Silsby  
 —John Bliffin Jun'r  
 —John Ropes Jun'r

To appear on Tuesday the  
 24th Instant Aug't att  
 one of the Clock

Ezek'll Marsh  
 to appear forthwith  
 A tru Copy of Phillip English his Warning  
 and Notification delivered in your Oath  
 Salem Oct'r 29th 1703 by Sargent William  
 Becket

Before vs JOHN HATHORNE, } Justices  
 Wm. HIRST }

EPITAPH FROM A TOMBSTONE IN THE BURIAL  
 GROUND AT WATERTOWN, MASS.

How will the Redeemer's light  
 Clarify the Beleiver's sight;  
 How joyful will the saints arise  
 And rub the dust from out their eyes.

EPITAPH ON A MISER.

Here lies one who for med'cines would not give  
 A little Gold—and so his life he lost!  
 I fancy now he'd wish again to live  
 Could he but guess how much his funeral  
 cost.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM FARTHING.

The Norman Kings coined pence with a cross  
 so deeply impressed that they might be easily  
 broken into halves, which they called half-  
 pence, and into four parts, which they called  
 fourths, or farthings.

NUMISMATICS.

The second edition of Dickeson's work on  
 American Coins has just been issued—it con-  
 tains an additional plate of coins and much  
 matter not to be found in the first edition of  
 the work. Many of the rarest coins illustrat-  
 ed belong to the collections in Salem; persons  
 desirous to obtain the work will find it at

Burnham's Bookstore, 143 Washington Street,  
 Boston.

OLD PAMPHLET.

A publication issued in 1789 bears the fol-  
 lowing curious title—"To the majesty of the  
 PEOPLE. The CHRISTIAN-POLITICAL MOUSE-  
 TRAP! or the World Reformed."

COPY OF A CIRCULAR LETTER IN THE HAND-  
 WRITING OF COL. PICKERING.—B. F. B.

*To the Captain and Subalterns of the first Com-  
 pany of Militia in Salem:*

Gentlemen:

Pursuant to a resolve of the Provincial  
 Congress held at Cambridge Oct. 26, 1774, we  
 hereby recommend to you forthwith to endeav-  
 our to enlist one-quarter at the least of the num-  
 ber of training Soldiers in your Company and  
 cause them to be equipt with arms, ammunition  
 and accoutrements fit for actual Military Service.  
 And when you shall have made this enlistment,  
 we desire you would without delay make a re-  
 turn unto us of the names of the persons en-  
 listed, whom, with those who shall in like  
 manner be enlisted in the other companies of  
 this regiment, we shall form into companies of  
 fifty privates, who are to hold themselves in  
 readiness to march at the shortest notice under  
 the command of such officers as they shall  
 choose; which officers when chosen are to form  
 their companies into a battalion and elect offi-  
 cers to command the same.

The returns of the men enlisted as aforesaid  
 and also of the number of other militia men  
 in your company and the state of the equip-  
 ments of the whole we desire you to make  
 to either of us in writing before the 17th  
 of March next, that so we may be enabled to  
 represent the exact state of the regiment to  
 the Provincial Congress which is to set on the  
 end of the same month.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, JUN'R,	} Field officers of the first Regiment in Essex.
JOHN MANSFIELD,	
HENRY HERRICK,	
SAMUEL HOLTEN, JUN'R,	
ARCHELAX FULLER,	

Danvers, Febru'y 2, 1775.



# QUERIES.

Rev. John Langdon Sibley, Librarian of Harvard College, has, for many years, been collecting materials for a biographical sketch of all the Graduates of that Institution. It will be published as soon as practicable. An answer to any of the following queries will materially aid him in his researches.

*Rev. John Fisk*, H. C. 1702—who was settled at Killingly, Ct. Was he a native of WENHAM? If so—birth? Parents? He would have been not far from twenty years, before graduation; and would be likely to have had a letter missive sent to Wenham Church at his ordination.

*Jeremiah Easeman*, H. C. 1703.—Travelled abroad and died before 1716. Is there anything anywhere about him?

*Rev. Joshua Moody*, H. C. 1707.—Was born at Salisbury—birth? parents, wife and marriage? anything more? when ordained?

*Stephen Jaques*, of Newbury, H. C. 1707. Was he born 5th Sept., 1685, or 28th July, 1686? What time in 1779 did he die? Where on Cape Cod did he teach, and marry Thankful Taylor? Is anything more known about him?

*Rev. John Tufts*, H. C. 1708.—Did he die at Amesbury, Aug. 17, 1750 or Salisbury? Date of marriage with Sarah Bradstreet, and who she was. May he have also lived or died at Danvers?

*Rev. John Barnard*, of Andover, H. C. 1709. Where and when married?

*Rev. John Chipman*, of Beverly, H. C. 1711. When did he marry 1st Rebecca, sister of Col. Robert Hale, and 2d Hannah Warren, and who was she?

*Rev. Joshua Gardner*, H. C. 1709, of Haverhill, when and where born or where from? Was he ordained 10th or 11th Jan. 1711? Wife and marriage.

*John Wainwright*, of Haverhill, H. C. 1711. Birth? parents? wife? He is said to have

been drowned; when, and under what circumstances? probably before 1727?

*Obadiah Ayer*, H. C. 1710, of Haverhill. Parents? birth? occupation and offices? wife?

*Richard Hazzen*, H. C., 1717, of Haverhill. Parents? birth? wife? offices? day of death? He was a surveyor of land.

*Wm. Burnham*, H. C. 1702 of Ipswich. Birth? parents? wife? was settled at Kensington, Conn.

*Ebenzer Rust*, H. C. 1707. Settled at Stratham, N. H.; birth, parents, &c.

*Dan. Rindge*, H. C. 1709. Birth? parents? taught at Portsmouth, N. H. and died when? 1713? was he son of Capt. Daniel who had a farm at Hamlet?

*Dr. Thos. Berry*, H. C. 1711. Parents? birth? wife and marriage? he died Aug. 10, 1756, aged 61.

*Benj. Crocker*, H. C. 1713. Did he die at Ipswich in 1766? Perhaps moved away in 1764.

*Henry Wise*, H. C. 1717. Born at Chabacco, when? wife? when did he die? in 1779 or before? what is known about him.

*Francis Cogswell*, H. C. 1718. Birth? parents? offices, besides being Representative, 1750-53.

*Rev. Joseph Whipple*, H. C. 1720, of Hampton Falls. Birth? parents? E. S. W.

## ERRATA.

Vol. 2, No. 2, page 65, fourth line from top, for *Milabel Sewall*, read *Mitchell Sewall*; and on same page, "April 27th," for *Rev. Wm. Fisk*, read *Rev. Mr. Fisk*.

Vol. 2d, No. 2, page 79, for "*torments of the accused*," read "*torments of the accusers*." In note, (pages 82-3) same number, for *pilgrimage* read *vicinage*.

Vol. 2d, No. 2, page 102, ninth line from top, for *cottle* read *cattel*.

On page 133 of the present number; for "Remington" read "Redington."

# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.]

August, 1860.

[No. 4

## A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE OFFICERS OF PROBATE FOR ESSEX COUNTY, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE COLONY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY A. C. GOODELL.

The royal charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company, which is the foundation of our present political system, made no provision for the establishment of courts of judicature.\* It was, undoubtedly, the intention of the crown, as expressed by that instrument, to establish in England a corporation much like the Hudson's Bay Company of our own time; and by investing it with all the powers requisite to secure profit to the corporators, to encourage them in their work of extending the British domain and increasing the revenue.†

Therefore it was that this company of merchants and traders were only empowered in

\* "The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay. Boston, 1814." commonly referred to as "Ancient Charters." Since the publication of the "Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay" by order of the Legislature, 1853, it is better to refer to them in all cases; the former work being inaccurate in dates and bunglingly compiled, with a very insufficient index.

† See "Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from the year 1748, &c., by George Richards Minot. Boston, Feb. 1798." Vol. I, pp. 19, 20. Also, "History of the United States of America, by Richard Hildreth. N. Y. 1849." and the Company's earlier records.

general terms, to "apply themselves to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general business and affairs of" the "lands and premises" of the Massachusetts Bay "and the plantation thereof, \* \* and the government of the people there;" and for these purposes to make such "laws and ordinances" as were "not contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes" of the realm.

The general powers of corporations and their authority to make by-laws were not, at that time, so commonly understood or so fully defined as at present, but there can be scarcely any doubt that by the common interpretation of the charter at that day, all judicial powers, except those magisterial functions of a limited nature, to be exercised in enforcing the ordinances of the corporation, and which were expressly conferred by the charter, were to be reserved to the appropriate tribunals at home.

But our forefathers, the actual settlers, panted for dominion not only in church but in state;\* and when the charter, which bore date

\* "The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1628 to 1691, by Thomas Hutchinson," 2d Ed. London, 1765. Also, an "Introduction to the History of the revolt of the American Colonies, &c., by George Chalmers," Bost. Ed., 1845, pp. 42, 46, 47, &c. Also, "A Summary Historical and Political of the first planting, progressive improvements and present state of the British settlements in North America, by William Douglass, M. D." London, 1760. And particularly, see "Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630 to the

March 4, 1628, old style, was, the next spring, brought hither by Wintthrop,\* they immediately began to establish a new system of church and state polity, in many respects quite unique, but based, generally, upon the laws of England.† They enacted statutes affecting all public and private relations; regulated trivial matters of diet, dress and personal demeanor; imposed penalties, from the smallest mulct up to capital punishment; and added to the list of crimes known to the Common Law, a catalogue culled from the barbarous penal laws of the Hebrews.‡ And so far were they from acknowledging any dependence on the Mother Country, that they established a mint and currency, levied imposts and taxes, denied the right of appeal to the King's Courts and punished such as claimed it.§ The charter expressly guaranteed to all inhabitants the liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects of England; yet a statute was passed dis-

franchising such as were not church-members, except in the matter of voting for certain militia-officers whose *nomination* had been previously made by the free-holders.\* Lawyers were looked upon with suspicion, hampered by ridiculous regulations, and banished or badgered from the Colony;† while the entire administration of the government was either held or controlled by the clergy, who not only borrowed laws from the Pentateuch, but strove to regulate their official conduct according to the approved standard of the kings and judges of Israel.‡

In such a peculiar government we should expect to find a peculiar judicial system. Such, indeed, was theirs. All the old, well settled distinctions between courts of different jurisdiction which so characterize the English law were forgotten or intentionally abandoned; and matters lay and ecclesiastical, actions at law and in equity, and causes criminal and civil, were heard and determined in one Great and General Court, which became the sole fountain of justice and established terms of certain of its members called "the assistants," first to try all causes and afterwards, as the Colony grew, to constitute a court of appeal and for the trial of matters of considerable importance. It also ordained and appointed inferior tribunals to decide minor causes originally, with a right of appeal to itself but no further.§

revolution in 1775," by Emory Washburn. Boston: Little & Brown, 1840. A book that should be read attentively by every person who desires to have a just notion of the history of our Judicial System. Though modestly claiming to be a collection of "sketches," it is, nevertheless, a most correct and complete exposition of the beginning and rise of the judicial Courts of Massachusetts; and as such is entitled to a prominent place in the library of every New England lawyer; to say nothing of its value as a biographical repository. The writer is much indebted to these labors of Prof. Washburn.

\* "Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals, by Thomas Prince, M. A." Boston, 1736. Felt's "Annals of Salem."—"History of New England," by Daniel Neal. London, 1720.

† Prince's Annals, pp. 246-8.

‡ Col. Rec., Vol. 1. Hildreth, Vol. 1. "Good News from New England, &c.," London, 1618—pub. in Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. 1, pp. 195-205. Chalmers, 47.\* Prince's An., 246, &c. "The Annals of America from 1492 to 1826, by Abiel Holmes, D.D." Cambridge: 1829, Vol. 1, p. 218.

§ Hildreth, Vol. 1, 453. Holmes, Vol. 1, pp. 218, 297. Hutchinson, Vol. 1, 435, et seq. Douglass. Vol. 1, pp. 431-437. Good News, &c., 205. Essex Co. Court Records. Felt's Annals, Vol. 2, p. 456.

\* The Political and Civil History of the United States of America from 1763 to 1797, by Timothy Pitkin. New Haven: 1828. Vol. 1, 42. This law was repealed after a remonstrance from the King. Hildreth, Vol. 1—453. Holmes, Vol. 1—321-2. Douglass, Vol. 1—432.

† Minot. Douglass, Vol. 1, p. 431, &c. Holmes, ut supra. Washburn, 54.

‡ Good News, &c. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., &c., p. 205, and authorities and records generally.

§ Plaine Dealing or News from New England. London: 1642, by Thomas Lechford of Clements Inn, in the County of Middlesex, gent. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3d series, Vol. 3, p. 55, &c. Col. Rec. Dane's Abridgement, Vol. 6, chap. 187. And histories of the Colony generally.



The most important of the inferior courts was the Quarterly Court, established March 3d, 1636.\* An inspection of the records and files of this court will show that the practice, pleadings and rules of evidence pursued therein were not more singular than the range of its jurisdiction. Among other things, it exercised the functions of an ecclesiastical tribunal in correcting minor spiritual delinquencies, in sometimes decreeing divorces or sentences of nullity,† and in settling the estates of deceased persons. This last mentioned office, making it so far, the predecessor of the present Court of Probate, brings this court and its officers properly before us in this article.‡

The act establishing this court provided that four terms should be held annually in the several towns designated therein, viz.:—Ipswich, Salem, New-Town§ and Boston, to be presided over by "such magistrates as shall be dwelling in or near such town and by such other persons of worth as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court." As many magistrates might sit as desired to; one at least, with two of the associates being necessary to constitute a quorum. The General Court designated what magistrates should specially belong to the Quarterly Court in every jurisdiction; and the associates were selected by the General Court from lists of such freemen as had been nominated by the towns or their deputies for that purpose. All civil controversies for more than ten pounds and all criminal matters the penalty whereof extended to life, loss of members or banishment, were reserved to the Great Quarter Court or Court of Assistants before mentioned, which was the judicial side

of the General Court and which held its sittings in Boston.\*

The four terms of the Salem Court were to be held in March, June, September and December; and it is worthy of remark, that these are the four months in which the civil terms of the Superior Court, which succeeded the Court of Common Pleas, are held to this day. On the 25th of May following the passage of the act the judges of the court were nominated; and on the 27th of the next month Capt. John Endicott, Esq., Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Mr. Townsend Bishop and Mr. Thomas Scruggs, four of the five judges appointed for Salem,—Humphrey, who stands first on the General Court list,‡ being absent—were assembled: and all, except Endicott, who was a magistrate, took the oath of "Commissioners" and proceeded with the business of the first court held in Salem.

The act establishing a court makes no mention of a clerk; but at the first session of the Salem Court such an officer was appointed, evidently by the judges.‡ The proposed limits of this article will not admit of a full notice of the Colonial magistrates and freemen who administered the laws in this court. Hereafter, perhaps, such a notice may be given in another article; but as we are now considering the probate jurisdiction, and as no particular judge assumed that exclusively, our business will be for the present with the early clerks, who were the first registers of probate.

The first clerk of the Salem Court, who held office from JUNE 27, 1636, to AUG. 13, 1647, was

#### RALPH FOGG.

He came originally to Plymouth,§ where he was admitted a freeman and had lands granted to him in 1633, and was taxed in March, 1634.

\* Prof. Washburn, and Dane before him, make the date of this act 1639; but this is clearly erroneous, as a reference to the Colonial Company and County Court records will show. This mistake they were probably led into by relying on the Ed. of Col. Laws published in 1814—which is incorrect.

† See *Ellinwood v. Ellinwood*, June, 1682, Essex, Salem Court.

‡ See court records, Essex.

§ Now Cambridge.

\* Col. Rec.

† Col. Rec.

‡ Essex Co. Court Rec.

§ See Plymouth Col. Records, published by authority of the Legislature.

Moving thence to Massachusetts Bay, he was made a freeman of the latter Colony, Sept. 3, 1634, and joined the first church in Salem as early as 1636. He was also "Treasurer" as early as 1637; an office which appears not to have been confined to the town of Salem, nor to have extended to what afterwards became the whole county, but to have been co-extensive with the jurisdictional territory of the Salem Court; clerks of the quarterly courts being, probably, *ex officio*, treasurers throughout the jurisdiction of their respective courts. By an order of the General Court, passed April 1, 1634, the constable and four or more of the chief inhabitants of every town were to survey all improved and inclosed lands, or such lands as had been granted by special order of the Court, and to make a full record of the same with their metes and bounds; and in 1637 it appears that these records were kept at Salem by Mr. Fogg, who had specified fees therefor. In the same year also, for want of a "print howse," strangers are directed to repair to Mr. Fogg, "who keeps the records," to learn the by-laws.\* In Sept. 7th, 1639, he records, "It was agreed and I was appointed Marshal."† This office was the prototype of the present shrievalty; and though it seems preposterous to us that one man should hold the office of clerk of the courts and sheriff at the same time, yet such was the general practice then and for some time thereafter. In 1641, Dec. 10, the office of clerk of the writs was established in every town, for granting writs and other processs, and Mr. Fogg was made by the act the first incumbent for Salem, to hold for a year and until a new one be chosen. In 1644 he was a member of the Artillery Company.‡ And the same year the General Court

ordered, on his petition, that what shall be wanting in his fees be made up to him out of the fines of the Court. In 1645 he was appointed to receive the names of such as would contribute towards maintaining "poore skollers at the colledge in Cambridge."§ And the next February he was allowed by the court ten pounds, "in consideration of his attendance upon the court in the several employments wherein he is betruisted \* \* \* besides the fees which do of right belong to his places of trust."

But the unhappy clerk did not enjoy his numerous and lucrative offices long. On the 9th of July, 1647, he was obliged to record an indictment against himself, found by the grand jury, in which he was charged with extortion "for taking fees two and three times." He resigned or was removed from office by the middle of the next month, and managed to elude further action of the court till two years afterwards, when, having in the meantime incurred further displeasure of the magistrates, or not having succeeded in compromising with his victims, he was again ordered to appear at court, to answer to the complaint of the marshal, his successor, "in behalf of the country," "concerning the account he gave at his departure, wherein are many errors." He appeared in court in answer thereto in Sept., 1649, and after a hearing he was ordered by the court to pay various sums of money to different persons, amounting to twenty-three in all.

Exasperated by this sentence of the court, which he attributed solely to the malice of Endicott, who was the magistrate of the court, and also that year governor of the colony, he took occasion at the close of the services one Sunday shortly after, on being dealt with by the church for his alleged misdemeanors, to defend himself before the congregation, and complained to Endicott of the wrong he had done him in church and court. Among other things he declared that neither the church nor any one member had ever informed him with

\* Felt's An.

† Essex Co. Court Rec.

‡ "A Genealogical Register of the first settlers of New England, by John Farmer." Lancaster: 1829. Also "A Genealogical Dictionary of the first settlers of New England, &c.," by James Savage. Boston: 1860.

§ Felt's An.

what offence he had stood charged by them; and that the Governor was the grand jury and the grand jury the Governor.

To thus abuse the Governor, especially on the Lord's day, was an offence not to be overlooked even in a freeman. Accordingly on the 8th of February he was indicted for this offence; convicted of course, and sentenced as follows:—to pay 10 shillings for lying and two and sixpence costs of court. And for abusing the Governor he was ordered to make an acknowledgment the next Lord's day—being called forth from the congregation for that purpose by the constable—in which he was to declare that he had done “wickedly and sinfully,” for all which he was “very sorry;” and in case of refusal he was to stand the next day at the whipping-post for a half hour immediately after lecture, with a paper in his hat, upon which was to be written in capital letters “FOR SLANDERING OF THE CHURCH AND FOR ABUSING OF THE GOVERNOR;” and if he should not stand quietly with his back to the post then the constable was to bind him to it; all of which was to be done in the presence of Mr. Downing and Capt. Hathorne.\*

It does not appear which penalty he suffered; but as he had his election, we may infer that he deemed it discreet to make the retraction ordered by the court, since, according to Felt, as late as 1652, he petitioned the general court for leave to keep an “intelligence office or exchange,” which, says Savage, “being refused, he soon went home; was a livery-man of London, of the Skinner's Company, and died in 1674.” According to the same author his wife's name was Susanna; he had two sons born here, and another son, John, a merchant of Barnstaple in Devon; but it is not known whether John was born here or in England.

\* These facts and all others relating to the proceedings of the court have been gleaned from the records and files in the Clerk's Office, Salem—when derived from other sources the authorities will be given.

Mr. Fogg was a correct and beautiful penman; and if the records of the Colony throughout had been as exactly and fully kept as were the records during his official term, much interesting matter illustrative of our earliest history might have been preserved which is now irretrievably lost. The first will presented in this court for probate is Elizabeth or Bethiah Cartwright's, now in the court files, folded and neatly indorsed by Fogg in June, 1640.\*

AUG. 13, 1647, to Nov. 23, 1653.

#### HENRY BARTHOLOMEW.

The foreman of the grand jury that presented Ralph Fogg for extortion was Henry Bartholomew, who immediately succeeded Fogg in the clerk's office.† He is said to have been a London merchant; was born about 1600, and came to Salem Nov. 7, 1635.‡ His four brothers, William, Thomas, Abraham and Richard, were here also;§ the first rose to considerable distinction in the Colony and the last died in Salem, 1646. He had a sister Sarah, also here quite early.

Henry was made a freeman of the Massachusetts Colony May 17, 1637—having become a member of the first church in Salem—and in 1645 he took his seat as deputy or representative to the General Court, to which office he had been chosen by the freemen of Salem. This was his first term in an office which he held at different times for seventeen years, and in which, by the courage, intelligence, industry, tact and liberality of sentiment that he invariably displayed, he did the Colony eminent service. Some idea of the variety and impor-

\* This will is signed Elizabeth C, though the testatrix is described in the body of the will as Bethiah. See court files—also Mr. Patch's abstracts in No. 1 of Vol. 1 of Hist. Coll. Essex Institute.

† Essex Court Records.

‡ I am indebted for many genealogical facts to the labors of that indefatigable genealogist, Mr. Perley Derby, who has compiled in MSS. a volume in royal 8vo. of nearly 600 pages, which, I understand, he has presented to the Essex Institute.

§ Will of Richard, Essex Court files.



tance of his public labors may be got from the following list of committees on which he served by appointment of the General Court:—May, 1660—a committee to settle disputed boundaries, &c., at Jeffrey's Creek, now Manchester. May, 1662—to regulate matters of trade in Boston. May, 1663—to answer the letter of King Charles II. in which his majesty ordered the company to respect the rights of citizens under the charter and especially to remove certain disabilities in the matter of the elective franchise. 1663, 72, 73, 74, 76—committees to audit the Treasurers' accounts. Oct., 1667—to consider and report on the return made by the Commissioners of the United Colonies; and another committee to adjust difficulties between the Nipmucks and Narragansetts. 1673—to decide and report on three important questions concerning the veto power. 1674—to settle difficulties at Marblehead between the commoners and non-commoners as to rights in the common lands. 1679—to approve of a minister at Chebaeco Parish, Ipswich—now Essex—which resulted in the settlement of the Rev. John Wise. 1684—to convey the thanks of the General Court to the Rev. John Hale of Beverly and to request a copy of his election sermon for publication. Same year to settle a difficulty with the Praying Indians at Marlboro'. 1685—to revise the laws of the Colony. Besides these he served on several other committees which were not so important.

He was always, I believe, enlisted on the liberal side in every contest involving the jeopardy of individual rights as against the claims of persons in authority. Thus when in 1646 the right of petition was invaded in the persons of Dr. Childs and others, remonstrants, who were heavily fined for presuming to protest against the illegal acts of the General Court, Mr. Bartholomew's name with four others appears opposed to the vote of punishment, or "twelve chardges," as they were called. In 1650 Mr. William Pinchon had imported a book printed for him in London,

called the "Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, &c.," which, containing doctrines at variance with those entertained by the rulers, was, by its heresy, the cause of great commotion throughout the Colony and especially among the members of the Court, who resolved, 1st—To protest against the doctrines of the book. 2d—To have it answered by Elder Norton of Ipswich. 3d—To have it burned by the public executioner. 4th—To bring its author to punishment. Against all this ridiculous display of tyranny and furious zeal Mr. Bartholomew and five others appear "*contradicente*." Again, in 1651 he with 14 others refused to endorse the Book of Discipline, a scheme of divinity which had been devised for a standard by which to enforce uniformity in matters of religion.

He and his brother William patriotically advanced money for the public use, which in 1650 was voted back to them, to carry interest if not paid before a specified time.

As a clerk he was faithful and correct. He wrote a legible but not beautiful hand. The second book of Essex Court records, beginning Nov., 1648, was commenced by him. In 1649-50 he was allowed by the court five pounds per year for his services, which were continued till Nov. 29, 1653. In August, 1665, he was confirmed as cornet of the Salem troop; and in April, 1668, he was appointed commissioner of customs with Edmund Batter for the port of Salem, &c.\*

He was also licensed as a retailer, though it does not appear that he ever kept an ordinary.† His enterprise was shown in building the old mill on South river, where the City Mills now stand. This had been proposed for some time, when in 1663 he, with three others, assumed the undertaking and shortly completed it.‡

He practised much in the courts, and was

\* Col. Rec.

† Essex Court Rec., Salem.

‡ Felt's Annals.

often consulted in the settlement of estates of deceased persons. At one time he held by mortgage deed a tract of land eight miles square on the Merrimac River, conveyed to him April 17, 1652, by an Indian chief. He died Nov. 23d, 1692, aged 92 years,\* and is probably buried in the old Charterstreet burying-ground, known anciently as Burying Point. The gravestone of his wife Elizabeth, who died Sept., 1682, is still standing there, but nothing else remains to indicate the place of his interment. By Elizabeth he had five daughters and five sons, the youngest of whom, Henry, administered his estate July 13th, 1694. By the inventory it appears that he died seized of one-quarter part of the mill and dwelling-house attached thereto.†

The name of Bartholomew is conspicuously preserved to us, solely, I believe, in connection with the beautiful pond bearing that name.

Nov. 29, 1653, to JUNE 29, 1658,

#### ELIAS STILEMAN.

On the 29th of Nov., 1653, the records show that, "The court hath chosen Elias Stileman clerick untill they shall take further order." He came hither with his father, Elias Stileman, sen'r, as early as 1629. The latter was admitted a freeman July 3d, 1632, and was one of the commissioners authorized in certain contingencies to administer the official oath to Governor Endicott.‡ He was an inkeeper Sept. 3, 1635; the next month he appears as constable; and he died before June 1639,§ though his inventory was not filed till Nov., 1663.

His son, the subject of this sketch, was admitted to the First Church in Salem in 1639, and was made a freeman May 18, 1642. May 10, 1643, he was appointed by the General

Court to serve on a committee to lay out a way to Woburn. In 1645 he was a member of the Artillery Company. In 1653 he represented, according to Felt, that he had kept a house of entertainment but desired to sell wine. In June, 1654, the court having probably confirmed his appointment, his predecessor, Bartholomew, is ordered by the court to give up all records to him. July 1, 1657, he propounded a query to the General Court from the County Court—whether the town of Ipswich was bound by a vote of a meeting of the inhabitants in 1655 to raise one hundred pounds for building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbett—resolved affirmatively. Oct. 19, 1658—he having resigned the office of clerk at Salem and removed to Portsmouth, was nominated by the inhabitants there as a commissioner or associate judge, and was confirmed by the General Court.\* Oct. 9, 1665—he was a selectman of Portsmouth, and as such, protested against the petition of certain persons for a separation of the colonial governments. May 23, 1666—He was a commissioner on fortifications at Portsmouth. May 15, 1667—He was a deputy from Portsmouth to the General Court—which office he held in 1671 and 1677, and again after the deposition of Andros—and was appointed on petition of the inhabitants of Dover and Portsmouth to act as a magistrate in the courts at those places. 1668—He was appointed by the colonial commissioners, Leverett and Tyng, to act as a magistrate for York, and was confirmed therein by the General Court in November of that year. May 19, 1669—He was appointed a commissioner "for Piscataqua" to search vessels suspected of exporting specie; an officer sometimes called "searcher of coin." And the same year was again invested with magisterial powers for the Portsmouth and Dover courts. In those courts and in York he sat as associate with general or special powers from the years 1670 to 1679 inclusive; and the last

\* Derby's Mss.

† Essex Probate Rec. Salem.

‡ Hubbard's "General History of N. E." Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d series, Vol. 5, p. 122.

§ Farmer and others have it that he died in 1663, but I find 25th 4 mo., 1639, an action in Essex Qu. Ct. of Geo. Ropes against Elias Stileman, senior, deceased.

\* Col. Rec. Essex Ct. Rec., Salem.

year he appears to have acted as clerk.\* May 15, 1672—He was appointed a commissioner to set bounds between Portsmouth and Hampton, and the next year he was commissioned Lieutenant of the Company "at the fort on the Great Island" at Piscataqua, and in February, 1675-6, he succeeded Capt. Richard Cutts in the command of the fort. August, 1676—he was appointed to collect evidence to substantiate allegations made in a letter of the company to the king concerning the claims of Mason and Gorges. He also served in 1677 on the same committee with Bartholomew, to regulate trade in Boston; and was appointed that year to receive the account of the stewards of the "new Brick Building at the College" and to collect contributions therefor. In 1680—King Charles II. having erected New Hampshire into a Royal Province the previous year, thus dividing the old County of Norfolk, of which I shall say more in another place—John Cutts was commissioned President and Mr. Stileman was made Secretary. The next year President Cutts died, Major Waldron succeeding to the Presidency, and Mr. Stileman was appointed his deputy, having been ousted from the secretaryship by the new commission, which named Richard Chamberlayne for that office. On Governor Cranfield's appointment in 1682, Stileman was commissioned as councillor, and in November of that year wrote a memorable letter to the governor, answering the arguments urged by Mason in support of his claim, which was followed the next January by his suspension from the council and removal from the command of the fort—ostensibly for the reason that he had suffered a vessel under seizure to leave the harbor, but in reality, without doubt, because he was found too honest to join the conspiracy fostered by that government against the rights of the people. The notorious Barefoot succeeded to the command of the fort; which contained eleven guns not above six-

pounders, and was erected by the inhabitants of Dover and Portsmouth at the beginning of the Dutch war in 1665, on an island at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and afterwards called *Newcastle*. In February, 1684, his pastor, the Rev. Joshua Moody, having refused to administer the sacrament to some of the public officers who were not in his communion, was indicted under the statutes against non-conformists and was sentenced to the prison; but by entreaty was allowed to remain at Stileman's house, with Mr. Vaughan, another prisoner, who has left an interesting journal covering that period. Here he was at first confined to his chamber but afterwards allowed the liberty of the yard. The next April Nathaniel Fox, who married his wife's daughter, demanded the bride's portion of Stileman in money, though the court had ordered another tender, which Stileman stood ready to give, and offered his house and contents as security therefor, notwithstanding which Mrs. Stileman, his wife, was arrested and imprisoned over one night and the next morning released by Mason, who was, probably, the instigator of all the outrages above described.\*

But Mason and his confederates were suddenly checked by the arrival of President Dudley's commission over all New England, published May 25, 1686, ten days after its arrival. This was succeeded by the arrival of Andros on the 20th of December following, who continued to govern till April 18, 1689, when he was arrested and sent home from Boston, and the New Hampshire Colony the next spring reunited with and merged into the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which was in 1691 erected into a Province by King William and Queen Mary. In the language of another, "The interval between the death of Charles II. in 1685 and the revolution in 1688, when

\* In 1681 he appears to have been Recorder of the court at Hampton. See Norfolk Co. Rec. at Reg. Deeds Salem.

\* For most of these facts see "The History of New Hampshire by Jeremy Belknap, A. M." Philadelphia: 1784—with an appendix of valuable documents, among the rest Vaughan's Journal, often referred to above.



Andros, Cranfield and Barefoot governed in that province, is a blank in the history of its laws and jurisprudence.\* But after the revocation Mr. Stileman reappears as a deputy to the General Court.†

While at Salem he practised in the courts for some extent.

In the year 1640 an officer was appointed for each court, called the Recorder, whose duty was to record deeds—which before that time had been recorded in the towns—or, as the act was generally understood, to record all wills, inventories, bargains, sales and deeds. To this office Samuel Symonds was appointed for the Ipswich Court and Emanuel Downing for the Salem Court.‡ But on the appointment of Stileman to the office of clerk, he seems to have assumed the duties of Recorder of deeds, &c.—and after him the two offices were held by the same person till the Province Charter.

Mr. Stileman was married to Ruth Maynard in 1667,§ who, as we have seen, was alive in 1684, but of his children, if he had any, I find no account. As early as 1671 he was a member of the first church in Portsmouth, which was then gathering under Rev Joshua Moodye,|| who died distinguished, at Boston. Stileman closed his long and eventful life in 1695.¶

JUNE 29, 1658, TO DEC. 20, 1683,

### HILLIARD VEREN.

When Mr. Stileman resigned his office the court called upon the clerk of the Ipswich Court, Mr. Robert Lord, to act *pro tempore* at Salem during the June term. At this term a petition was received, which, as it briefly sets forth the character of the next clerk, I give in full :

29th 4th, '58. To the Worshipfull Court now assembled at Salem.

we whose names are subscribed havinge considered that this Court is at present destitute of a Clarke by reason he that was last chosen there vnto is now remoued to the eastward are bold to present Hilliard Verin vnto yor worships consideration as one whom we conceiue meete for that place he beinge at present Clarke of the writts here and his calinge beinge such as doth occasion his abode at whom also he beinge one that for his integritie we can confide in and doubt not but if yor worships shall see meete to make tryall of him he will give good satisfaction.

JOHN GEDNEY,  
RICHARD PRINCE,  
JACOB BARNEY,  
THOMAS GARDNEE,  
RICH'D MORE,  
MOSES MAVERICKE,  
HENRY BARTHOLMEW.

Mr. Veren was accordingly appointed.

He was the son of Philip Veren of Salisbury in Wiltshire, England. The date of his baptism on the parish register is March 3, 1621-2; O. S.\* His father came to New England in 1635, was a constable in Salem, where he joined the church in September of the same year, and was afterwards punished for being a quaker.† Hilliard joined the First Church in Salem in 1648—of which he was afterward a deacon‡—and was probably admitted a freeman soon after, though no record of his admission remains. He was clerk of the writs some years. In October, 1663, he was appointed by the General Court a commissioner of customs and to enforce the observance of the Navigation Act in Salem, Marblehead and Gloucester.

\* Holmes, Vol. 1, 395, quoting Farmer and Moore.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3d series, Vol. 4, p. 292.

‡ Col. Rec. and his handwriting in Essex Reg. Deeds.

§ Farmer.

|| Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, Vol. 10, p. 43.

¶ Farmer.

\* Mr. Savage's Gleanings, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d series, Vol. 10, p. 138.

† This is generally said of the father, though I am not sure that his son Philip, Hilliard's older brother, was not the quaker.

‡ Jan. 9, 1680.

May 18, 1664—he was chosen ensign of the Salem foot company. 1665—a searcher, sealer and gauger.\* Oct. 15, 1679—he is ordered to collect 12d. per ton of all vessels of more than 12 tons burthen for support of the public fortifications; (this was called powder money). In this office he was succeeded by Benjamin Gerrish in 1684. Oct. 12, 1681—William Bowditch, collector of taxes, having died suddenly, intestate, Mr. Veren, Wm. Browne and Mr. Gedney, were appointed a committee to examine his books and collect arrears.

During the last twenty-five years of his life his official duties were numerous, important and laborious. Essex County had grown rapidly in population and trade. But notwithstanding the increase of court business and of commerce, Mr. Veren personally performed, thoroughly and neatly, all the duties of clerk of the writs, clerk of the courts, register of deeds, register of probate and collector of customs, besides what time he devoted to his private business as a merchant and what was absorbed by his relations to the church and the militia.

The first books of Probate Records for Salem are in his own hand writing. These begin in 1671; and there is a tradition that the earlier books were destroyed by fire, though it is more probable that they are now existing in some garret or antiquarian cabinet.†

\* Felt.

† It is possible that there were no earlier probate records for Salem than those mentioned above. The act of Sept. 9, 1639—passed probably on the recommendation of Lechford, (see his Plain Dealing)—made provision for recording judgments, wills, administrations, inventories, births, marriages, deaths and “men’s houses and lands.” To the office of Recorder Stephen Winthrop was appointed at Boston, for the whole Colony, it appears. Oct. 7, 1640, Mr. Emanuel Downing was appointed Recorder for Salem Court, under the act to prevent fraudulent conveyances, passed at that date. He was to “enter all bargains, sales, &c., of all lands, &c.,” “the rest to be entered by Mr. Stephen Winthrop of Boston.” By the act then he seems to have had no authority to record anything but deeds and assurances of land,

Mr. Veren married, April 12, 1641, Mary Conant, cousin of Roger Conant,\* the pioneer settler of Salem, and by her he had three daughters and one son, Illiard, jr., who died at sea between November, 1679, and June, 1680, aged something over thirty years.†

About 1650 he built the house known in later years as the “Henfield House,” which stood back of the old First Meeting House, and was taken down when the Eastern Railroad tunnel was constructed under Washington street, about 1838 or 9.‡ His last entry in the records bears date December 4, 1683. He died only sixteen days after and was buried in the Charter street burying-ground, where his grave stone still stands.

(To be continued.)

## FIRST VOYAGE TO JAPAN.

BY J. F. ALLEN.

The following account of the voyage of the ship Margaret, of Salem, to Japan, in the year 1801, is compiled from the private journal of the late GEORGE CLEVELAND, Esq., who sailed in the Margaret as captain’s clerk, and who for many years in the later period of his life, was known and respected of all men here, as the President of the Commercial Insurance Company.

Of the individuals named as part of the ship’s company, on leaving Salem, James Stewart the 1st officer, and Anthony D. Caulfield, did not go to Japan in the ship, but were detailed at Batavia to go to the Isle of France and charter a vessel and bring her to Batavia, to meet the Margaret on her return there, and assist in bringing home, the returns of the voyage to Japan.

### MR. CLEVELAND’S JOURNAL.

In the autumn of 1800, the ship Margaret, built by Mr. Becket, of this town, and owned by the late

and he may have so understood it, being a lawyer, though the act was elsewhere construed to authorize the several Recorders to register wills, &c., as well as deeds.

\* Vide will of Roger Conant, Essex Prob. Rec.

† Farmer says the son died about one month before father, but his will was proved June, 1680.

‡ See Salem Register of June 17, 1839.

Col. Benj. Pickman, John Derby, Esq., and Capt. Samuel Derby, who was to command her, was launched. On the 25th November we left Salem Harbor, bound to the East Indies, and probably a finer, a better fitted, or better manned ship, never left the port before. We carried 6 guns and 20 men; most of the crew were fine young men, in the bloom of youth. I will enumerate those who lived many years after, namely: S. G. Derby, captain Thomas West, 2d mate, L. Stetson, carpenter, Samuel Rea, Joseph Preston, Israel Phippen, Anthony D. Caulfield, P. Dwyer, ——— Thatcher, and myself. Wm. Messervy was shipped in Batavia, and returned to Salem in the ship. (Most of these names are familiar to the present generation as those of commanders of ships.) We soon found on leaving port what a fast sailing ship the Margaret was. When we were out eleven days we fell in with the barque Two Brothers, captain John Holman, who had left Salem some days before us, bound to Lerhorn. We made him ahead in the afternoon, steering the same course we were, and before night we were up alongside and spoke him. The next day, we fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, conveyed by a frigate. As we had to cross the track of these vessels, the frigate, which was under very short sail, kept all snug until she had got into our wake, when she set all sail in chase, but we distanced her so much that in a very short time she gave it up, took in her sails, and rejoined the fleet.

On the 4th February, 1801, we anchored in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope. We saluted the admiral's ship, which civility was returned. On the 10th February, we left, bound to Sumatra, and found it difficult to get to the westward, as winds and currents were against us, and, after a tedious passage, we anchored in Bencoolen Roads, on the 10th of April, 1801, after being 136 days from Salem, including our stoppage at the Cape. As nothing could be done to advantage here, we proceeded to Batavia, and arrived there on the 25th of April.

Captain Derby soon made a bargain with the agents of the East India Company, to take the annual freights to and from Japan, and as it was the custom from time immemorial that the Japan ship should sail on a certain day, and as that day was some time ahead, it was necessary to find some employment for the vessel previously, as it was dangerous to the health of crews to be lying any time in Batavia roads. The Company offered captain Derby a freight of Coffee from a port a short distance to the eastward, which he readily accepted. This wore away twelve or fourteen days of the time, and added to the profits

of the voyage. I remained at Batavia during the absence of the ship. The cargo for Japan, consisted of a great variety of articles, such as the Dutch had been in the habit of shipping for nearly two centuries. It was composed of sugar, spices, sapan wood, sandal wood, rattans, glass and glass ware, cloths, medicines and various other articles; and as every thing was to be done according to a prescribed rule, and we were not to sail until a certain day in June, we had time enough to do all things right as regards receiving and stowing the cargo. We weighed anchor at 8 A.M., on the 20th June, 1801. We had as a passenger, a young Dutchman, who was going out as clerk to the establishment in Japan. On the morning of July 16th, made the Islands of Casique and St. Clara, which are near the harbour of Nangasacca, our destined port. On the 18th, two fishing boats came along side and supplied us with fish. On Sunday, 19th, we were so near, that we hoisted twenty different colors, and in the afternoon, entered the harbor of Nangasacca. We had much ceremony to go through, in entering this port, which is considered indispensable; among other things to fire several salutes.

The day after our arrival, I landed on the Island of Decima, a little island connected with the city of Nangasacca, by a bridge; it is walled all round, and here the Dutch residents are obliged to pass their lives. Provisions are very dear, as every thing had to pass through the hands of a comprador and he no doubt put upon them a large profit. We had excellent sweet potatoes and mackerel, and sometimes pork and fowls, and the bread was as good as any country could produce. Capt. Derby, Mr. West and myself, carried several articles of merchandize, on our own account. This has always been allowed to the Dutch Captains, but then the sale of these articles must be made by the Japanese Government. All these articles were landed on the island, opened and displayed in a ware house, and on certain days the merchants were allowed to go on the Island to examine them. Nothing could exceed the minuteness with which they examined every thing. Among other articles we had a quantity of tumblers and wine glasses; these they measured with the greatest care, running their fingers over every part to determine what irregularities there were on the surface, and then holding each piece up to the light to see the color. They also made drawings of the different description of pieces. After this investigation, they marked on their memorandums the number of the lot and the result of their investigations. Every thing we had to sell went through a similar



ordeal, so that to us, who were lookers on and owners of the property, nothing could be more tedious. After the goods had been sufficiently examined, a day was appointed for a sale, in the city of Nangasacka, and was conducted with the greatest fairness. Capt. D. and myself went into the city, attended by the requisite number of officers, and proceeded to what the Dutch call the Geltechamber, where we found one or more upper Banyoses seated in their usual state, and a general attendance of merchants. We were placed where we could see all that was going on, and receive such explanations, as were requisite to a thorough understanding of the whole business. The goods being all disposed of, we were escorted back to the island, with much formality, not however, until a day had been appointed by the great men for the delivery of the goods. Delivering those adventures was a great affair, and it was a number of days before the whole were taken away. No person in this country, (who has not traded with people who have so little intercourse with the world,) can have an idea of the trouble we had in delivering this little invoice, which would not have been an hour's work in Salem. We finally, after a great trial of our patience, finished delivering goods, and articles that did not come up to the pattern, were taken at diminished prices.

On the 20th September, 1801, we went into the city of Nangasacka. The first place we went to was Faecquia's, an eminent stuff merchant. Here we were received with great politeness and entertained in such a manner as we little expected. We had set before us, for a repast, pork, fowls, meso, eggs, boiled fish, sweetmeats, cake, various kinds of fruit and sacky and tea. The lady of the house was introduced, who drank tea with each of us, as is the custom of Japan. She appeared to be a modest woman. The place we next visited was a temple, to which we ascended from the street by at least two hundred stone steps. We saw nothing very remarkable in this building, excepting its size, which was very large, though in fact we were only admitted into an outer apartment, as there appeared to be religious ceremonies going on within. Adjoining this was the burying ground. In this ground was the tomb of one of their Governors, which was made of stone and very beautifully wrought. We next visited another temple, also on the side of a hill and built of stone. The inside presented a great degree of neatness. It consisted of a great many apartments, in some of which were images; in one, over a kind of altar, was a lamp, which was continually burning. In another were several long pieces of boards, painted

black, with an inscription to the memory of some deceased Emperor or Governor; before each of these was a cup of tea, which they informed us was renewed every day. There were other apartments, which the priests probably occupied, as there were many of them passing in and out. These are dressed like the other Japanese, excepting that their outside garments were all black, their heads all shaved over. From this we went to the glass house, which was on a small scale; thence to a lac ware merchant's, where we were entertained with great hospitality. Thence we went to a Tea House or Hotel, where we dined. After dinner we were entertained with various feats of dancing and tumbling. Towards dark we returned to the island, and so much was the crowd in the streets to see us pass that it was with difficulty that we could get along. The number of children we saw was truly astonishing. The streets of the city are narrow and inconvenient to walk in, as they are covered with loose stones, as large as paving stones. At short distances you have to go up or down flights of stone steps. At the end of every street is a gate, which is locked at night. They have no kind of carriages, as it would be impossible to use them in such streets. The houses are of two stories, built of wood; the exterior appearance is mean, but within they are very clean and neat. The floors are covered with mats, and it is considered a piece of ill manners to tread on them without first taking off the shoes. The Japanese dress much alike. That of the men consists first of a loose gown, which comes down as low as the ankles; over this is worn a kind of petticoat, which comes as low as the other; these are made of silk or cotton. The petticoat does not go higher than the hips. Over the shoulders they wear a shawl, generally of black crape, and around the waist a band of silk or cotton; through this band the officers of the government put their swords, and they are the only persons allowed to carry these instruments. The middle part of the head is all shaved, the remaining hair, which is left on each side and behind, is then combed together and made very stiff with gum mixed with oil, and then turned up on top of the head in a little club, about as large as a man's thumb. This is the universal fashion with rich and poor, excepting the priests. The poorer classes do not wear the silk petticoat, and the coolies and other laborers, at the time we were there, threw all their clothing off (excepting a cloth around their middle) when at work. The dress of the women is the long gown, with large sleeves, and is very like that of the men. They suffer the hair to grow long, which is made stiff with

gum and oil and then is turned up on top of the head, where it is secured with various turtle-shell ornaments.

The Japanese observed one fast when we were there. It was in remembrance of the dead. The ceremonies were principally in the night. The first of which was devoted to feasting, at which they fancy their friends to be present; the second and third nights the graves, which are lighted with paper lamps and situated as they are on the side of a hill, make a most brilliant appearance. On the fourth night, at 3 o'clock, the lamps are all brought down to the water and put into small straw barques, with paper sails, made for the occasion, and after putting in rice, fruit, &c., they are set afloat. This exhibition was very fine. They on the death of their parents abstain from flesh and fish forty-nine days, and on the anniversary they keep the same fast, but do not do it for any other relations.

As the time was approaching for our departure we began to receive our returns from the interior, brought many hundred miles. These consisted of the most beautiful lacquered ware, such as waiters, writing desks, tea caddies, knife boxes, tables, &c., &c. These were packed in boxes so neat, that in any other country they would be considered cabinet work. We also received a great variety of silks, fans in large quantities, a great variety of porcelain, and house brooms of superior quality. The East India Company's cargo had been loading some time previous. The principal article was copper in small bars; other things were camphor, soy, sacky, porcelain, etc., etc. The company's ships have been obliged to take their departure from the anchorage opposite Nangasacka on a certain day to the lower roads, no matter whether it blew high or low, fair or foul, even if a gale, and a thousand boats should be required to tow them down. We of course had to do as our predecessors had done. Early in November we went to this anchorage and remained a few days, when we sailed for Batavia, where we arrived safely after a passage of one month.

## PAPER ON A SPARED RECORD OF THE SALEM CUSTOM HOUSE.

Read at a Meeting of the Institute, Thursday, April  
26, 1860.

BY DAVID ROBERTS.

The fifteen years, prior to the American Rev-

olution are intensely interesting to the student of American History. From 1760 to 1775, more historical events of importance occurred, than during any other like period of our history. The most stirring scenes, preceding and precipitating the Revolution, were crowded into this brief space of time. On both sides of the Atlantic men of mark appeared. Of the Tories, in England, were North, Dartmouth, Grenville, Hillsborough, &c.; while Bernard, Hutchinson, the Olivers, Gage, Bernard, &c., were prominent in the same school of politics here. Of the Whigs in the old country, Chatham, Camden, Burke and Col. Barre were conspicuous; while here occur James Otis, O. Thatcher, the Adamses, Hancock, Warren, Bowdoin, Cushing and others, seemed alike honored and trusted, as tribunes of the people, among the Colonial patriots.

During this period, and just following the French war, (which in 1759 terminated French dominion in America) the effort to enforce the acts of trade, and thus raise a revenue to pay Colonial expenses consequent on this war, seemed to be the cardinal policy of the British Ministry. Hence the non-importation agreement of the N. E. merchants; the passage of the Stamp Act and its repeal, with the unwise and impolitic reservation of the right to tax the Colonies without representation; Writs of Assistance for Revenue Officers or substitutes therefor; the ruin of Hutchinson's, the Oliver's and others' property; the resignation of Oliver as Stamp Distributor; the presence in September, 1765, of Col. Dalrymple's two regiments; the destruction of the Tea in Boston Harbor; the Boston Town Meeting and its doings; the Boston Port Bill; Leslie's Retreat and the Assembly at Salem; the affair of Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775; of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775; and finally the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776; so many and such grave events, resulting from British policy, and all crowded into this particular period, that we may be justly grateful for anything brought to light, which may, by possibility, tend to illustrate it.

These general topics may be fully discussed



in Hildreth, Hutchinson, Baneroft, Barry and other writers; but John Adams has emphatically declared, that the true origin and exact history of the American Revolution must measurably be a myth because of the loss of—

1—The Papers of James Otis.

2—The Record Books of the Revenue Officers and Court Records.

The first never can be recovered, because in one of his moody states of mind, James Otis deliberately burned all his papers.

If the Revenue Books shall ever be recovered, it must be by some accident or luck, as in the present case. That they were carried away to England, or Halifax, or burned, or otherwise destroyed may be true; yet our rescued volume enables us to ascertain what other Salem Custom House volumes then existed, and to indulge the hope, at least, that more of them may yet be recovered.

By a fly-leaf memorandum, it appears, that this "Book of Records for the Custom House in Salem was commenced Sept. 28th, 1763;" not only after the legality of Writs of Assistance was discussed by Gridley and Otis, but after the Superior Court had decided that suit of the Salem merchants on one side and Cockle, the Salem Custom House Collector, on the other side.

In this book there is found "a list of appurtenances belonging to the Custom House," and among other things is "one seaman's chest for keeping papers."

Among the books belonging to the Salem Custom House were—

- 8 nos. for Foreign Entries outward from 1713 to Dec. 5, 1766
- 7 " Foreign Entries inwards f'm Oct. 27, 1712, to Dec. 27, 1766
- 3 " Coasting Entries outw'ds f'm Oct. 11, 1723, to Jy 9, 1763
- 3 " " inwards f'm Nov. 27, 1727, to May 22, 1766
- 6 " New Duties account f'm June 24, 1737, to April 5, 1765
- 6 " Enumerated Du's " f'm Aug. 25 1736, to April 5, 1765
- 5 " Records of Registers f'm May 29, 1724, to Jan'y 5, 1763
- 3 " Hospital accounts from Aug. 14, 1730, to Jan'y 10, 1760
- 5 " Acts of Parliament, &c., from 1660 to 1770
- 1 " Books of Reports from Oct. 20, 1763 to
- 1 " Entries for vessels outward bound from M'ch 20, 1733, to
- 1 " Copies of Letters }  
Orders and Commis'sns } from Jan'y 15, 1729, to

Beside this tabular statement of revenue books, there is to be also found, in the present

volume, the names of the Lords Commissioners of Revenue, at the Custom House in London; their correspondence with and commissions to revenue officers here; their instructions to the Surveyor General of the customs at Boston, and to Naval Officers in the station ships of the Crown on the Colonial coast; the names of the Board of Customs' Commissioners, who, in 1767, were to reside in the Colony; their commissions, correspondence, instructions, and general management of the revenue to and with the Collector, Comptroller, Surveyor and Searcher and other under revenue officers; the suspension of James Cockle, the Salem Collector, for taking a bribe; his official neglect and insult to John Temple, the Surveyor General; Cockle's restoration to office and the renewal of his commission by the Lords Commissioners residing in London; the proceedings in Admiralty against 59 pipes of wine of the *Schr. Pembroke*, (Capt. Silsbee) belonging to George Crowninshield; its condemnation and sale upon and after seizure; letters of Samuel Fitch, Jonathan Sewell, and other counsel of the Crown; promised rewards to base informers and paid rewards to useful informers; accounts of Customs' Officers and how settled, by the Crown Commissioners; the offices and names of Crown officers, how paid, and when subsidized by gratuities; for what rebuked, suspended, or dismissed; what relation they held toward the Governor, Council and other high officers of the Crown; how they demeaned themselves toward the Colonists in general and the merchants in particular; the whole presenting a picture in itself so graphic, as will not permit any one to be surprised at the Colonists tipping the tea overboard in Boston harbor; the merchants' non-importation agreement, and the various towns, by pledges and protests, backing the Boston and Salem merchants; the high-toned conduct and speech of Samuel Adams toward Lt. Gov. Hutchinson and Col. Dalrymple; the organization of Committees of Correspondence and Safety; the demolition of Crown officers' dwellings at Boston; the collision of the Colonists with the military, March



5, 1770; the general resistance to Writs of Assistance, Revenue Laws and Stamp Acts; the affairs at North Bridge in Salem, at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill; and finally the tone and temper of the Declaration of Independence made on July 4, 1776; in which the great men, who prepared that famous document, but echoed the popular sentiment and feeling of the Colonists of that day when they penned those words of fire against the King of Great Britain, who (as it was said) "had sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance."

Now, it is curious, but none the less interesting, that a Custom House, after the lapse of eighty years or more, should give to American history a new phase, if not be the means and instrument of contributing to it a new chapter. The testimony of living cotemporary witnesses has failed to supply this want of Crown Books of Records; which were (as the tradition runs) transferred generally from here to Halifax or London; in some cases never to be returned.

It is true the Probate Office Records, after the peace of 1783, were returned to Boston from Halifax by Foster Hutchinson; but the Records of the Court of Admiralty never.

John Adams writes, January 14, 1818, to Mr. Niles, "that the true history of the American Revolution could not be recovered;" and gives as his reason for this hazarded opinion, that all the papers of James Otis were burned by his own act, and so, the history of writs of Assistance, their use and abuse, could never be fully known.

The arguments of Gridley for and Otis against them and their validity are substantially recalled by Adams, Tudor and Minot; but the ultimate decision and disposition of this vexed question does not plainly appear, either from the judicial records of the court or the histories of cotemporaries covering this period. Any means, therefore, tending to supply this defect, may historically atone, in a degree, for the papers which Otis destroyed.

Three questions, two of law and one of fact

or history, may serve to cover the whole ground:

1—What were Writs of Assistance? and were they, when issued under the seal of the Exchequer Court in England, valid as legal instruments there?

2—If so, were they valid legal instruments in the Colonies and could they be used here, to secure to the King his revenue, to be raised under the Acts of Trade, or in enforcing the Navigation Laws?

3—Were they ever so used here, and how, when and in what form, and by whom were they issued?

It may be, that Writs of Assistance were used in England; but *only under the seal of the Exchequer*. There, they were issued to enable customs officers to enter ships and buildings, and search for and seize smuggled and dutiable goods. These instruments were limited, and not general warrants; granted upon the oath of some applicant, by the Exchequer Court only; and returnable to that court.

The Court of Exchequer in England is an ancient court of record, (inferior to the Court of King's Bench and Court of Common Pleas,) and was instituted in the time of William the Conqueror; it was borrowed from the Exchequer of Normandy; and, in its jurisdiction, originally heard and determined all matters, touching revenue and the rights of the Crown.

In the time of Edward 1st, this court was organized upon its present basis, to regulate and order the revenues of the Crown and recover the King's debts and duties. It was held in the King's palace; and its doings were not re-examinable by the other Courts of the King. There were two divisions or branches of it—

1—A Receipt of Exchequer—managing the Royal Revenue.

2—A Court of Exchequer—which was again subdivided into—

a—Court of Equity.

b—Court of Law.

But, its equity powers were transferred to Chancery Courts by 5 Victoria ch. 5, and now

the Barons of the Exchequer and other judges sit and act in *Banco* together, as is believed.

So much for the origin and jurisdiction of this Court; as it existed in the time of Charles 2d; when was enacted ch. 11th of the 13 and 14 Charles 2d, which (if any act ever did) authorized *Writs of Assistance*. These were issued out of the Exchequer, to enable officers to enter ships, houses, warehouses and other places, to search for smuggled or prohibited goods; and issued on oath, that there is strong presumption to believe goods of those kinds are harbored; but, if they are to be executed in the night, the officers must be accompanied by a peace officer. This description of writs of assistance will be useful, when I come to compare the commissions issued respectively by the commissioners of customs from London before 1767 or Boston after 1767; whether such commissions be dated at the Custom House, Boston; Castle William, Boston Harbor; Frigate Lively, near Castle William; or were sworn to at the Custom House, Salem.

The names of the London Board of Commissioners were, Edward Hooper, W. Levinz, H. Pelham, B. Hotham—who signed the commission of Joseph Dowse (a renewal) as Searcher, Surveyor and Land Waiter, 22d May, 1761—and S. Tash, H. Levinz, J. Frederick and S. Mead—who signed a renewed commission to James Cockle as Collector, July 24th, 1762—also W. Musgrave, J. Pennington, H. Banks, Wm. Morris, H. Glenville, J. Jeffreys were commissioners at London and corresponded last with the Salem Collector on September 18, 1767. Wm. Mellish was Receiver General, J. Piggott was his clerk. Henry Hulton was, in London, clerk or register of the board; and when a Board of Commissioners was appointed to reside in the Colony, Hulton was a member here, and with John Temple, Wm. Burch and Charles Paxton, on 19th November, 1767, signed the circular announcing their appointment by letters patent of his Majesty, bearing date 8th September, 1767. Beside these four, John Robinson and B. Hallowell, jr., were also

Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs in America at Boston.

Richard Reeve was Register of Seizures,  
James Porter, Comptroller General,  
John Temple, Surveyor General,  
Wm. Wootton, Inspector General, Sam'l Mather Sec.,  
Charles Stewart, Rec. Gen. and Cashier of the Customs at Boston,  
Thomas Irving, Inspector of Exports and Imports.  
The officers at Salem, as we learn from this volume:

James Cockle, Collector;  
Joseph Dowse, Surveyor, &c.,  
John Mascarene, Comptroller,  
Rich'd Roath and Charles Shimmis, D'y Collectors,  
John Nutting, Comptroller,  
John Fisher, Collector.

The earliest date, to be found in this volume, is that of Surveyor Dowse's commission, May 22, 1761; Otis having argued the great question in February, 1761, at Boston, that commission has in it after the word "vessel" this clause "whereby the Surveyor hath power to enter into any ship, bottom, boat, or other vessel, as also into any shop, house, warehouse, hostelry, or other place whatsoever, to make diligent search into any trunk, chest, pack, case, truss, or any other parcel or package whatsoever, for any goods, wares, or merchandise prohibited to be imported or exported, or whereof the customs or other duties have not been duly paid, and the same to seize to his Majesty's use, &c.," officers and ministers to aid and assist, &c.

James Cockle's commission as Collector is of like tenor and dated July 24, 1762—renewal.

Both sworn before Francis Bernard.

Sept. 28, 1764—J. Cockle was suspended by J. Temple, Surveyor General, and Wm. Brown substituted.

Cockle was restored as before stated.

The book contains also copies of the following commissions, with their dates:

J. Mascarene, Comptroller, Aug. 15, 1764—sworn Oct. 23d, cor F. Bernard,  
J. Nutting, his Deputy, Dec. 18, 1764—sworn Dec. 19, '64, cor Benj. Lynde and Nath'l Ropes, of the Council.  
John Fisher, Coll'r, Jan'y 10, 1765—sworn April 24, '65, cor F. Bernard.



Sampson Toovey, Oct. 7, 1766—waiter and preventive officer, cor J. Temple.

Philip Thrasher, Nov. 19, 1766—do., cor J. Fisher. And on p 55 his instructions are copied in full.

Rob't Wood, Oct. 1st, 1767—waiter, cor J. Temple.

On page 58 the general instructions to tide waiters are recorded.

Also in 1768 were appointed as tide waiters,

John Masury,	John Tulford,
John Wormstead,	Nath'l Homan,
Jona. Millett.	

All of whom had like commissions with Surveyor Dowse.

Then 30th March, 1768, comes to Rowland Savage from Paxton, Burch, Temple, Hulton and John Robinson, as C. Commissioners, the *amended form* of a commission, by inserting after *vessel* the words "By virtue whereof he hath power to enter into any ship, bottom, boat, or other vessel, and also in the daytime with a Writ of Assistance, granted by his Majesty's Superior or Supreme Court of Justice, and taking with him a constable, headborough, or public officer next inhabiting, to enter into any house, shop, cellar, warehouse, or other place whatsoever, not only within the said port but within any other port or place within our jurisdiction, there to make diligent search, and in case of resistance to break open any door, trunk, chest, case, pack, truss, or any other parcel or package whatsoever, for any goods, wares, or merchandize prohibited to be exported out of or imported into the said port, or whereof the customs or other duties have not been duly paid, and the same to seize to his Majesty's use and to put and secure into the warehouse in the port next to the place of seizure, &c." And so thereafter the commissioners at Boston, from the Custom House, continued to commission land waiters, weighers, gaugers, officers to seize, tide waiters, boatmen, tidesmen, tide surveyors, assistant weighers and gaugers, collectors even, (as J. Nutting p. 72) extra tidesmen, riding officers of the customs, extra boatmen, &c., until the 1st of April, 1775—all of which commissions contained the *modern* clause, as first inserted

by them in (*vide* p. 109) Rowland Savage's commission, March 30, 1768; probably manufactured in London expressly for the market here.

The only exceptions in the record are when the Surveyor, Jos. Dowse, deputed Jona. Dowse to act for him, August 12, 1772, and the Comptroller (John Mascarene) deputed Charles Shimmin (late of the Isle of Man in Great Britain) to act for him, April 6th, 1773; when the power clause was much the same as in the commissions issued at London to Dowse and Cockle. But on the 15th June, 1774, Paxton, Burch and Hallowell (the commissioners in Boston) issued a new commission to Jona. Dowse as *extra* surveyor, &c., with the more modern modifying clause inserted, to wit, "and also in the daytime, with writ of assistance, constable, &c., and in case of resistance to break open," &c. So; that of Charles Shimmin, as deputy collector, was in fact the only exception.

This inserted clause, in the commissions of revenue officers, is significant. It had a meaning; as originally used in 1760, the writs themselves were not in form legal—were more general than even, (if issued in England by a Baron of the Exchequer,) the st. of 14 and 15 Charles 2d ch. 11 would authorize or uphold.

Under Gov. Shirley, collectors and inferior officers of the customs, by the mere authority of their commissions, entered by force houses, &c., to search for contraband or smuggled goods, upon information from others of the places where such goods were concealed.

This caused disquiet; such a course being deemed illegal, and subjecting officers to liability to suits for damages. Gov. Hutchinson himself pronounced these warrants of Shirley invalid and of course no protection to the revenue officers; Shirley recalled them and directed the officers to apply to the Superior Court for writs; and instruments, in the nature of writs of assistance from the Court of Exchequer of England, were issued, but not of the precise form.

All resident Crown officers were virtually



revenue officers, and of course as such must be protected. For this purpose the issued commissions were insufficient; Shirley's warrants were inadequate; and to enter, break open, search and seize was imperative upon the revenue officer, else his Majesty's revenue is lost. The Navigation Act of George Downing must be enforced, as well as what were designated and well known as the Acts of trade, else the Colonial revenue would fail to pay the salaries, French war debt and other Colonial expenses.

The brain of every Crown officer was taxed to its utmost to devise ways and means. The whole official force (military, naval, civil and legal) was put in requisition; and the Custom House minions performed their assigned parts. James Cockle, the Salem Collector, was put forward to petition for a Writ of Assistance, and did so at the Superior Court in November, 1760, and the hearing was had in Boston in February, 1761; and what Otis said is well known, but what the court did is not so certainly known.

Now my first inquiry, What were Writs of Assistance? is, I think, sufficiently answered; and the second branch of it may be deemed conceded; that is, these writs, under the seal of and returnable to the Court of Exchequer, may be issued in England to search for and seize smuggled goods when the officer, suspecting a place of concealment, makes application therefor on oath.

My second inquiry encounters the whole force of the objections urged by the Colonial Patriots, through Otis and Thatcher; also the intimation of John Adams that they were never used except *clandestinely*; the virtual abandonment of their validity by Gridley, the Crown Counsel in their behalf; the only known adjudication of the court adverse to them, to wit, the deferring to give final judgment till news could be had from England; because, as Hutchinson himself says, that "if judgment had been then given it is uncertain on which side it would have been;" the significant conduct of the Board of Customs Commissioners in issuing new forms of commissions to *all* customs offi-

cers, even tidesmen and boatmen; all these facts imply doubts at least of the legality of such writs, if not concessions on the part of the crown of their illegality.

But the conclusive commentary is to be found in our recovered volume. There, in this volume, are to be found the new and the old commissions; the correspondence of the London and the Boston commissioners; the ignoring the old forms and adopting the new; the terms, character, force and effect of the additions to the new and alterations from the old commissions; the cautionary directions and injunctions how to get, and when gotten, how to use these writs; how to apply and through whom and to whom to make the application for them; the inserted provision that when used they may only be used in the daytime, with a constable, or headborough, or other public officer; not to *break open* except "in case of resistance;" with all the cautious requisitions, circumspect limitations and guarded injunctions and inhibitions which a wily and well-trained legal mind could suggest.

And commissions in this new form were issued to some *sixty* superior and inferior customs officers in Salem, including three naval officers of his Majesty's Station Ship Lively.

Names of those to whom commissions were issued by the Board of Customs Commissioners for the Northern District of the American Colonies, and the dates of such commissions:

1768, March 14—John Masury.

16—John Tulford.

17—John Wormstead.

21—Nath'l Homan.

29—Jona. Millett.

30—Rowland Savage.

April 19—Andrew F. Phillips.

May 2—John Butler.

June 13—Thomas Rowe.

Aug. 4—Nath'l Digadon.

" 5—Joseph Howard.

Sept. 26—Woodward Abraham.

" —John Nutting, Weigher.

Oct. 7—Same, Collector.

Dec. 12—Thos. Rowe.

1769, March 9—Abraham Norwood, (refused).

- 17—Nath'l Parsons.  
 Ap. 9—Rob't Wood.  
 " 17—Alex'r Cummings.  
 May 2—John Fletcher.  
 Aug. 23—Rich'd Routh, D y Col. to J. Fisher.  
 1771, Jan'y 4—Rich'd Sylvester.  
 29—Francis Norwood.  
 Feb. 4—Rob't Jamieson.  
 Dec. 16—Simeon Omsted.  
 1772, July 13—Eben'r Norwood.  
 Dec. 8—Gustavus Norwood.  
 " —Simeon Omsted.  
 1773, March 16—Wm. Ward.  
 19—Andrew Brown.  
 Aug. 2—James Dillon.  
 " —Jonz. Millett.  
 " 9—Wm. Luscomb, 3d.  
 —Jos. Proctor.  
 —Eleazer Giles.  
 —John Ryan.  
 1774, J<sup>no</sup> 15—Jonathan Dowse, D'y Surveyor.  
 " 21—Rich'd Shelton.  
 —Joseph Pitman.  
 —John Lewis.  
 June 24—James Welch.  
 —Hugh Mulcahy.  
 July 9—Eli Vickery.  
 24—Wm. Fennely.  
 —Sam'l Norwood.  
 Aug. 29—Andrew Reed.  
 30—John Wormstead.  
 " —Isaac Mills.  
 : Sept. 5—Sam'l Wellman.  
 Oct. 1—Andrew Wiseacre.  
 " 11—James Masury.  
 " —Thomas Felton.  
 " —John Bassett.  
 Nov. 7—Ed'wd Mulhall.  
 28—Sam'l Butler.  
 Dec. 6—Joseph Steel.  
 " 29—Wm. Lechmere, Lieut.  
 " —Rob't Barton, Mid.  
 " —Wm. Langman, Gunner.

All of Frigate Lively and were  
 sworn at the Salem Custom House Jan'y 6th, 1775.

- 1775, Jan'y 11—George Lilley.  
 March 9—Nicholas Pickett.  
 " 23—Peerd Fabins.  
 27—Michael Field.  
 30—James Richards.  
 April 1—John Vickery.

I insert here a part of the Act of ch. 40,  
 George III.

And whereas by an Act of Par- <sup>Clauses in Act</sup>  
 liament made in the Fourteenth <sup>14 Car. II.</sup>  
 Year of the Reign of King Charles  
 the Second, intituled, An Act for  
 preventing Frauds, and regulat-  
 ing Abuses, in His Majesty's Cus-  
 toms, and several other Acts now  
 in Force, it is lawful for any Offi-  
 cer of his Majesty's Customs, au-  
 thorized by Writ of Assistants  
 under the Seal of his Majesty's  
 Court of Exchequer, to take a  
 Constable, Headborough, or other  
 Public Officer inhabiting near un-  
 to the Place, and in the Day-time  
 to enter and go into any House,  
 Shop, Cellar, Warehouse, or Room  
 or other Place, and, in case of  
 Resistance, to break open Doors,  
 Chests, Trunks, and other Pack-  
 age there, to seize, and from thence  
 to bring, any Kind of Goods or  
 Merchandize whatsoever prohib-  
 ited or uncustomed, and to put  
 and secure the same in His Majes-  
 ty's Store-house next to the Place  
 where such Seizure shall be made:  
 And whereas by an Act made in <sup>Act 7 & 8</sup>  
 the Seventh and Eighth Years of <sup>Will III.</sup>  
 the Reign of King William the  
 Third, intituled, An Act for pre-  
 venting Frauds, and regulating  
 Abuses, in the Plantation Trade,  
 it is, amongst other Things, enact-  
 ed, that the Officers for collecting  
 and managing His Majesty's Re-  
 venue, and inspecting the Planta-  
 tion Trade, in America, shall have  
 the same Powers and Authorities  
 to enter Houses or Warehouses,  
 to search for and seize Goods pro-  
 hibited to be imported or exported  
 into or out of any of the said  
 Plantations, or for which any Du-  
 ties are payable, or ought to have  
 been paid; and that the like As-  
 sistance shall be given to the said  
 Officers in the Execution of their  
 Office, as, by the said recited Act  
 of the Fourteenth Year of King  
 Charles the Second, is provided  
 for the Officers in England: But,  
 no Authority being expressly given  
 by the said Act, made in the Sev-  
 enth and Eighth Years of the

Writs of Assistants, pursuant to the recited Acts, to be granted by the Supreme Court of Justice having jurisdiction in the Colony.

Reign of King William the Third, to any particular Court to grant such Writs of Assistants for the Officers of the Customs in the said Plantations, it is doubted whether such Officers can legally enter Houses and other Places on Land, to search for and seize Goods, in the Manner directed by the said recited Acts: To obviate which Doubts for the future, and in order to carry the Intention of the said recited Acts into effectual Execution, be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the said Twentieth Day of November, One thousand seven hundred and sixty seven, such Writs of Assistants, to authorize and empower the Officers of His Majesty's Customs to enter and go into any House, Warehouse, Shop, Cellar, or other Place, in the British Colonies or Plantations in America, to search for and seize prohibited or uncustomed Goods, in the Manner directed by the said recited Acts, shall and may be granted by the said Superior or Supreme Court of Justice having Jurisdiction within such Colony or Plantation respectively.

Now why was this enactment, unless the Crown Counsel had abandoned the ground heretofore (in 1761,) taken, that the course pursued had been legal?

John Adams says, that if these writs were ever used it was only *clandestinely*.

Hutchinson says, in his third volume of history, they were not in the *exact form* of writs from the Exchequer.

And in a general letter to the Salem Collector, &c., signed by Charles Paxton, Henry Hulton, Wm. Burch, John Robinson and John Temple, January 11, 1768, this paragraph occurs:

p. 216—"You are to mention if you have received the Act of 7th of his present Majesty ch. 46, the directions of which you are strictly to observe, and particularly, if you are not already furnished with Writs of Assistance,

you are to apply by letter for such writs, to the Justice or Justices of the Superior or Supreme Court of your Province or Colony, '*who are, by said Act, empowered to grant the same.*'"

p. 279—The same write thus—"Gent,—Writs of Assistance having been issued by the Superior Court of this Province for the Officers of your Port, we direct you forthwith to apply for them to the Clerk of that Court, so that you may be furnished with the same, to be used as occasion may require,"

Your Loving Friends, J. ROBINSON,  
H. HUTTON,  
J. TEMPLE,  
W. BURCH,  
C. PAXTON."

April 20, 1769.

p. 345—Another general letter—important—from commissioners, October 11th, 1771:

"You are also to acquaint us whether you have been furnished with Writs of Assistance by the Superior Court of your Province, agreeable to the form transmitted by our Solicitor, and if you have not, you are to assign the reasons why you have not been able to obtain them."

What is the deduction from these suggestions and extracts? Obviously this, that the Crown lawyers had hitherto been at fault, and had just recovered from the shaking which James Otis gave them six years before, in arguing the Salem Collector's petition. They had since then searched and weighed the authorities, found them adverse, rubbed open their eyes and brushed up their legal lore, and concluded to make an entire new movement. So in the 7th of George III. they got Parliament to pass ch. 46; the Crown Solicitor to prepare a new form; the Commissioners to issue new instructions and commissions to sixty officers in Salem; and gave up applying through the Surveyor General for writs; directed application to be made to a Justice or Clerk of the Superior Court, who are, by the Act of 7th George III, empowered to grant such writs, as, I submit, for the first time.



Now if this court had authority before 1767, why give it to them again? Why issue new commissions to a swarm of sixty officers in Salem, unless it were to "harass our people and eat out their substance?" Why ignore all the old forms, if, as pretended and contended in February, 1761, they were legal and valid? Why were the commissioners so very cautious to have the revenue officers attended by "a constable, headborough, or other public officer next inhabiting?" Why not let them go by night as well as day? Why so circumspect as to instruct them only to enter and break open "in case of resistance?" Why commission so many extra officers and call naval officers from the quarter-deck of the frigate *Lively* to be sworn in as revenue officers at the Salem Custom House?

The truth is, the Crown officers had become alarmed and wanted to make a show of force. They doubted their legal position and distrusted themselves, but wanted, like the British Ministry, to die game. Therefore it was that they kept up the semblance of authority and claimed to be right.

But these odious instruments of authority were never openly used in the Colony, and no revenue officer, from Gov. Bernard down to Nath'l Digadon, the extra tidesman, ever dared to use them.

This volume demonstrates, that these writs were deemed illegal in 1761. Hutchinson says they were never issued in the exact form of Writs of Assistance; the old form of commission is conceded to be inadequate to authorize "entering and breaking open," by its being abandoned; the new form indicates that the Crown lawyers deemed the old one illegal; and the Commissioners of Customs at Boston say that the Superior Court is empowered to grant them writs by the Act of 1767—instruct the officers to whom to apply and get them, and if they fail, direct and demand to know of the failure and the reasons.

If only this is made certain, that the Crown officers conceded that James Otis was sound in

his argument upon Cockle's petition in February, 1761, then the volume, which has now become the property of the Essex Institute, is worth all the time I have bestowed upon it; and whether it is worthy of being published will be for the management to consider hereafter. Why it did not share the fate of other records I know not. Evidently it was the intention of some minion to have destroyed it, as its gashed and mutilated condition plainly indicates.

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ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 132.

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"To the Honoraed now assembled at Salem 27th 4th mo., 1676, Whereas it hath pleased my honoured Brother, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, to present the honoured Court with a writting containing divers particulars, which if they did only concern myselfe I could the better keepe silence. But reflecting so much upon the memory of my deare husband, and being so exceeding contrary to the speeches and acting of my dear husband when he was with me, as I humbly conceive they are. I think if I should keepe silence I should sinne against God and against the memory of my deare husband, whose precious remembrance is as deare to mee as my life, and contrary to whose minde so far as he was pleased to expresse himselfe to me I would not willingly act, If I might gain thereby more than his whole estate is worth, and therefore I have cause to Blesse the Lord, and doe humbly returne humble thanks to the honoured court that they have bin pleased so to order it as to give me leave to fulfill my deare husband's desire. I Blesse the Lord I can approve my heart to him who is the searcher of the heart and tryer of the reines, that while my dear husband was with me I never was unwilling but very willing, yea very desirously willing that my deare husband should bestow of his

estate what hee pleased upon his dearly Beloved sister, Mrs. Elin Cheever, and when I did desire him to make his will, which while he was sicke I did more than once or twice, and his answer to me was that he did looke upon it as that wt was very requisite and fitt should be done. But dear wife thee hast no cause to bee troubled if I should dye and not make a will it would be never the worse for thee, thy selfe would have the more. to which his speach I made this reply that I looked upon it as a duty which God required of a master off a family to sett his house in order, and I did earnestly desire if it were God's good pleasure that himselfe might have the free disposall of his estate and might dispose off what he pleased off it to his own kinred. I should be so far from being troubled at it that I should be very glad and Blesse ye Lord that it might be done according to his own free will and heart's desire and therefore bless the Lord I was no occasion of temptation to cause my deare husband to conceale his minde from me. But if my deare husband had advisedly forborn to make his will upon the account my honoured Brother is pleased to expresse, then he would not have expressed himselfe to me so farr as he did concerning the disposall of his estate; my deare and precious husband was well known to bee a man regarding truth and faithfulness both in his speeches and in his actions. Concerning my husband his adopted daughter, I humbly thus reply shee was not counted a stranger by himselfe neither did he put his name upon her for compliments sake, But as he owned her for his adopted child. She was dearer in his affections than I can expresse. If my deare husband had power to adopt a childe, then I humbly apprehend that he did as really and as truly accept of that childe for his adopted daughter as ever he accepted of me to be his wife, and that of his own free will without being persuaded to it by any person in the world. But as the father of the childe did freely tender it so did he freely accept of it; and after some discourse betwene themselves concerning this matter he

was pleased thus to express himselfe to the childe's father, Cousin if upon good consideration and the advice of your friends you think it best thus to dispose of your childe and are freely willing to give her to me as my childe then I doe freely accept of her and owne her for my child, and this moreover I say to you that if God give mee anything when I die I will leave her something to live upon. And while it was an infant my dear husband was a tender nursing father to it and many times when himselfe hath had her in his arms and when he hath sate by and I have held the childe he hath solemnly taken notice of the providence of God in disposing of the child from one place to another till it must be brought into his house, that he might be a father to it. And then solemnly presenting her in his desires to God for his blessing upon her as upon his deare childe. And as she grew capable of Instruction as a godly father he did instruct her; and amongst many arguments he was pleased to use with her to persuade her to her duty he was pleased many times to say to her Sarah if you love your father you must behave yourselfe soberly and dutifully in your place; there is no childe in the world that I have done that for I have done for you or look upon with such an eye as I looke upon you And when my deare husband tooke his last and sadd farewell of his house he was pleased to charge and commend her from his fatherly affection to her that if shee loved her father as she had often said to him she should now show her love in desiring to fear God and in carrying herselfe dutifully and loving to her mother, that if God brought him home again he might have Joy of her. The Lord knows how little Joy I have had in making this Relation; were it not that it goes very neere my heart to have that annexed to the memory of my precious husband as his act which if himselfe were here present he would utterly disowne, I should not have dared to presume so far upon the patience of the honoured court I humbly request I may finde favor in the sight of the honoured court. I



humbly referr myselfe to the wisdom and pleasure of the honoured court, for the settlement of my estate. Yours humbly to serve, Bethiah Lawthrop, now Bethiah Grafton "

"Whereas it is expressed by my Honoured Brother, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, that my deare husband did not willingly take Sarah Gott into his house but was persuaded and prevailed with by others to doe it, Humbly requesting leave I shall humbly present the Honourable Court with the whole truth concerning this matter. When the child's mother was dead my husband being with mee at my cousin's burial and seeing our friends in so bad a condition, the poor babe having lost its mother and the woman that nursed it being fallen sick, I then did say to some of my friends that if my husband would give me leave I could be very willing to take my cousin's little one and nurse it for him awhile till he could better dispose of it, whereupon the child's father did moove it to my husband. My deare husband considering my weaknesse and the incumbrance I had in the family was pleased to returne this answer hee did not see how it was possible for his wife to undergoe such a burden. The next day there came a friend to our house a woman which gave suck and she understanding how the poor babe was left being intreated was willing to take it to nurse and forthwith it was brought to her, but it had not been with her 3 weeks before it pleased the Lord to visit that nurse with sickness also and the nurse's mother came to me desiring I would take the child from her daughter, and then my deare husband observing the providence of God was freely willing to receive her into his house. But she was then received only as a nurse child and so she remained above a quarter of a yeare before her father did tender her to my husband to accept of her for his adopted child.

Yours humbly to serve you,

BETHIAH LAWTHROPP."

"My deare husband never spake word to me concerning the giving of any of his land lying in the woods to his sister Cheever her chil-

dren, but only that lying in the woods about Snake hill. But seriously considering my deare husband's expressions, I doe conclude he gave the plaine and the pasture by it together with the land at Snake hill to his sister Cheever. For thus my dear husband was pleased to expresse himselfe to me as we rode together to Wenham the last spring, in the week before the court of election. Speaking to mee concerning the disposall of his land, as he had formerly done, he said the house lott I give to the towne for the use of the ministry, not to any particular person, but to the town for the use of the ministry, hoping it will be an acceptable service to God. And as we were riding over part of his land belonging to Snake kill he said this land here I intend for my sister's children except God take my Brother Cheever away before my sister, then it shall be for her use as long as she liveth and afterward for her children, whereupon I doe conclude he gave the other land mentioned which lyeth but a little way from it to his sisters, else that at Snake hill would not be so usefull for my sister if God should be pleased to take my brother away before her, and so I have faithfully declared what I apprehended was my husband's will and pleasure concerning this matter, which he said he did intend to put in writting, but the providence of God was pleased to prevent it in calling him forth upon publick service.

BETHIAH LAWTHROPP."

"Upon further consideracion and ——— of the declared mynde of Capt. Lathrope wee finde that hee intended the Legaceys of £40 bequeathed to Noah Fiske and the 4 youngest children of Josiah Rea should be paid out of the land that lyeth in the woods toward Joshua Rea his farm, which is part of that land which is assigned by the Court to Mr. Cheever. It is therefore ordered, with the consent of Mr. Grafton and his wife, the relict of the aforesaid Capt. Lathrop, that the said Mr. Cheever shall have present possession of all the lands formerly allotted to him by this Court excepting only the land in Beverly belonging too and nowe used with the house there, hee the said



Cheever paying the aforesaid Legacies of £40, and the Court doeth further declare and judge in equall that what disbursments shall be layd out upon the house or land in Beverly by Mr. Grafton or his assigns shall be repayed againe by the said Towne to whom the said house and land is given after the death of Mrs. Grafton, soe far as it shall be repared or made better than it was at the decease of the said Capt. Lathrop, and his division and proving of the said estate we judge equall and just according to the mynde of the deceased, which we submit to the honoured genall Court for further appbated and considered,"(?) 2: 4, 1676.

"My wife affirms that her brother hath oft spoke in her hearing dissatisfiedly concerning Noah Fisk being brought to his house when his mother was very weak and not able to look after him, being very weak also, yt he never knew upon wt termes he kept him and wondered what they did intend to do, then saith Lieut. Dixey told her, my brother told him when he had brought him as fit to go to apprentice he had done, he should do no more." Wife's Testimony. (Ezekiel Cheever's hand writing.)

1—"It does not appear that my brother ever set himself seriously as the thing requires to make his last will. But all that is said is, that he expressed such and such purposes at such times, but purposes and actions are different things.

2—No man but in case of absolute necessity, when he is surprised by sudden weakness and inability, will make such a nuncupative will, and then he will do it in the surest and strongest way that may be, by positive and peremptory declaring it his last will, and confirming it by sufficient witnesses that are legall. But in this case no such thing is found.

3—The persons testifying in this case are persons concerned and interested and so not competent witnesses in law in any case, much less in such a weighty one as a last will and testament. Beside they agree not in their testimony, but in some things directly contradict each other, which does demonstrate that

either they mistook my brother and he never expressed such purposes and desires, or that his purposes and desires altered.

4—It seems to be an act of prudent and deliberate choice in my brother not to make a will, For, 1—He was oft importuned to it by my sister but did not. 2—He had warning of death by a long and dangerous sickness last winter, in which, after some degree of recovery, he had several relapses: 3—After that by the mercy of God he was recovered to perfect health, he had time sufficient for such a work, if he had judged it expedient.

5—I conceive that the true reason of his not making a will was; he could not do for his own sister and her children what he thought was most just and right, and they might be likely to need after the decease of his brother Cheever, but he should displease his wife and her relations, who would be expecting more, though he had done in his lifetime so much for them, and nothing for his sister and her children. And he well knew the equity and justice of the law which makes provision for the widow and the next of kin, but nothing for strangers, as also the faithfulness of the Magistrates in doing things according to law.

6—The matter which they testify is so unjust and unreasonable, that none that knew my brother's goodness and love, will believe that my brother would be so unnatural to prefer strangers before his own natural sister and her children, whom he so dearly loved, as many that knew them both can abundantly testify.

7—My Brother, when he brought his sister from England with him from all her friends and relations very loth to part with her, used this as a great argument with her mother to perswade her, Viz., That he had no children of his own, nor was likely to have any, and otherwise he must give what he had to strangers. And her mother told this to friends in her hearing, that that was a great motive that induced her to be willing to part with her; and committed her to the love and care of her brother as a father, with great confidence and assurance of his tenderness toward her.

8—His sister by coming over lost the value of twenty-five pounds beside what her mother would have given her at her decease.

9—My brother having one of their relations with him already, viz., Noah Fisk, whom he brought up from a little one, was unwilling to take Sarah Gott, but was importuned and prevailed with to take her, not upon loose terms, as he did the other, but as his own, so that her father might not have power to take her away from him when she might grow up to be serviceable, as is oft done in such cases. As for her calling them father and mother it is no more but what is ordinarily done to nurses, or servants; and what another whom he had brought up before was used to doe, who went away from them when she might have been serviceable to them.

10—My sister brought no estate with her, as I ever heard of, hath no charge, her husband by her own confessions gave her none of the land to dispose of as her own."

"Left. William Dixie's Deposition:—He saith that coming to Capt. Lawthrope in the time of his last sickness, Mrs. Lawthrope and Mrs. Got did goe out of the room and Capt. Lawthrope said to him I am glad you are come, for I would have you to take notice that I give unto my wife all my estate so long as she liveth, and after her decease I give unto the Ministry of Beverly my tenn acre lott at home and my house upon the same; whereupon he asked the Capt. if he had acquainted his wife with it, and his answer was he had and she approved well of it, and the ground in the woods he did give unto his Sister Cheever's children; and soe they had no further discourse about at that time or since. Sworne in Court at Salem 22 : 10, '75.

Attest, HILLIARD VEREN, Clerk.

*Richard Prince, 10th mo., 1675.*

The Will of Richard Prince of Salem, aged 67 years, dated 21st of 7th month, 1675, mentions to son Joseph Prince  $\frac{1}{2}$  of ten acre lott bot of William Lord Sen'r,  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of Marsh lying the further side of South field, of Salem, bound-

ed by marsh of Goody Lemmans that was and George Gardner. Son Samuel Prince " $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of marsh that lyeth by the bars that goeth out of ye South field;" son Richard Prince "a lot in South field near Joseph Hardy's five acre lott;" son Jonathan Prince a half acre of marsh known by the name of Walker's Half acre, also my dwelling house that standeth in the North part of my Orchard, my daughter Mary Daniel to my two grandchildren Stephen and Mary Daniel. I appoint my son Joseph Prince sole executor; mentions his wife —. I appoint my friends Mr. Henry Bartholmew and Mr. Joseph Grafton Sen'r overseers; witnesses, Stephen Daniell and Edward Norrice. Pro-bated 22 10 mo., '75.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 21 of October, 1675, by Joseph Grafton and Francis Skerry. Amount £386, 18s, 0d.

*Sam'l Crompton, 9th mo., 1675.*

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Crumpton, whoe was slaine in the warrs against the Indians, taken this 29 9 mo., 1675, by Hilliard Veren Sen'r and Henry West. Amount 46, 3s, 00d. Allowed 21 10 mo., 1675, and administration granted to Jane ye relict.

*Richard Bishop, 9th mo., 1675.*

An Inventory of the estate of Richard Bishop of Salem, taken 8th March, 1674-5, by Nathaniel Felton and Richard Croade. Amount £145 09s 11d. Allowed 29 March, 1675; presented by Mary ye late wife of the deceased and John Durlan, one of the administrators of ye estate.

"The Deposition of Thomas Robbins, aged about 55 years, saith that he being in the chamber with Richard Bishop the night before he died, did heare him say that he did thank God he was then of perfect memory and would have him and the rest of the company take notice what was his mind and will, in case it pleased God he should then die; which was this he would give his son Thomas Bishop his house and home lott where he lived, being in the whole about two acres, out of which he



would give his grandchild Mary Durlan half an acre at the upper end of the lott, because he said he did not know but shee might marry a tradesman or a seaman and so that part might be most convenient for her; also he said Thomas Bishop should not sell this but leave it to his (Thomas's) son Richard Bishop after him; and being pressed upon to know what he would give his sons at Long Island, he said he would give them nothing for they had no need of it, and for his son Nathaniel if he had not bin a churle he might have sent his ffather something, but never did send him so much as a side of pork though he killed 20 fatt hogs in a yeare; and further this deponent saith that goodman Bishop hath severall tymes told him that he would give his Thomas after his wife's deccase all the upland that he had in the north-field and the half acre of salt marsh he had there, only Thomas should not sell it but leave it to his son Richard after him, for he had an affection to that granchild and was minded the for the name sake should enjoy it after him, and this he hath said to this deponent at severall tymes. Saying take notice of it in case I should make no other will, that Thomas Bishop shall have all my land and this said he thou art able to swear to when I am dead. Taken upon oath 29 1 mo., '75.

WM. HATHORNE, Assist.

"The deposition of John Bligh, aged about 36 years, saith that ye night before his father Bishop died he heard him say," (in substance to the above deposition.)

"The deposition of Mary Bishop, aged about 64 years, testifieth," (in substance to the above deposition concerning the estate of her husband.)

"The deposition of Richard Croadé, aged about 46 years," saith in the house of goodman Bishop with goodman Robbins he heard him say in substance what was testified to by Thomas Robbins, (all of the above depositions are of the same date.)

A Power of Attorney from John Bishop of South Hampton, in Long Island, to my brother

Fisherman, dated 22d day of May, 1675: witnesses, Samuel Williams and Hilliard Viren Sen'r.

"The 12th day of the 5 mo., 1660. Whereas Richard Bishop and Mary Goult intend by the permission of God in some tyme to joyne together in marriage and for the mutuall good of them both doe agree unto these articles and covenants hereafter exprest, viz., Impr. the John Dorlan of Salem, in the county of Essex, said Richard Bishop doth covenant to and with the said Mary Goult that in case God please to leave ye said Marie a widow then shee shall during yer naturall life have and enjoy the dwelling house of the said Richard Bishop with garden and orchard and the remayner of the 2 acre lott the said house standeth upon with a lott of upland opposit to the said house over the river with all timber and fyre wood wch she may nessessaralie use for and during her life tyme but not two gyue nor make sale of any of it; as alsoe one halfacre of salt marsh lying upon the North River over against the house of the said Bishop to the said—Richard Bishop doth covenant to and with the said Marie Goult that if the said Richard Bishop doe dye before the said Marie and then leave her a widow that the said Richard Bishop shall grant half of the estate he dyes possessed of vnto the said Marie viz: of his cattell corne hay household goods and money as her own proper goods for ever for ever. 3. It is agreed mutuallie betwixed the said pties that the house wherein the said Marie Goult at present lyeth in and shall be sould by Henerie Skerrie senior and Jefferie Massey for the paymt of the debts William Goult left unpaid at the tyme of his death. 4. The said Marie doth promis and grant to and with the said Richard Bishop that he the said Bishop shall have the best bed that — no hath with all the furniture there unto belonging, and to the performance wherof I the said Richard Bishop have hereunto put my hand the day and year above written.

RICHARD BISHOP.

Witnesses thereto, Jefferie Massey, Henry Skerry."



*George Ropes, 10th mo., 1675.*

An Inventory of the estate of George Ropes taken by Edward Norris and Benjamin Gerrish. Amount \$29 0s 09d. Allowed 22 10, '75. Administration granted to Wm. Ropes, and after the debts are paid Mary the mother of the deceased, to have the rest.

*Peter Wolfe, 9th mo., 1675.*

An Inventory of the estate of Peter Woalfe of Beverly, who died the 6th of 10 mo., '75, taken by Humphrey Woodbury and John Hill. Amount £112 11s 10d; presented by John Black ye executor 21 10, '72. The widow is by the will to have £10.

*George Coal, 9th mo., 1675.*

The Will of George Cooll dated 8th November, 1675, mentions "I give to Mary Davis whome I used to call mother;" "I give to my Master John Davis," "my sisters Mary Tuck and Elizabeth Cooll." I appoint my friend Daniell Johnson and my master John Davis overseers and executors; witnesses, Thomas Ferman and Samuel ffoster; probated the 30 9 mo., '75.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by Samuel Hurtt and Eleazer Linzy. Amount 25, 16s 0d.

*John Bachelor, 9th mo., 1675.*

"I John Batchelor, aged 63, being in pfect memory, do make this my last will and testament in the year of our Lord 1673 and the 25 year of the Reigne of or Sovereigne Lord Charlse the Second King of England." "I appoint my wife Elizabeth Executrix." "I give my son John Bachelor my house I dwell in after my decease, and twenty acres of land which I bought of John Scuder, (except six acres more or less as it is now bounded, which I give to John Cressy, as is hereafter expressed) and takes it beginning at Abram Warren's Well, so down to the brook to the Common, the brook being the bound between his land and his brother Joseph's, and allso a piece of land that lyes at the uper end of the said twenty acres without the fence, with the hither end of

my salt marsh up to a place commonly called the Rocks where they cart downe wood. I give my son Joseph Batchelor all my land in the field together with the orchard and barne and the salt marsh lying beyond said Rocks commonly called Duck Cove and half an acre of marsh yt I bought of Joseph Root and halfe an acre of Jeoffry Massey." "Also I give my daughter Ilannah Corning ten pounds to be paide by my loving wife before her decease." "I give my grandchild John Cressy six acres of land lying within my sonne John's land as aforesaid along Royals neck and five pounds to be paid by my loving wife before her decease. I appoint Henry Bartholmew and Deacon Prince overseers; witnesses, John Swinnerton and Berthiah Archard, 22 10, '75."

An Inventory of the estate of John Batchelor of Salem, who dyed the 13 day of November, 1675, taken the 4th of December, 1675, by us John Raiment and Andrew Eliott. Amount 230 00 3d.

*Samuel Stevens, 10th mo., 1675.*

An Inventory of the estate of Samuell Stevens taken 30th of Nov., 1675, by Henry West ond Nathaniel Puttnam. Amount £62 2s 0d. Allowed 22 10, '75. Administration granted unto Rebecca ye relict of the deceased. "£10 to be paid to Sarah the child of the deceased at the age of 18 years."

*Allen Perley, Feb., 1675-6.*

Will of Allen Perley of Ipswich, dated 23d June, 1670, mentions "my three elder sons, viz., John Perley, Samuel Perley and Thomas Perley takinge their liberty at the age of one and twenty to leave me and yet I have given unto them three parts of the land beyond Bachelours Brook and all that part of land which was Nathaniel deceased." Two daughters Sarah and Martha Perley, son Timothy when 23 years; wife Susanna extx. A codicil dated 16th November, 1671.

*Thos. Small, 1st mo., 1676.*

"To ye honored Court now held at Ipswich. The humble petition of Ruth Small late wife

of Thomas Small deceased, her husband dying intestate without making a will, shee having taken the advice of several of her friends as her ffather Small and her Unkell Grove her brother John Buxton and Mr. John Putnam, do humbly request yt her estate may bee settled on herself and fouer children as followeth, 1, yt ye Court would be pleased to make administration of ye whole estate; 2, yt shee may have ye liberty to bring up ther children herselfe and yt they may continue with her tel they cum of aig; 3, that her son William as soon as he becomes of aig to have halfe of the farme adjoining Mr. Nathaniel Putnams not meddling with the houseing; 4, yt as soone as my dafter Lidia and my dafter Hannah and my dafter Ann comes of eaige I paying them as legacies forty pounds apiece out of ye estate left in my hands for yt end; 5, yt her ffather John Small and her Unkell Edward Grove and her Brother John Buxton and Mr. John Putnam be overseers."

On the above petition, that was dated Salem, 25th March, 1676, and signed by Ruth Small, John Small, Edward Grove, John Putnam and John Buxton, the Court doth order that the above be granted; only the £40 designed for the child deceased shall be equally divided between the mother and three children. Allowed Salem 30 9 m., '76.

*George Gittings, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of George Giddings, late of Ipswich deceased, taken 19th of June, 1676, by John Whipple senr, Henry Benet and Nathaniel Wills. Amount 102 12 6. Allowed 27 4, '76, and administration granted to Jane the relict of the deceased.

*Henry Colaburn, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Henry Colaburn taken 26 June, 1676, by Richard Croade and Henry West. Amount £10 2 6; mentions that he carried the most of his estate with him to Virginia. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to Sarah the relict.

*Joseph King, 4th mo., 1676.*

"An Inventory of the estate of Joseph King,

who was slaine with Capt. Lawthrop in the wars against the Indians, taken this 13 4 mo., '76, by" by Hilliard Veren senr and John Burke senr. Amount £11 02 08d. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted John Ruck.

*Abel Osier, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Abel Osier, slayne in fight with the Indians, taken by Simon Horne and William Ross. Amount 3 1 10; returned by Edmond Batter the administrator, who is ordered to pay the balance to —, brother of the deceased, 28 4, '75.

*Richard Sibly, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of ye estate of Richard Sibley. Amount 94 1 0d Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to Hannah relict of the deceased, who is ordered to pay to the 7 children of the deceased, viz: Samuell the eldest £6 and to the rest £3 each, viz: Hana, Sara, Damaris, John, Mary and Elizabeth, to the sons when 21 years of age and the daughter at 18 years.

*John Silsby, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Silsby, taken 26 June, 1676, by Hilliard Veren senr and Edmond ffoueryeare. Amount £74 16s 00d. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to Bethiah the relict, she to pay £20 to her son child of the deceased when 21 y.

*John Kitchen, 4th mo., 1676.*

The Will of John Kitchen, dated the 20 December, 1675, mentions my dwelling house and land belonging to it and about an acre of salt marsh by Castill Hill to my wife during her life and at her decease to my son Robert Kitchen; mentions the rest of my children. I appoint my wife and son Robert exrs; witnesses, Samuel Shattocke and Abraham Cole. Allowed 30 4, '76.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 30th May, 1676, by Edward Flint and Richard Croade. Amount £398 04 00.



## PHILIP ENGLISH.

## PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 144.

Another of the victims, with whose misdoings Mr. and Mrs. English were implicated, was Giles Cory or Corey, an octogenarian, whose barbarous fate stands on our records, as it ought to stand, in solitary cruelty. In his case, as was usual in these witchcraft cases, after the original accusation had been made, and the examination held before the magistrates, various witnesses were found, in addition to the original accusers,\* to charge him before the Grand Jury with acts of witchcraft. He appears to have been rather a simple-minded man, whose character, however, acquired firmness and decision, perhaps, through the ordeal

\* We have stated previously in the text, that the main body of the accusers, and as against those who were condemned and executed came from the village. We would here state, that by the term accusers, the complainants—those who began the persecution legally—are the rather intended, and not those witnesses who afterwards came in to swell the tide of testimony against the accused. The persecutions usually began by complaints before the magistrates from a comparatively small circle of afflicted ones, and then the cases went to the Grand Jury and trial; by which latter periods no lack of other witnesses was found, if needed. The original complainants or accusers we thus consider the legal cause of the persecutions, and the subsequent witnesses as only subordinate assistants—the result rather of the moving cause. The accusers began the complaints, and the other witnesses helped to confirm them. We state this, that we may not be misapprehended historically.

It is, however, more than probable, that the small circle of accusers at Salem Village indirectly caused the major number of all the witchcraft prosecutions, since some of that circle appear to have been freely sought and used as witch-detectors, and all may have been. They appeared as original accusers in very many cases, and thereby, as it were, set the fashion of so accusing.

to which he was subjected. When his wife Martha was arrested, April 12, (an event happening before his own arrest, April 19,) and examined, Giles Cory seems to have been more than half persuaded that she had some familiarity with evil powers, as he appears in evidence against her, and relates some trifling (though then thought strange) accidents or incidents happening in, or around his house, which might bear the construction of witchcraft. The drift of events, however, made him sensible, resolute and bold; and finally he preferred to be pressed to death rather than put himself on trial; and is said to have asked his executioners to put more weight upon him, the more quickly to end his misery. If he was overborne by the popular prejudice of that day in the beginning, he defied it the more sturdily at the end.

The testimony against Giles Cory before the Grand Jury, or the Court, (probably both) appears to have been taken by Depositions on Sept. 9. Ann Putnam appeared, and deposed that, on the 13th April, his apparition\* came and afflicted her, urged her to write in his

\* This apparition was, of course, the airy spectre shape or image of the accused in question, sent to represent them, and could do great mischief, being Satanic. It was considered a very detestable device on the part of the persons practicing this kind of witchcraft, as they themselves in the body could be absent, or be perhaps professing and practising kindness to their victims, and so use a diabolical treachery. Thus when Rebecca Nurse was examined, the magistrate said to her, "When this witchcraft came upon the stage there was no suspicion of Tituba—(Mr. Parris's Indian woman)—she professed much love to that child Betty Paris, but it was her apparition did the mischief, and why should not you also be guilty, for your apparition doth hurt also."

In some of the examinations, the accusers charged the accused of tormenting them in their own shape, which means in their own personal shape, and not in their spectral shape, which was rather a diabolical substitute, very often used and sent instead. It will be remembered that all covenant witches or wizards, by their compact with the Devil, became owners of evil spectres or apparitions.



book, and so continued hurting her until April 19, being the day of his examination—also during that examination and several times since, grievously tormenting her—almost choking her to death, &c.; that she believed him a dreadful wizard, for since he had been in prison, he or his appearance had come to her a great many times and afflicted her; and she owns upon her oath that this is the truth!

Mercy Lewis says about the same, except that his apparition had come and beaten her at times, “almost braking my back,” &c.

Sarah Vibber says about the same, except that she had seen him or his appearance tormenting Walcott and the other two girls—that he whipped her—urged her vehemently to read and write in his book,† and cut her with his knife, &c.

Mary Warren had pretty much the same beating, biting, pinching and choking story to tell, and saw him afflict all the others.

Elizabeth Woodwell solemnly swore, and Mary Walcott confirmed it, that she saw Giles Cory or his appearance at meeting at Salem, since he has been in prison, being the lecture day before Bridget Bishop was hanged, come in and sit “in ye middlemost seat of ye men’s seats by ye Post,” and then “saw him come out with ye rest of ye people.”

† The book which the witches or wizards carried, was often red, and contained, it would seem, some covenant or covenants with the Devil, and to sign it was to sign his laws and become an enrolled follower of his, and an accomplice in the plot against the Church. One of the charges made against about all the accused, whether in person or by their spectre, was their persistent efforts to induce the afflicted to sign this book, and very many of the torments inflicted upon them were in consequence of their refusing so to do. Mary Warren stated, in her examination, that her master (John Proctor) made her put her finger to this book, and her finger made a black mark upon it, and she trembled, and said she was undone, body and soul, and that she did so under threats of being drowned, &c. So potent and deadly was the Book, that Mary Warren said, that after she touched it, she eat bread and butter, and her finger blacked the bread and butter also! See her examinations, ages 134 to 144, Vol. Salem Witchcraft.

Benj’n Gould, aged about 23 years, said that, on the 6th day of April, Giles Cory and his wife came to his bedside, looked upon him some time and then went away, “and emediately I had two penches [pinches] upon my side.” Another time he saw Giles Cory and John Proctor, “and I had such a paine in one of my feet that I could not ware my shu for 2 or 3 days.”

Susannah Sheldon said that “ye spectre of Giles Corey\* murdered his first wife & would

\* According to Cotton Mather, Cory was charged privately by Ann Putnam with a murder committed some 17 years before, in or about his house, and we append the account Mather gives, and evidently believes in. Cory was, as *Calef* says, pressed to death for refusing to put himself upon trial, knowing from the nature and character of the witnesses what his fate would be, (none having been cleared) preferring to bear whatever fate they might choose to inflict upon him; and in pressing him to death, (*says Calef*, page 226) “his tongue being pressed out of his mouth, the Sheriff with his cane forced it in again, when he was dying.” Mather gives the following story, with a peculiar preface of his own:

“Tis a thousand pitties that we should permit our eyes to be so Blood-shot with passions as to loose the sight of many wonderful Things, wherein the Wisdom and Justice of God would be Glorify’d. Some of those Things are the frequent Apparitions of Ghosts, whereby many Old Murders among us come to be considered. And, among many instances of this kind, I will single out one, which concerned a poor man, lately Prest unto Death because of his Refusing to Plead for his Life. I shall make an Extract of a Letter which was written to my Honourable Friend, Samuel Sewal, Esq., by Mr. Putnam, to this purpose: “The Last Night my Daughter Ann ‘was grievously Tormented by Witches, Threatning ‘that she should be Pressed to Death before Giles ‘Cory. But thro’ the Goodness of a Gracious God ‘she had at last a little Respite. Whereupon there ‘appeared unto her (she said) a man in a Winding ‘Sheet, who told her that Giles Cory had Murdered ‘him by Pressing him to Death with his Feet; but ‘that the Devil there appeared unto him, and Cove- ‘nanted with him, and promised him, He should not ‘be Hanged. The Apparition said God Hardened ‘his Heart, that he should not hearken to the Advice ‘of the Court and so Dy an easy Death; because as ‘it said, It must be done to him as he has done to

have murdered this to, if she had not been a witch—yt his first wife gave him nothing but skim milk & he did it & yt Goody Procter's spectre told her she murdered her owne child & yt it was sick & she did it because she would not be troubled with it, &c."

John Dorick, (Doritch) aged about 16, testified among other things, that Giles Cory came to him on the 20th August, and told him he wanted some "platers" (platters) for he was going to a feast (witch-feast): and that he had a good mind to ask his "dame" (mistress) for them, but she would not let him have them, "so he took the platers and cared them away, being gown (gone) about half a oure with them, then he brot them againe gowen (going) away and sayd nothing."

Elizabeth Booth, the wife of George Booth,

'me. The Apparition also said, That Giles Cory was 'carry'd to the Court for this, and that the Jury had 'found the Murder, and that her Father knew the 'man, and the thing was done before she was born. 'Now Sir, This is not a little strange to us that nobody should Remember these things all the while 'that Giles Cory was in Prison, and so often before 'the Court. For all people now Remember very 'well, (and the Records of the Court also mention 'it,) That about Seventeen Years ago Giles Cory 'kept a man in his House that, was almost a Natural 'Fool; which man Dy'd suddenly. A Jury was 'Impannel'd upon him, among whom was Dr. Zorobabel Endicot. who found the man bruised to Death 'and having clodders of Blood about his Heart. The 'Jury, whereof several are yet alive, brought in the 'man murdered; but as if some Enchantment had 'hindered the Prosecution of the Matter, the Court 'Proceeded not against Giles Cory, tho' it cost him 'a great deal of money to get off.'"—*Wonders of Invisible World*," pages 145-6.

This Ann Putnam was one of the prominent accusers in 1692, it must be remembered. Everything of a mysterious character, which could be found against the accused for the preceding twenty or thirty years was brought to the light at that day, and the death (murder) of this servant—of which there was no proof that his death was not accidental, the man's mental incapacity favoring the idea—was thus made the vindication of the barbarous punishment of Cory himself!

and Alices (Alice) Booth testified, that on the 12th of this September at ye widow Shadlin's house, in Salem, there appeared to us "a grate number of wictches (witches) as near as we could tell about fifty; thirteen of which we knew, who did receiue the sacrament [this was a spectral meeting of the Devil's Church] in our sight, amongst which we saw Giles Cory, who brought to us bread and wine urging us to partake thereof, but because we Refused he did most grievously afflict and torment us, and we believe in our hearts that Giles Cory is a wizzard, &c."

Cory had refused to be put upon his trial, as not one had been cleared of those accused and tried. He was silent, and was sentenced to be pressed, and was pressed to death on the 19th Sept. The First Church, of which he was a member, had excommunicated him on the 18th. Thus was added another martyr to the delusion or devilry of that day—another (supposed) plotter against the N. E. Church.

The Court which sentenced him, and which sat on the 9th September in Salem, also condemned his wife Martha with others at the same session, (says Felt) and then she too was formally excommunicated by the village church; and upon the 14th, two of the Deacons were desired to inform her of it in the prison here. On the 22d, she, in company with Alice Parker, Ann Pudeater, and five more were hung. The humble petition\* of Ann Pudeater to the

\* We herewith append a copy of her petition. Ann Pudeater was the widow of a Jacob Pudeater, who appears to have been a nephew of the Mr. John Brown, whose son or grandson married Mary, the daughter of Philip English. The name "Pudeater" was most probably a Jersey (French) name, and Pudeater only a New England version of *Pudetre* or *Pudestre*—just as Poindexter (a Jersey name) was originally Poindextre or Poindestre.

Ann P. was indicted for witchcraft committed upon Mary Warren, who was one of the principal witnesses against her. One of them, Sam'l Pickworth, testified, that as he was standing at or near the corner of Capt. Higginson's house, in the evening, a woman flew by him like a bird and went into Ann Pudeater's



Judge and Bench, after condemnation, is on file (with other papers in her case) among the records, and exhibits all the spirit of conscious and injured innocence, with the touching meekness of the true martyr.

Martha Cory at the time of her arrest (March 19) was a member of the church at the Village, and was arrested on the complaint of

er's house, and he believed it to be her. [And no doubt returning from some witch meeting *through the air*.] Another witness said Ann P. admitted such a fact! She had moreover filled quite a number of little vessels or pots in her house with grease to make soap of, and these pots were supposed and believed to be filled with *witch ointments*! On such and similar evidence she was convicted.

Mrs. P. appears to have been, according to the evidence, a kind-hearted woman to her neighbors, who mistook her kindness for that malicious inquisitiveness, which only sought their confidence, that she might the more readily and easily injure them. It will be seen, by her petition, in what estimation one at least of her accusers had been publicly held:

"The humble petition of Ann Pudeator unto ye honoured Judge and Bench now Sitting in Judicature in Salem humbly sheweth—

That whereas your Poor and humble Petitioner being condemned to die and knowing on my own conscience as I shall shortly answer it before ye Great God of heaven, who is the searcher and knower of all hearts: That the Evidence of Jno Best Senr and Jno Best Junr and Samll Pickworth wch was giuen in against me in Court were all of them altogether false and untrue and besides the abouesaid Jno Best hath been formerly whipt and likewise is recorded for A Lyar. I would humbly begg of yor honours to Take it into your Judicious and Pious consideration, That my life may not be taken away by such false Euidences and witnesses, as these be, likewise ye Euidence given in against me by Sarah Church and Mary Warren I am altogether ignorant off and know nothing in ye least measure about it, nor nothing else concerning ye crime of witchcraft for wch I am condemned to die as will be known to men and angells att the great day of Judgment, begging and imploring your prayers att the throne of grace in my behalfe and your poor and humble petitioner shall for euer pray as she is bound in duty for your honr health and happiness in this life and eternall felicity in the world to come."

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 322-3.]

Edward Putnam and Henry Keney, yeomen, both of Salem Village, in behalf of Ann Putnam, wife of Thos. Putnam, Anna Putnam, daughter of Thos. P., Mercy Lewis,\* living in Thos. P.'s family, Abigail Williams, one of Mr. Parris' family, and Elizabeth Hubert, (Hubbard†) Dr. Grigs' maid. Thus, in this case also, the first complaints came from the village. A long deposition appears in this case from Edward Putnam and Ezekiel Cheever, who, on the complaint of Ann Putnam that Martha C. was often tormenting her, visited Mrs. C. on the 12th March, and on a semi-inquisitorial errand; which Mrs. C. suspected, for she met them in a smiling manner, and told them that she knew their object, and that they had come to talk with her about being a witch, but that she was none—that she could not help peoples talking of her, &c.

There is something in this deposition which is somewhat obscure and unintelligible about Ann Putnam's testimony, ere they went, as to the clothes Mrs. C. was then wearing or should wear, and her refusal to tell them, &c., and their suspicions of witchcraft being confirmed

\*The way in which Mercy Lewis may have been finally led to accuse Martha Cory can be seen, perhaps, in the following deposition now on the Court Records. Such suggestions were doubtless freely offered to the *afflicted* in 1692:

Ephraim Shelden v. Martha Cory.

"April 10, 1692. The deposition of Ephraim Shelden, aged 20 years, who testifieth and saith, I this deponent being at the house of Lewetent Ingersol when Mercy Lewes (Lewis) was in one of her fits I heard her cry out of Goodwife Cloyce, and when she came to herself she was asked who she saw, she answered she saw nobody, they demanded of her whether or noe she did not see Goodwife Nurse or Goodwife Cloyce or Goodwife Cory she answered she saw nobody. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 54.]

† According to the Court Records, Martha Cory was indicted for afflicting Elizabeth Hubbard. She may have been indicted more than once, but the papers be lost, as in the case of John Willard, two of the seven indictments in his case being missing. The witchcraft papers now on record are by no means perfect.



by questions asked by Mrs. C. herself, in confirmation of what Ann Putnam had said. It is very probable that these men put leading questions to Mrs. C. and then misunderstood her in turn. They talked a great deal with her on the complaint made against her, and how greatly the name of God and religion and the church was dishonored by these means, but she seemed in no ways concerned for anything about it, "but to stop the mouthes of people that they might not say thus of her." She told them, she did not think that there were any witches,‡ whereupon they told her that they were fully satisfied that there were such persons. She gave them to understand, that if she had been (like some) slothful, and not mindful of anything good, she might be a witch, for the Devil could not be blamed for making witches of such persons; but they had no reason to think thus of her, for she had made a profession of Christ, and rejoiced to go and hear the word of God. They then told her, it was not her making an outward profession, which would clear her from being a witch, for witches had often "crept into the churches." "Much more discourse we had with her, but shee made her profession a cloake to cover all."

It is easy to see by this statement of the two church members, for such they were, that they were believers in her guilt.\* She told them a

‡ This statement of Mrs. Cory—her disbelief in the existence of witches—such witches as were then supposed to be troubling the country—very probably operated against her. In the sense in which she intended it, she, however, was right, and the church members wrong, as history has proved. Mrs. Cory was a sincere Christian woman—died like a true martyr—and in all probability could scarcely conceive of the malignant power and acts then attributed to the supposed witches. Guiltless herself, she could imagine no such guilt in her neighbors. She was wise enough to perceive, however, that the Devil had indeed come into the neighborhood, when the innocent and virtuous there were suspected of such kinds of devilry.

\* Martha Cory was executed Sept. 22d, 1697, *Catef* says this of her, "Martha Cory, wife to Giles Cory, protesting her innocence concluded her life

truth during this conversation, which was perhaps turned against her—"that the devil was come down amongst us in great rage, and that God had forsaken the earth." This was doubtless construed into a knowledge on her part of the designs and purposes of Satan, gained by initiation into his secrets and iniquities.

In her case, the papers relating to an examination are wanting, nor are there many separate complaints. She, as well as her husband, are, however, occasionally mentioned in various complaints, as included with others,—a common custom with the circle of accusers, who thus doubly and trebly ensnared their victims. The "apparitions," "shapes," "spectres" and "appearances," to say nothing of the actual bodily presence of the accused, were visible here, there, and everywhere, when needed, either by the Devil, or the afflicted. Though invisible to ordinary eyes, yet these shapes, apparitions, spectres\*, and the like, could

with an eminent prayer upon the ladder," (page 226). She evidently was considered as one of the plotters against the church, and her excommunication was most probably owing to this cause.

\* The various powers with which *spectres* were believed to be endowed and the *object* of their malice, and which vexed our fathers to madness, are thus enumerated, in part, by *Cotton Mather*, ("Wonders of Invisible World," page 51):

"In the Prosecution of these Witchcrafts, among a thousand other unaccountable Things, the Spectres have an odd Faculty of Cloathing the most Substantial and Corporeal Instruments of Torture with Invisibilty, while the Wounds thereby given have been the most palpable Things in the World; so that the Sufferers assaulted with Instruments of Iron wholly unseen to the Standers by, tho' to their cost seen by themselves, have upon snatching wrested the Instruments out of the Spectres' Hands, and every one has immediately not only beheld, but handled an Iron Instrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbor. These wicked Spectres have proceeded so far as to Steal several Quantities of Money from divers people, part of which Money has before sufficient Spectators been dropt out of the Air into the Hands of the Sufferers, while the Specters have been urging them to Subscribe their Covenant with Death. In

be seen by the afflicted; who, moreover, were most strangely and grievously tormented by them. In those days, to be sure, there were some sturdy disbelievers in these "fits" and torments of the afflicted. Good, honest, virtuous, sturdy John Procter, was one of these disbelievers,\* and most probably lost his life

such extravagant ways have these Wretches pounded the Dragooning of as many as they can into their own Combination, and the Destroying of others with Lingering, Spreading, Deadly Diseases; till our Country should at last become too hot for us."

This quotation from Cotton Mather is very important, as showing for what purpose and object the witches and wizards of 1692 tormented their victims. It was to force them into signing the Devil's Laws; and the *plot* against the church, or (perhaps failing that) to destroy them. This was the purpose and object of the witchcraft of 1692, and should be borne continually in mind while reading its details. The Devil was at the bottom of this plot, and the witches and wizards were aiding him, both in person and by their *spectres*, and endeavoring, by torments and the like, to compel innocent people to join *them* and the Devil in this work. Hence the witches and wizards of 1692 were considered as the *persecutors*, and their *accusers* as the suffering martyrs of the church! See note, pages 81-2-3.

\* It would appear that John Procter thought some of the accusers were feigning fits and torments, and a good whipping, or sober, steady employment at any rate would cure them. His belief evidently was, that the Devils or spirits tormenting them, could be kept off by industry *in matters of this world*, and were only encouraged to create further mischief by or through those, who were industrious only in prosecuting their pursuits *into matters beyond this world*.

Some of the accusers of 1692 had good cause to hate and fear John Procter, as will appear in the text, but they were not the first in history, who diverted the public odium from themselves against the innocent. The *Jesuits* called *Luther* a wizard, and said that he himself confessed that he had familiarity with Satan! And at the time he died, all the possessed people in the Netherlands were quiet. The Devils in them said the reason was, because *Luther* had been a great friend of theirs, and they owed him that respect as to go as far as Germany to attend his funeral! The *Waldenses* were traduced as witches. The *Huguenots* are said to owe their name to *Hugon*, a diabolical spectre, which haunted

for expressing his honest convictions, as we shall endeavor to show. We will do this now, and as we consider, without a wide departure from our proposed plan, since one of his accusers (*Mary Warren*), to whom we shall call special attention, is named in two depositions—one left by *Edward Bishop* and wife, and the other by *Mrs. English*—as having expressed, *when in prison herself for witchcraft*, a strong assertion as to the utter worthlessness of the evidence generally given by the afflicted persons. Procter's case, moreover, reveals some of the personal causes of the persecution. It is but simple justice that the whole truth—both sides—of this witchcraft tragedy, should appear.

*John Procter* or *Procter* is said to have been a resident of *Salem proper*, and also to have been arrested on account of the interest he took in his wife's behalf, when she was examined, having rendered himself disagreeable to the prosecuting witnesses. He therefore was accused on the spot, and subsequently condemned and executed. Both he and his wife had before this lived at *Ipswich*, and there is now on file (in the *Essex Co. Records*—Vol. *Salem Witchcraft*, pp. 74-5-6) a Petition to the Honorable Court of Assistants then sitting in *Boston*, signed by *thirty-one* inhabitants of *Ipswich*, on the behalf of *John Procter* and his wife, "now in trouble and under suspicion of

a certain city in France, and is said to have been seen (by Catholic Priests perhaps) near the place where a number of Protestants worshipped, and who were at once called *Hugonots* by the Papists, and as the servants and worshippers of that Demon, who went under the name of *Hugon*. Here too a pious fraud is perhaps perceptible, in order to crush the Protestants.

*Increase Mather*, father of *Cotton Mather*, in his tract (now rare) called "Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft," narrates these, and many such cases of fraud abroad, but appears to have been blind to the same arts at home—in *Massachusetts*—in 1692. Through the kindness of *Mathew A. Stickney, Esq.*, we have been enabled to peruse this rare tract, (*Mr. S.* having a copy) which is filled with the lore of demonology.



witchcraft." In this petition they plainly intimate, that this witchcraft persecution is of the Devil, and "suppose it May be A Method weh in the Seveerer but Just Transactions of the Infinite Majesty of God yt he sometimes may permitt Sathan to prsonate, Dissemble and thereby abuse innocents, and such as Do in the fear of God Defie the Devill and all his works. The Great Rage he is prmitted to attempt holy Job wth—The abuse he does, the famous Samuel in Disquieting his silent Dust, by Shad-dowing his venerable prson in answer to the Charms of Witchcraft, and other instances from Good hands, may be Argd, Besides the unsearchable footstepps of God's Judgments, yt are brought to Light every morning yt Astonish or weaker Reasons, To teach us Adoration, Trembling and Dependance, &c." Then the petitioners state they deem it a duty to offer thus much for "the clearing of or neighbors Innoceuce; viz, That we never had the least knowledge of such a nefarious wickedness in or said neighbors since they have been within or acquaintance. Neither doe we remember any such thoughts in us concerning them, or any action by them or either of them, Directly tending that way no more than might be in the lives of any other prsons of the Clearest Reputation as to any such Evills. What God may have left them to, we cannot Go into God's pavilions Cloathed with Cloudes of Darkness, Round About."

"But as to what we have ever seen or heard of them upon or Consciences we Judge them Innocent of the crime objected."

"His Breeding (breeding) hath been amongst us, and was of Religious Parents in or place, and by reason of Relations and Properties wth in or Towne, hath had constant intercourse with us." The Petitioners say they speak upon personal acquaintance and observation, and leave their neighbors' testimony, as their own "to the wise thoughts of yr Honors."

Thus much for the *character* of John Proctor\* and his wife, from those who knew them.

\* John Proctor appears to have owed his persecu-

On the 8th of April a warrant was issued for the arrest of his wife Elizabeth, and Sarah Cloyce, the wife of Peter Cloyce, both of the Village, for suspicion of witchcraft practised upon the bodies of Abigail Williams and John Indian of Rev. Mr. Parris' family, Mary Walcott, Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis. It would seem by the Records that Mrs. Proctor and Mrs. Cloyce were brought before "a Council" held at Salem April 11, at which were present Thomas Danforth, Esq., Deputy Governor, James Russell, Maj'r Sam'l Appleton, John Hathorne, Capt. Sam'l Sewall, Isaac Adington and Jonathan Corwin, Esqrs. Rev. Sam'l Parris was appointed "to wright ye examination," and did so, according to the Record, though the examination is now missing. It seems by the Record, that John Proctor was personally present, and was accused also by Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam, of witchcraft practised on the body of Mrs. Pope, the wife of Mr. Joseph Pope, and others, "who ware at said time accordingly afflicted apparent to all." Marcy Lewis and — Gold charged Proctor at the same time. "Upon

tion to Mary Warren, as most probably his wife's also was due to the same cause. Thus he was indicted for afflicting Mary Warren on the 26th March, and Mary Walcott at the time corroborated the complaint of Mary W. The other two indictments against him were for afflicting Mary Walcott and Mercy Lewis on the 11th April. Mary Warren therefore appears to have been his first accuser.

The most prominent accusers and complainants *throughout* the witchcraft persecution were—to judge by the records—Elizabeth Booth, who appears in 8 cases—Elizabeth Hubbard in 20—Nathaniel Ingersoll in 6—Mercy Lewis in 10—Rev. Mr. Parris in 6—Thomas Putnam in 4—Edward Putnam in 7—John Putnam in 6—Thomas Putnam in 8—Ann Putnam in 19—Susannah Sheldon in 8—Sarah Vibber in 10 Mary Walcott in 16—Mary Warren in 12—Abigail Williams in 8.

The Putnams, (the men), as well as various other male inhabitants of the village, seem to have complained at times on the behalf of others, but with full bef lein the charges made—and sometimes appear as witnesses also.



which sd Jno Proctor and his wife,\* and Sarah Cloyce were all committed to prison per advice of ye Council." This record on the Court files proves conclusively, as we have before shown, how deep seated was the belief of the witchcraft even in the minds of the high officers of the Council, and the prompt action taken unhesitatingly by them in such matters, as early as April 11. On the next day, moreover, these accused parties, with one Dorcas Good, were promptly sent to Boston jail, most probably for greater security.

Against both Mrs. and Mr. Proctor appeared, and with considerable virulence, one Mary Warren,† and against *him*, John Indian. Mary W.,

\* In a previous note we have given *Calef's* version of the commitment of John Proctor, and of the experiment made upon one of the accused—making one of them repeat the Lord's prayer, &c. Felt in his *Annals of Salem* (Vol. 2 page 476) says that Elizabeth, wife of John Proctor, was the person so experimented upon. This was done in the presence, and doubtless by the sanction, and most probably by the order of the Council then sitting, and shows the ignorance and fanaticism of the times, and that too in high quarters. The high officers of that day, it must, however, be said, were as wise, if not wiser than some of the then magistrates, in England, on such matters.

As evidence of the excitement in the village, and the supposed importance of the witchcraft there, *Felt* says (vol. 2, page 476) that by March 11 a fast was held there for the calamity, and on April 11, a month later, we see the highest council in the State assembling there to investigate for themselves the matter.

† This Mary Warren was a servant at John Proctor's when she accused him. It is a noticeable fact, that various prominent accusers in 1692 were *servants* in families. Thus Mary Warren was a servant at John Proctor's—Elizabeth Hubbard was a servant at Dr. Grigs'—Mercy Lewis belonged to Thos. Putnam's family—very probably a servant—Elizabeth Churchill was a servant at Geo. Jacobs, sen'r's. From all that can be gathered now, it is pretty certain that John Proctor and Geo. Jacobs, senior, owed their persecution to complaints *made by their own servants*; and in both these cases the complainants were taken to task for their fashion of "fits," and may have had

aged about 20, deposed before the Grand Jury, June 30, 1692, that she had often seen the apparition of Mrs. P. among the witches, [at witch meetings] and that she had often bitten, choked and pinched her, and *prassed her stomach until the blood came out of her mouth*, and that on the day of her (Mrs. P.'s) examination, she (Mary W.) saw her torture Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis, Ann Putnam, Elizabeth Hubbard and Abigail Williams, &c. Now this Mary Warren had been living as a servant maid at John Proctor's, and was living there when the delusion began, and appears to have fallen herself into the fashion of "fits" at a pretty early day. When Mrs. Nurse\* was examined at the village, (March 24) this girl was left there overnight by Proctor, who perhaps went up with his family to see and hear the examination, or else the girl went up

revengeful feelings in consequence. As to the truth of this in the case also of Geo. Jacobs, see the confession made by Sarah Churchill in the trial of Ann Pudeator. (Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 314.)

\* Mrs. Nurse fell a victim to the delusion, and was most inhumanly treated. Abigail Williams (the niece of Rev. Mr. Parris) thus brings her into connection with the plot against the church, and as murdering others by her spectre.

Abigail Williams on the 31st May deposed, that the apparition of Rebecca Nurse had vexed her greatly, particularly during seven days in March, and two each in April and May, and that she saw this apparition at a sacrament, sitting next to the man with a high crowned hat, [the Devil] and that this apparition confessed to her its guilt in committing several murders in company with Sarah Cloyce (the sister of Rebecca Nurse) or her apparition, upon Goodman Harwood, Benjn Porter, and Rebecca Shepard. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 95.]

Rebecca Nurse was imprisoned March 24th, but her spectre was out doing all this mischief. Harwood (one of the parties murdered) was killed by falling off from his cart, but the apparition of Mrs. Nurse was supposed to have pushed him off, and then beat the breath out of him. (p. 98) Rebecca Shepard died of a malignant fever. The other died, we may presume, by disease or accident, but the suspected had to bear the blame through the spectres they employed.

there by permission. The next morning he went to fetch her home, and met one Sam'l Sibley, who was then going to a Mr. Phillips', and asked him "how the folks did at the village?" which was then in an uproar on this witchcraft matter. Sibley answered (see his deposition, page 63, Vol. Salem Witchcraft,) "he heard they were very bad last night, [the afflicted ones perhaps] but he had heard nothing this morning." Proctor replied he was going to fetch home his jade, [Mary Warren] he left her there last night, and had rather given 40s than let her come up. Sd Sibley askt why he talkt so. Proctor replied if they were let alone, Sir, we should all be devills and witches† quickly; they should rather be had to the whipping post, but he would fetch his jade home and thrust the Devil out of her, and more to the like purpose, crying, hang them—hang them. And also added, that when she was first taken with fits, he kept her close to the wheele [spinning wheel] and threatend to thresh her, and then she had no more fits till the next day he was gone forth and then she must have her fits again forsooth." Proctor,†

† It seems that when Mary Warren was first afflicted with fits, her master told her that he wished she was more afflicted—she and all of the afflicted ones. Mary Warren then said (she tells the story) "what makes you say so? He answered, because you goe to bring out Innocent persons." [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 139.]

This Mary Warren saw the apparition of Goody Cory at her master's house, and told her master she saw it, and he told her it was his shadow! In attempting to clutch at it, she pulled her master over. Whereupon he told her, that he now saw that no heed ought to be given to her "talkings"—that all the afflicted were "possessed with ye Devil," for that it (the apparition) was nothing but his shape! Mary Warren tells this herself. See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 141.

For a remarkable case of spectral illusion, see Sir David Brewster on Natural Magic, (Harpers' Fam. Lib., Vol. 50, Letter 3.)

† Proctor was indicted for afflicting Mary Warren on the 26th March—the day after his conversation with Sibley in regard to this Mary Warren—a fact not without significance.

moreover owned before the Court, that he meant Mary Warren as the girl spoken of in the deposition of Sibley.

Now Mrs. Proctor was accused shortly after this, and as Proctor most probably took this girl home, and kept her at the spinning wheel, and perhaps gave her a "threshing," we can see why she may have been desirous of revenge,—or why, at all events, Mr. and Mrs. Proctor would be no favorites of hers, as they most probably both agreed that the tormented "had rather be had to the whipping post," or at all events be kept busy at work.

Another witness, whom Proctor or his apparition previously tormented, was John Indian, a servant in Rev. Mr. Parris' family—the husband of Tituba. Now Proctor told Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll, who declares it in Court, (Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 66) "that John Proctor tould Joseph Pope (whose wife was one of the afflicted ones) yt if he had John Indian in his custody hee would beat ye devell out of him." John Indian doubtless heard this speech, and the whole charmed circle also, and, trembling in their shoes, made common cause, we may presume, against John Proctor.

The outcry against Mrs. Proctor, as well as her husband, at first came from a small circle, though, as is often the case in these prosecutions, by the time the affair reached the Grand Jury, as it naturally did, the list of witnesses swelled.\* The madness was contagious. Mary

\* As we have before stated, when persons were once arrested and committed for witchcraft in 1692, witnesses were not wanting to confirm the testimony of the first accusers. The testimony admitted at that day, however, was largely spectral and inferential. Our fathers were then much exercised, and even after the delusion of 1692, as to what testimony ought to be taken as proof of witchcraft. The Jews in all probability proved the crime of biblical sorcery, &c., by two direct witnesses—seeing or hearing the enchantments used, or conjurations or spells or charms made by the accused, that is, by visible or audible proof of the idolatrous crime of forsaking the true God and cleaving to false Gods or the Devil or evil spirits for strength and assistance. The Jews



Warrent and her compeers were then well sup-

most probably used no other methods to detect witches and witchcraft. None appear at least.

Our fathers mistook the illusion, or the *apparent* sin of witchcraft of 1692 for the biblical sin itself—whatever that may have been—and continued the error also in the matter of the testimony used to prove the crime. Thus the accused of 1692 were often arraigned, not (as it were) for *visible*, but *invisible* crimes—for tormenting by and through *spectres*, or on a species of circumstantial and inferential evidence—and that most manifestly inconclusive and unreliable.

Perplexed as they were about the evidence, (as they evidently were perplexed,) one course did appear clear to them, and that was to obtain *confessions* of guilt. They then felt themselves secure, since confession was *self-condemnation*—allowable in Scripture—as in the case where David punished the Amalekite, who confessed (though falsely perhaps) that he had killed Saul. Confession of guilt was then the most reliable proof, and hence strenuous efforts were made to obtain such confession. It was even *extorted* from some of the accused of that day. They were *importuned*, and even tortured to obtain such confession; nor was *extorted* confession then thought to be unreliable. Those, moreover, who confessed themselves guilty, and adhered to their confession, *were not punished* in 1692—only those who denied their guilt! Was this according to the Jewish Law?

† Mary Warren, after her own arrest for witchcraft, was examined April 19 at Salem Village, and then again in prison. At her first examination, she said she was innocent, but the current against her being very strong, she dexterously fell into fits herself, and had to call upon the Lord to save her from the vengeance of Bridget Bishop, Goody Cory and Proctor and his wife, who were then endeavoring by apparition to choke her, that she might not confess and expose them. Then she was examined privately before the magistrates and ministers at the same date. Her whole conduct at that time appears to have been a master piece of *acting*.

At her examination in prison, she confesses the very first thing—"that her Master Proctor was always very averse to putting up bills for public prayer, —and wished her to sign the Devil's book, &c. [See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 132.]

We see in this confession the religious drift of the persecution. Proctor was evidently considered as a backslider from the church—one of the plotters against it. He was one of those present at the Dev-

ported by others. It so happened, that just after Mrs. and Mr. Proctor were arrested, *Mary Warren* herself was also arrested (April 18) in company with Giles Cory and others for practising witchcraft upon Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard, and was examined on the 19th. She had assisted those *very* girls in the accusation of the Proctors, and was now accused by them in turn. The secret of this accusation was most probably divulged by "Betty Hubbard," who testified on the examination of Mary W. "that a little after this Mary was well, she, the said Mary, said, that the afflicted persons did but dissemble." (See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 130.) While in prison, this Mary Warren seems to have come to some sense of the truth of affairs, as the following testimony will show; though when examined subsequently, and denounced by the small circle as afflicting them, she soon retracted her plea of innocence, and already committed in the matter, and to save her own life, confessed herself a witch, and accused\* right

il's sacrament, according to Deliverance Hobbs's confession.

\* It is evident that Mary Warren believed that the accusers did dissemble, but on finding that such an expression was endangering her own life, as she was now accused in turn, she appears to have entered for safety's sake, the lists again as an accuser. Did not the girls at the village whom she accused of dissembling, and *she made no exception among them* in her accusation, intend that she should not break their charm, and forthwith draw her, therefore, into the terrors of the persecution? This is a dark fact [her testimony] in the nature and origin of this witchcraft "outry." And then again these girls (the accusers) had all the sanction of the magistrates, the clergy, and the more influential in the course they were pursuing; and from the first, it is very likely, took that path for their operations, which was almost unconsciously laid out for them by the credulous and prefiguring and almost intimating imaginations of Rev. Mr. Parris, and some others at the village. It is a noticeable fact, that the girls began at first simply with strange actions, which may have been the results of disease, mental or bodily, or the determination to have some mysterious fun—to mystify the



and left to the thorough satisfaction of the magistrates or others.

It may have been with the intention of being of some service to Mrs. or Mr. Proctor, or both, that the following depositions were given, as also to induce the magistrates to pause in their career. By the tenor of them, it appears that Mary Warren, one of the afflicted ones, when in Salem jail, and with the prospect of a dark fate before her, told truths that ought to have been known to the Court and acted upon. We give the two depositions on file against her—both parties having been in Salem prison with her:

"Edward Bishop Aged Aboute 44 yeares, Sarah Bishop Aged Aboute 41 yeares, And Mary Easty Aged Aboute 56 yeares, all Testifie and say that Aboute three weekes Agoe, to say, when wee was in Salem Goale then and there we heard Mary Warrin seuerall times say that the Magistrates might as well examine Key-sar's Daughter that had Bin Distracted Many Yeares. And Take noatice of what shee said: as well as any of the Afflicted prsons, for said Mary Warrin when I was Afflicted I thought I saw the Apparissions of A hundred persons: for shee said hir Head was Distempered that shee could not tell what shee said. And the said Mary Tould us that when shee was well againee shee could not say that shee saw any of the Apparissions at the Time aforesaid."

household--and that no accusations came until experiments had been made to find out the witch who was afflicting them. Then Tituba and others were accused, and the children may have heard these very parties as persons suspected of it, and thereupon followed in the channel that credulity opened for them. The witchcraft case in the Morse family (1679-80) seems evidently to have been the act, partially, if not wholly, of a mere boy working upon the fears of his old and credulous grandparents. As the subject of witchcraft was very probably thoroughly discussed at that day in almost all families, what more natural than that young and keen wits, employed by the Satan or Devil that possesses, or reigns in mischievous heads, should see what could be done that way? Like a conflagration, the matter was easy to start, but perhaps impossible afterwards to stop.

Edward Bishop, Sarah Bishop & Mary Eastey

v.

Mary Warren.

1 June, 1692. Mary English Aged about 39 yeares Testifyeth that about a month ago at Salem That I heard the said Mary Warrine to speak the same words (as is Testified too by Edward Bishop, Sarah Bishop and Mary Eastey) that she said that the magistrates might as well Examen Keyzers Daughter that had been distracted many yeares. And take notice of what she said as well as any of the Efflicted persons, &c.

As witness my hand, MARY ENGLISH.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 145-6.]

[NOTE.—The Mary Warren named above was a servant maid living at John Proctor's, and accused him and his wife of witchcraft, and was then accused herself by some of the afflicted, and put in prison as a witch. This Mary Warren admits, it will be seen, that she was out of her mind when she saw spectres.]

There is, however, still more evidence going to show that the accusation against Mrs. Proctor was frivolous, if not even positively malicious, and which we herewith append; for wherever such evidence exist in one case, such or similar evidence may have once existed in others, and such proof should be presented, at all events, as a part of the history of the matter.

In the latter part of March one Wm. Rayment (Raymond?) was at the house of Lt. Ingersoll, and thus deposes:

Wm. Rayment vs: Elizabeth Proctor.

The testimony of William Rayment aged 26 yeares or thereabout, testifyeth and saith that I being at the house of Leftnt Ingersoll some time in the later end of March, there discoursing concerning the examyning of seuerall persons suspected for witches, I was saying that I heard that Goody Proctor was to be examyned tomorrow, to which Goody Ingersoll replied she did not believe it for she heard nothing of it; som of the afflicted persons being present, one of them or more cryed out, there Goody Proctor, there goody Proctor, and [an] old wich Ile

have her häng: Goody Ingersoll sharply reproved them, then they seemed to make a jist [jest] of it. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 118.]

[NOTE.—Such testimony as this of Wm. Rayment's presents us with the darkest view, and most mischievous and wanton and wicked side of the witchcraft persecution of 1692, as originating in the wanton desire for mischief. How far, however, the persecution is to be attributed to such causes, and how far to a sincere, though mistaken belief in the diabolical agency of the accused, it is difficult to determine. We think we see clearly both *deception* and *delusion* at times in the charges made by the afflicted and the witnesses in 1692, and have attributed both to the agency of the Devil or demoniac power acting upon or through the then accusers; or as the effects of bodily or mental disease. Another cause may be hinted at, namely, a diseased state of the visual organs themselves, by which the sufferers saw spectral shapes and were deluded by them. Sir Walter Scott appears thus to account for "apparitions" seen by various parties, including those phantoms who visited and even *spoke* to Mons. Nicolai, the celebrated bookseller of Berlin, and who himself knew them to be phantoms. (See letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, pages 26-7 et seq.) That there was more or less bodily disease in those who saw "spectres" in 1692 may indeed be true, but the spirit manifested by those accusers, in their complaints, was often so false, malicious and wicked, that we infer them to have been acting—not from themselves—but from a false and perverted and diabolical nature—truly Satanic. How far those accusers permitted themselves to be so used, and thus were guilty, and how far they were the unwitting tools of evil, are questions somewhat difficult of solution.

We have frequently spoken of the accusers, in the text, as possessed of the Devil. We have, however, used this phraseology, not only in its Scriptural, but ordinary sense. The possessed of the Devil in the Scriptures appear to have been demoniacs—involuntary actors; but this does not appear to be the case with various of the accusers and witnesses in 1692. It is not unlikely indeed that some of those accusers and many of the witnesses were sincere believers in the witchcraft of the accused—were deluded. Abigail Williams and Mary Walcott appear to have been *mediums*, through whom some other influence accused others. We have often spoken of the accusers as being possessed of the Devil, but the more strict and proper language defining such accusers

Here is the testimony of Sam'l Barton and John Houghton in the matter:

Samuel Barton and John Houghton for Eliz. Proctor.

the testimony of Samuel Barton aged 25 years or therabouts who testifieth and saith that I being at Thomas Putnams a helping to tend the afflicted folks i heard them tell Mercey lewes that she cryed out of Goody Prockter and Mercey lewes said that she did not cry out of Goody Procter nor nobody, she said she did say there she is, but did not tell them who, and Thomas Putnam and his wife and others told her that she cryed out of Goody Procter and Mercey lewes said if she did it was when she was out in her head for she said she saw nobody, this being the 20 of March in the year 1691-2.

John Houghton aged 23 testifieth and saith I this deponent was present at the same time aboue written, and I heard Thomas Putnam and his wife say that Mercy Lewis saw or named the wife of John Procter in her fit and we heard the sayd Mercy Lewis affirme that she never said that euer she saw her.

would be, as being moved and instigated by a demoniac spirit. It is not probable that the accusers of that day could have been moved in all of their accusations by *personal* malice against the accused, as the latter appear often to have been personally unknown to them. We therefore do not charge upon them *revenge* as the prevailing motive, or mere *personal* malice or mischief, though at times there are symptoms of them. When it is remembered that the prevailing belief of the day favored witchcraft—that the accusers were in the very centre of such belief—that they were urged on or used by others to accuse—were consulted frequently, and sent for, far and near, to detect witchcrafts—we cannot lay all the blame to the accusers themselves. In the centre of so much credulity and fanaticism as they were, is it uncharitable to suppose, that some of them were at times beside themselves in making those accusations, and did not know what mischief they did, or were doing—and so far involuntary, or at least unconscious agents in the mischief! It is easier to say that the delusion was all fraud and imposture, than to prove it. There was



[NOTE.—It will be noticed in Sam'l Barton's testimony, that Merey Lewis said, that if she did cry out of Goody Proctor, it was "when she was out in (of) her head." It would seem by this testimony, that M. L. must have been beside herself at times—in a state of delirium—either crazy or possessed, as we say, of the Devil. At all events, her perception of a spectral appearance is connected with her own bodily disease—an important physiological and psychological fact.]

Here is the testimony of Daniel Elliott, which is terribly significant of the cause, certainly, of a portion of this persecution:

Daniel Elliott for Eliz. Proctor.

the testimony of Daniel Elets aged 27 years or thereabouts who testifieth and saith that I being at the house of lieutenant ingasons [Ingersoll's] one the 28 of March, in the year 1692, there being present one of the afflicted persons which cryed out and said thears Goody Proctor, William Raiment junior being theare present tould the gearl she beleue she lyed for he saw nothing, then Goody ingerson told the garl she told a ly for theare was nothing, then the garl said that she did it for sport they must have some sport. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 125.]

[NOTE.—This testimony of Elliott suggests, whether or no some of the other accusations were not made also for sport? Still, it will not do to class the whole under that head, because of the language of one of the afflicted girls. It is indeed very probable that various of the afflicted of that day were suffering from disordered sensation and perception, and actually felt certain pains and torments, which they referred to the agency of the accused. (See Upham's Disordered Mental Action, Chap. IV. Tactual Disorders.)

Some of the accusers in 1692 appear to have resembled "the possessed of Devils" (or more properly demons) mentioned in the New Testament, and it is a question, whether they were not similarly afflicted, and from like causes, and believed the accused to be actually tormenting them. Some of the demoniacs of the Bible looked upon the Saviour as a *tormentor*, and one of them said to him:—"Let us alone—what

much fanaticism, moreover, mixed up with this witchcraft, and fanaticism is always *sincere*.

have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us?" And again, as the Gadarene demoniac said:—"I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not." Here the demoniacs associated the idea of persecution and torment with the presence and acts of the Saviour; and to a far less, but still manifest degree, does all evil in the world, now, and ever, demand to be let alone, and believe itself to be persecuted and tormented by that which is good. Every evil or wrong denounces the good as its persecutor, and departs, with loud cries and fierce struggles, when exorcised by it. This is the common experience of history. The witchcraft delusion itself, with all its accompanying horrors, seems to have been only the coming forth of a fanatical spirit out of the distracted body-politic, exorcised by the spirit of a new era—by the advent of a more liberal faith and belief in New England.

It does not appear that the Jews ever associated the actions of such demoniacs with witchcraft, as resulting from, or caused by it, or believed that witches or wizards ever had such power to so torment. The belief in such power, like the derivation of the words witch and witchcraft, appears to be of Teutonic or German origin, and a legacy from the dark and gloomy mythology of Northern Europe—the fruit, very likely, of the old Oriental (Hindoo) imagination acting upon the ancient Celtic barbarism of Europe.]

It was in vain that the Salem neighbors, also, of Proctor and his wife came forward to say,\* "that to our apprehension they lived a Chris-

\*The following is a copy of the Petition in favor of John Proctor and his wife, and which appears to have come from their Salem neighbors:—

Petition in favor of John Proctor and Eliz. Proctor.

We whose names are vnderwritten hauing seuerall yeares knowne John Proctor and his wife do testifie that we neuer heard or understood that they were euer suspected to be guilty of the crime now charged vpon them and seuerall of us being their neare neighbors do testify that to our apprehension they liued Christian life in their famely and were euer ready to helpe such as stood in neede of their helpe.

Nathaniel Holton sen'r	George Smith,
and Mary his wife,	Ed. Edward Gaskill,
Samuel Marsh	
and Priscilla his wife,	
James Houlton and	
Ruthy his wife,	



tian life in their family and were ever ready to helpe such as stood in need of their helpe." One Elizabeth Booth appeared before the Grand Jury, June 30, and upon oath swore, that the spectres or ghosts of no less than *four* murdered persons had appeared to her, and charged Elizabeth Procter with killing them, and on truly frivolous grounds. The spectre of one Hugh Jones assured her, that Mrs. Procter killed him, "because he had a poght of sider of her which he had not paid her for." The spectre of Elizabeth Shaw told her Mrs. Procter and John Willard killed her, because she did not use the Doctors they advised her to. The spectre of John Felton's wife told her Mrs. Procter killed her, "because she would not give her Aples when she sent for sum." And lastly, that the spectre of Dr. Zerubabel Endecott told her Mrs. Procter killed him, "because they differed in their judgments about thomas verie's wife, and likewise ye said Elizabeth Procter wold have kiled doe. Endecott's wife But cold not, But lamed her a good while."

With, and by such testimony as this, Mr. and Mrs. Procter were condemned. He was executed,\* and she only saved by pregnancy.

John Holton,  
Nathaniel Holton jun'r,  
Samuel fraytt  
and An his wife,  
Zachriah Marsh  
and Mary his wife,  
Samuel Endicott  
and hanah his wife,  
Samuel Stone,  
George Locher,  
Samuel Gaskill  
and provided his wife.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 124-5.]

The more sensible and reasonable portion of the people in 1692 were wiser than their rulers in regard to these witchcraft accusations against creditable persons, but had little or no power to act in the matter.

\* *Calef* says, (page 223) "He (Procter) pleaded very hard at the execution for a little respite of time, saying that he was not fit to die, but it was not granted." *Calef* further states, and we quote it as

The delusion was broken and dissipated ere many months, and so she was saved. None fell a more undeserved victim to it than John Proctor, who, with a clear, strong mind, saw, from the first, how hopeless it was to expect any justice at the hands of the Court appointed to try him, and wrote to Rev. Mr. Mather, Allen, Moody, Willard and Bailey, to get their favorable assistance with the Governor, that,

an instance of the severity with which Procter and his family were treated,—“John Procter and his wife being in prison, the sheriff came to his house and seized all the goods, provisions, and cattle that he could come at, and sold some of the cattle at half-price, and killed others, and put them up for the West Indies; threw the beer out of a barrel, and carried away the barrel; emptied a pot of broth, and took away the pot, and left nothing in the house for the support of the children; no part of the said goods are known to be returned. Procter earnestly requested Mr. Noyes to pray with and for him, but it was wholly denied, because he would not own himself a witch,” (pages 221-2).

It would seem that Rev. Mr. Noyes must have been considered as largely instrumental in procuring the condemnation of John Procter and Mrs. Nurse, to judge by the following extract from the files of the General Sessions of the Peace—by which extract, though the defendant denied the *particular* words charged to him, yet he undoubtedly used language *similar* to that charged, and which must have been a rumor then current, as the defendant was not in Salem at the trial or execution of either Procter or Nurse:—

Att a General Sesssion of the peace holden at Salem by adjournment Augst ye 1st, 1722.

- Philip English senr of Salem being presented by ye Grand Jury for yt ye said Philip English did sometime in March or April last at Mr. Christopher Babbige's Shop declare and say yt Mr. Noyes had murthered John Procter and Mrs. Nurse, sd Philip English appeared and pleaded not guilty. It's considered that it being fully proved yt he pay a fine of 20s and Costs and give £20 bond wt Security for his good behav'r until December Court next and Stand committed till pformed.

Sd Philip English appeals. Phillip English Sen'r Principal. Phillip English Jun'r and Sam'l Wakefield Sureticy recognized in £20 to prosecute this appeal and be of good behaviour.

if possible, the innocent blood of himself and fellow petitioners might be spared, or that their trials might be had in Boston, or that the magistrates should be changed, and that some, or all of these first named gentlemen should be present at the trials. He states, that two of Carrier's sons (young men) would not confess their guilt, until they had tied them neck and heels, so that the blood was ready to come out of their noses. His son, Wm. Proctor, was so tied, for refusing on examination to confess his guilt, till the blood gushed out of his nose, and would have remained so tied twenty-four hours, had not one, more merciful than the rest, unbound him. John Proctor's letter can be found in *Calef's Work* and *Upham's Witchcraft*, and gives a vivid, but sad and true picture of the times.

In confirmation of what Proctor says of the abominable attempts made at that time to induce the accused to confess, we herewith append the deposition of Sarah Ingersoll v. Sarah Church—[probably Churchwell or Church-hill]:—

Sarah Ingersoll v. Sarah Church.

The disposition of Sarah Ingelson Agede about 30 yers Saith that seeing Sarah Church after hur examination she came to me crieing and ringing her hands seemng to be mutch trobeled in Sparet I asked her what she ailed she answered she had undon herself I asked her in what she saied in believing hursalfe and others in saieing she had sent hur hand to the dieulls Book whairas she saied she nauer did I told hur I beleved she had sent hur han to the Book she answered crieing and said no. no. no: I nauer nauer did. I asked then what had maed her say she did she answered because they threatened her and told hur thay would put her into the dongin and put hur along with Mr. Borows and thus sauerall times she folowed one up and downe tealing me that she had undon hersalfe in belieueing and others I asked why she did writ it, she tould me because she had stood out so long in it that now she darst not, she saied allso yt If she told Mr. Noyes

but ons she had sat hur hand to ye Booke he would beleue her but If she told the truth and saied she had not sent her hand to ye Book a hundred times he would not belieue her.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 485-6.]

Here the young girl\* was threatened with the dungeon unless she confessed—not the truth—but what they wished her to. The Rev. Mr. Noyes appears to be implicated in this statement of the girl's, and bitterly indeed he repented of his share in the whole matter when it was over. Mr. Upham states, in his Lectures on Witchcraft, that Rev. Mr. Noyes refused to pray with John Proctor, after his conviction, unless he confessed! When Sarah Good was executed, he strenuously urged her to confess, and told her, "she was a witch and she knew she was a witch." The old woman, roused into indignation, said—"You are a liar. I am no more a witch than you are a wizard; and if you take away my life, God will give you blood to drink." Tradition, so Hutchinson and Upham say, reports that this prophecy was strangely verified. Mr. Noyes was evidently sincere and earnest in his delusion at the time—an awful lesson on the fallibility of human opinions and judgments.

We come now to the fate of John Willard,

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\* This same Sarah Church [Churchwell or Church-hill, a servant at Geo. Jacobs?] was a prominent witness against Ann Pudeator, (see her petition on page 188 of this volume,) and helped materially to condemn her. It would appear, according to the deposition of Sarah Ingersoll, that Sarah Church had been accused herself of witchcraft, and examined, and that her confession of guilt had been wrung from her by threats of the dungeon, and being placed with Rev. Mr. Burroughs, who was probably in the dungeon. After this examination, the girl evidently had compunctions of conscience at having confessed to a falsehood. Sarah Ingersoll's deposition proves this. It is most probable, however, that seeing that no one believed her story that she was innocent, she joined in desperation the band of accusers, and seems then to have gone to the uttermost, as her wild and reckless testimony against Ann Pudeator goes to show. For how much of this was the girl herself to blame?

as he is one of those with whom Philip English and his wife were accused of being connected in witchcraft. A warrant was issued for his apprehension May 10, and his examination was to have taken place the next day, at the house of Thomas Beadle, in Salem. The names of no persons are personally mentioned in the complaint, and it may be, that he was arrested at the instigation of a private association, said to have been organized in Salem for the ferretting out the witches and wizards in the community. But Willard\* fled, as is stated on the officer's return, though he was evidently taken before the 2d June, since on that day a chirurgeon and six other men, constituting a searching committee, examined the bodies of John Proctor and himself for witch marks, as will appear by the following document:—

Return of Searching Committee  
v.

John Proctor and John Willard.

We whose names vnder written haueing searched ye bodyes of John Proctor sen'r and John Willard now in ye Goale and doe not find anything to farther suspect them.

Dated June 2, 1692.

N. Rondel, apre testis,	J. Barton, Chyrgrn,
John Rogers,	John Gyles,
Joshua Rea, Jun'r,	William Hine,
John Cooke,	Ezekel Cheever.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 63.]

[NOTE.—This search was for *Teats*, at which Imps

\* According to *Calef*, (page 221) Willard had been employed to bring in several who were accused, but being dissatisfied at being sent to bring in "some that he had better thoughts of," he declined the service, and was vehemently accused of the same crime, and a pursuit made after him, as he had fled. He got "as far as Nashaway, about 40 miles from Salem; yet it is said those accusers did then presently tell the exact time, saying now *Willard* is taken."

Allowing the latter part of *Calef's* account to be literally true, and considering Willard's unwillingness to be made the instrument of persecuting those he deemed innocent of witchcraft, by *what* insight did the accusers determine the exact time of his arrest? Was it demoniacal or divine?

or Devils might suckle. If *any* exerescence, swelling, or mole was found on the body, into which a pin might be thrust, and the part proved bloodless and insensible to pain, it was accounted a witch mark or "tett." Such was one of the monstrous beliefs of that day.

By looking at the testimony of Geo. Herriek vs. Geo. Jacobs, S'r, (Vol. 2, No. 2, page 55 of the Hist. Coll. Essex Institute,) the reader will find a description of what was believed in 1692 to be a veritable witch mark. Geo. Jacobs, S'r, had such an one, and it is there described. Bridget Bishop also had a "preternatural exerescence," which was believed to be a witch mark—probably some slight dropsical swelling, to judge by the evidence, as the mark disappeared after a first examination. By these teats or exerescences they were supposed to nourish their attendant imps or devils.]

Willard seems to have been exceedingly unpopular for some cause;\* for no less than *seven* indictments are recorded against him. In the indictments appear the same familiar accusers,† and at his trial, one accusation for murder, and beating his wife, &c., and two for dissuading witnesses from confessing themselves witches—the most heinous crime, perhaps, of all! We will not endeavor to analyze the testimony.‡ Suffice it to say, that he was condemned

\* Upham, in his *Lectures on Witchcraft*, (pages 54-5,) states that Willard had been employed to guard the prisoners to and from the jail—that he sympathized with them, and expressed his unwillingness to continue any longer in the odious employment—that this was very offensive to the afflicted children. Upham then says—"They accordingly charged him with bewitching them. The unhappy man was condemned to death; he contrived to escape from prison; they were thrown into the greatest distress; the news came that he was retaken; their agonies were moderated; and at length he was hanged, and then they were wholly relieved." Is it *charity*, under the circumstances, to believe that such agonies were *real*?

† John Willard was indicted for afflicting Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, Susannah Sheldon, Ann Putnam, sr., Ann Putnam, jr., and Elizabeth Hubbard—all prominent accusers in 1692.

‡ One Thomas Bailey testified, at the trial of Willard, that as he was riding home from Groton by night, in company with W., he heard a multitude of



and executed, and prominent among his accusers, with a story bristling with spectral horrors, was Susannah Sheldon, one of whose stories, so far as it includes Mr. and Mrs. English with Willard, we shall give in connection with Mr. and Mrs. E.

Among others, with whom Philip English is mentioned as leagued in witchcraft, was Sarah Proctor, daughter of John Proctor; but what became of her, after her accusation, does not appear. She may not have been indicted, though it is evident, that testimony was given in against her before the magistrates or Grand Jury, and evidently received. The complaint against her bears date May 21, and before the magistrates or Grand Jury appears Susannah Sheldon, who, while accusing Sarah Proctor of various misdeeds, vents her complaint mainly against Philip English.

There is yet one more witness against Mr. and Mrs. English, and he appears in the accusation against Geo. Jacobs, S'r. As the prosecution of Mr. Jacobs has already been done justice to by a gentleman, who has performed that task historically, we shall simply refer to it, and only use what testimony is found therein against Mr. and Mrs. E.

We come now, and through all this labyrinth of accusations, evidences, facts, and reflections, to the arrest of Mrs. English. Why, for what cause,\* she was arrested, is a myste-

strange noises, which greatly frightened him, for he thought they might be caused by evil spirits. He asked Willard what they were, and he simply replied *Locusts!* He (B.) heard the same noises some time after.

It is very probable, that by *Locusts*, the *Katy-Dids* were meant by W. The earth, and air, and the sea also, were well peopled with the Powers of darkness in 1692.

\* In 1656 Ann Hibbins, of Boston, whose husband had been a magistrate, was hung, having been convicted of being a witch. Rev. Mr. Norton, who was settled in 1656 over the First Church in Boston, gives this as the cause of her condemnation, "it was because she had more wit than her neighbors." The same cause may have operated somewhat against

ry. She was said to have been haughty, but her accusers may have been mistaken. Dr. Bentley says some prejudices were at the bottom of the affair. One historian of Massachusetts plainly intimates, that the accusation against Mr. E. arose from envy at his great wealth. However that may be, both were arrested, examined, and doubtless would have been tried and executed, but for their flight from Boston jail to New York—an escape encouraged by the State authorities. As we have said, no record remains of the examination of either, after their arrest, and but a few papers connected with the accusations against them. We shall give, however, the examinations of those who were arrested with them, as being the nearest approach now remaining to their own examinations, and the charges made against themselves gathered from various sources.

On the 21st April the following warrant was

Mrs. English, who had received (for that day) a very superior education—proofs of which the late Dr. Bentley had in his possession as late as 1809.

In 1681 she was admitted to the First (Congregational) Church as a member, and when accused of witchcraft in 1692, was most probably suspected also of being concerned in the great plot against the N. E. Church, as was Mrs. Rebecca Nurse, (see Deliverance Hobbs' confession) who was also a member of the First Church, and who was excommunicated from that church, (after her condemnation as a witch) and executed. Giles Cory appears also to have been a member of the First Church in Salem, and he also was implicated in the plot against the church, and was likewise excommunicated, and pressed to death for refusing to be put upon his trial. It seems very probable that the indignation ran with especial wrath against the few, who, being members of the First Church in Salem, were believed guilty of aiding the Devil in his plot against the N. E. Church; as the First Church in S., as being the first organized church in the Colony, was believed to be an object of especial hate to Satan—to be the one which he desired above all others to overthrow; and his co-workers and agents in that church would be regarded as infamous and detestable beyond any and all other witches. This may account for these two excommunications there.

issued for the arrest of various parties, including Mrs. English:—

Warrant vs. Sarah Wildes and als.

Salem, Aprill the 21st, 1692.

There being Complaint this day made (before vs) by Thomas Putnam and John Buxton of Salem Village Yeomen in behalfe of theire Majes'ts for themselues and also for severall of theire neighbours Against William Hobs husbandman, Deliv'e his wife, Nehemiah Abot junior weaver, Mary Eastey, the wife of Isaac Eastey, and Sarah Wilds the wife of John Wilds, all of the Towne of Topsfield or Ipswich, and Edward Bishop husbandman and Sarah his wife of Salem Village, and Mary Black a negro of Leut. Nath. Putnam's of Salem Village also, And Mary English the wife of Phillip English merchant in Salem, for high Suspicion of Sundry acts of witchcraft donne or Committed by them lately vpon the Bodys of Anna putnam and Marcey Lewis belonging to the famly of ye abouesd Thomas Putnam complaint and Mary Walcot ye daughter of Capt. Jonathn Walcot of sd Salem Village and others, whereby great hurt and dammage hath benne donne to ye bodys of said persons abouenamed therefore craued Justice. You are therefore in their Majests names hereby com—required to Apprehend and bring before vs William Hobs husbandman and his wife, Nehemiah Abot Junr weaver, Mary Easty the wife of Isaac Eastey, and all the rest abouenamed tomorrow about ten of the clock in the forenoon at the house of Lieut. Nathl. Ingersolls in Salem Village in order to theire examination Relating to the premises abouesayd and hereof you are not to faile. Dated Salem, Aprill 21st, 1692.

JOHN HATHORNE, } Assistts.  
JONATHAN CORWIN, }

To George Herrick, Marshall of Essex, and any or all ye Constables in Salem or Topsfield or any other Towne. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 196-7.]

The parties were promptly arrested, and the examination appears to have taken place at the

Village on the 22d. The examinations of Mr. Hobbs, his wife Deliverance, Mary Easty and Sarah Wildes are yet on file, though one or two of the papers are somewhat damaged by age, and small portions, though not very material ones, gone. We have already given a general idea of the testimony against Wm. Hobbs, Mary Easty, and Sarah Wildes. We will now give their examinations, together with the two examinations of Mrs. Hobbs, and also some other evidence, both direct and inferential, not only to reproduce the examination of Mrs. English, but to exhibit the bearing and drift and purpose of the witchcraft persecution itself—to bring into the light its more hidden causes.

It will be remembered, that Abigail Hobbs, of Topsfield, (*daughter* of Deliverance Hobbs, arrested with Mrs. English and others April 21st,) was arrested on a warrant on the 19th of April, and in company with Giles Cory, Mary Warren and Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. On the 20th, Abigail B. was examined in Salem prison, and then confessed, that Judah White, who formerly lived at Cascoe, now at Boston, and Sarah Good, (arrested Feb. 29) appeared to her *by apparition*, urging her to fly, and not to go to examination before the magistrates. Upon telling them she should go, they charged her, if she did go, not to confess, but she said she should. They told her, moreover, that Osburn (also arrested Feb. 29) was a witch. She also confessed that the Devil\* brought her

\* The Devil in 1692 generally appeared to his followers at their church gatherings as a small black man, resembling, however, an Indian, (Holbomock?) Satan appeared as a black man at a Scotch church meetine in King James' time, when a union of witches and wizards had been formed against the King, not only because he was such a proseutor of such persons, and as being the greatest enemy the Devil had, but on account of his match with Anne of Denmark—the union of a protestant prince with a protestant princess—and, in that case, the Devil and his adherents (who were then considered, perhaps, as aiding the Catholics,) began to plot and plan against him. The King and the Kirk (then sworn friends) made



the images of Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, and Abigail Williams (three prominent among the accusers) for her to stick thorns into, and afflict them, which she did, &c. She also confessed (and we wish to call particular attention to this part of her confession) that she "was at the great meeting in Mr. Parisse's pasture, when they administered the Sacrament, and did eat of the Red Bread and drink of the Red wine at the same time."

Abigail Hobbs here confesses, that not only she tormented three of the accusers, but was at the great witch meeting in Mr. Parris' pasture, but mentions, as will be seen, the names of no persons present. This great witch meet-

common cause against the Devil and his wizard crew. This was about 1590—a hundred years or more before the Devil again appeared as a *black* man, and in New England. See Scott on Demonology and Witchcraft, Letter IX. The Ethiopians made the Devil to be *white*, and the Europeans, *black*. Our fathers made him to be an Indian.

A belief in a personal Devil has always given great pith and point to supernaturalism, and appears to be only the natural result and personification of that principle of Evil, which, as far back certainly as the Chaldeans, was supposed to be warring against the principle of Good.—According to Scott Russell, the Old Testament has no such being in it as the moderns mean, or express by the term Devil—only Satan, (Sathan) which commonly means an adversary, and as such applied to human or idolatrous hindrances; and that the Diabols or Satanas of the New Testament is not, and cannot be the Devil—as he is, or has been considered in popular belief. (See Russel's Scriptural Claims of the Devil.) Other Commentators, however, favor an opposite idea.

The ancient idolatries of the Bible do not recognize the Devil, it is said, and the false Gods of the Ancients were but mainly, if not wholly, deified mortals. It is an interesting query, however, how far the material worship of the heathens may have been based on spiritual beliefs lying behind the visible symbols and types they used? How far the esoteric doctrines of the heathen church were really spiritual and mystical, and recognized spiritual beings of different grades and ranks of good and evil. The Oriental and Egyptian philosophers seem to recognize such—also the Jewish Cabbala.

ing, moreover, has no date assigned it, though evidently happening before the 20th April. This meeting, however, was evidently held in furtherance of the destruction of "the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these parts of the world," as Mather has it, and it may be the one which Abigail Williams first saw on March 31st, (Calef, page 200) or a similar one subsequently held. No names, however, of persons attending it are yet given. In this confession of Abigail Hobbs, there is mention made of Judah White's being a witch, who formerly lived at Cascoe, and it would appear, from the mention made of this woman *with her former residence*, and the administration of the Sacrament, that Rev. Mr. Burroughs was beginning to be entangled in the obscure web of this persecution; for Deliverance Hobbs, (mother of Abigail,) who was arrested on the 21st April, subsequently acknowledged that she was at one of these witch meetings, and that Rev. Mr. Burroughs\* was the one who

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\* Rev. Mr. Burroughs was examined on a charge of witchcraft May 9th, and may have been cried out upon before the 22d of April. One of his chief crimes (to judge by his examination) appears to have been—absence from the Church Communion for a long time. Another was—the neglect to baptize his children, his eldest child only having been baptized. Over and above these crimes, however—the most important of all, doubtless, was his being the Preacher of the Devil's church—the administrator of its rites and sacraments—the clerical leader and instigator of the Devil's adherents. Deliverance Hobbs put him in this latter light by her confession—and her confession appears to have been only the accusations of the afflicted, who were themselves stating, perhaps, what they had heard from others behind them!

Rev. Mr. Burroughs may have been considered heretical in 1692, and it would be worth the research to ascertain how far, if at all, the accused, in 1692, were considered *heretical* in their religious opinions—how far they had been so considered *before* the outcry made against them? Witchcraft persecutions have too often been united with the charge of *heresy*. Thus the Catholics charged the Waldenses and Albigenses (Protestants) with sorcery, and identified their religious meetings with Sabbath gatherings of bags



administered the Sacrament, &c., and she, for the first time, appears to name various parties who were at such a meeting—accusing Mrs. Wildes, Good, Nurse, Bishop, Proctor and his wife, and Cory and his wife.

This confession of Deliverance Hobbs, the mother, (which we shall insert in due time,) confirmed and corroborated that of her daughter Abigail, and gave pith and point to the persecution—revealed the personal criminals in the plot against the church. *But Mrs. Hobbs did not originate even this confession!* It was made by her *after* her first examination, (April 22d) and on May 3d, and the following recorded abstract, made by the magistrates, of the evidence against Sarah Good, (pages 15-16-17, Vol. Salem Witchcraft,) clearly shows, we think, from whom this confession came—viz: the accusers—and to whom, therefore, it should be credited historically:—

#### “Delivrence Hobbs’ Confession.

being at a meeting of the witches in Mr. Parrisses field when Mr. Burroughs preached & administered the Sacramt to them saw Good amongst the rest & this fully agrees with what the afflicted persons relate, 22d April, (92).”

This abstract on the records goes to show, that the afflicted persons first made these per-

and fiends. (See Scott’s Demonology and Witchcraft, pages 174-5-6.) The Jesuit Delrio said, that “The Waldenses (of whom the Albigenses were a species) were never free from the most wretched excess of fascination.” It is a noticeable fact, that with the wide spread dissatisfaction with the Roman Church at the end of the 15th century, and the universal progress of *heresy*, came the vigorous efforts of that church to suppress *sorcerers* and *heretics*. The Calvinists were not behind their Catholic brethren in their hatred of witches and witchcraft, as well as heresy. Scott says, (page 210) “that the most severe of the laws against witchcraft originated with a Scottish King of England; and that the only extensive persecution following that Statute occurred during the time of the civil wars, when the Calvinists obtained, for a short period, a predominating influence in the Councils of Parliament.” Witchcraft persecutions have so often had a religious, or rather fanatical basis.

sonal charges of being present at this witch meeting, and that Mrs. Hobbs only confirmed their charges by her subsequent confession, and most probably to save her own life! It appears to show another fact also, that *all* the charges made by these afflicted ones do not appear on the Court Records—only those more immediately referring to their own personal torments, as caused by the accused of that day. The supposed grand plot against the church (of which these torments were only a part and parcel, and in furtherance thereof,) is in the dark and misty background of this persecution—the most potent, but at the same time most thoroughly concealed object of the witchcraft of 1692. To obtain light upon that plot—to reveal it—and to suppress it, appear to have been most prominent objects also of the clergy and the magistrates in 1692, and their objects too are wrapt in somewhat of darkness and mystery. That which is patent and apparent in the history of this witchcraft is its least interesting, and most unintelligible portion, and does not, and cannot explain the mystery.

The confession\* of Mrs. Hobbs—made after, and upon the charges on the 22d April—the day when Mrs. Hobbs, and those arrested with her, were first examined, doubtless had its weight upon the magistrates, and as against the accused themselves.

\* Bancroft, Hist. U. S., Vol. 3, p. 87, states that up to the time of the confession of Mrs. Hobbs, there had been no success in obtaining confessions, though earnestly solicited, and says—“It had been hinted, also, that confessing was the avenue to safety. At last, Deliverance Hobbs owned everything that was asked of her, and was left unharmed.”

According to the evidence on the Records, it appears that the confession of Deliverance Hobbs agreed with what the afflicted persons themselves stated on the 22d April, and in all probability, was in the main, their statement put into her mouth; and the statement made by the “afflicted ones” may not have originated even with them, but from those behind them, who do not appear. The confession of Deliverance Hobbs, therefore, appears to stand on the same footing as that of Tituba’s—wrung from her by fear—and not her own words or ideas, but those of others—and, therefore, neither voluntary, nor true.

## NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 5.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

The first milled money coined in England was during the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1561. This improvement in coinage by the mill and screw was invented in France, during the reign of Henry II, by Antoine Bruher, and was first worked in a mint erected for that purpose at Paris, July, 1553. The use of this machine in the French Mints was of short continuance, having been forbidden by an edict of Henry III in 1585; it was again established in 1639, by Louis XIII, and in 1645 was permanently established by Louis XIV. The mill, from its first invention, was used in France for medals and jettons. The beauty of those executed during the reign of Louis XIV was probably the cause of its being finally adopted in coinage as preferable to the hammered money.

The mill and screw were introduced into the English Mint by Eloye Mestrell, of France, and were there continued to be used from 1561 to 1568, when he was convicted of coining counterfeit money, and was executed in 1569 at Tyburn. It was afterwards introduced in 1628, during the reign of Charles I, by Nicholas Briot, who had been the chief engraver of the coins of France, where he returned about 1645. Peter Blondeau, a Frenchman, in 1651 executed a few milled pattern pieces for the Commonwealth. All the coins of Oliver Cromwell were milled, and done by Thomas Simon, one of the most skilful artists that England ever produced. The coinage by the mill and screw was finally adopted in 1662, by Charles II, and has ever after, with some improvements, been used in England. The great change thus permanently established in England of the coinage of milled money, it is likely, suggested some of the improvements which appear after that period in the New England coins; the poverty of this country did not admit of their procuring such costly machinery, and the whole series, to its close, continued to be hammered.

It is likely, that not far from this period, the type of the pine-tree was adopted, which had then become of great value to New England, as an article of shipment to England for the use of her navy. Massachusetts, to conciliate Charles II for invading his prerogative in coining, sent him, in 1666, a shipload of these very trees. The government of Massachusetts then extended over New Hampshire and Maine, which were covered with those noble trees, the growth of ages. All which were suitable for masts were reserved by Acts of Parliament for that use. They were accounted the King's property, and heavy fines were annexed to cutting them without leave of the King's Surveyor, who was appointed to prevent their being cut down or destroyed. Dr. Belknap states, that for eighty years before the Revolution the British Navy was entirely supplied with masts from America. Williamson, in his History of Maine, says, that pines four feet through are frequently found, and they have been seen six feet in diameter and two hundred and forty in height. Until the Revolution, every tree two feet in diameter, growing in this State, except in Gorges' patent, was the property of the English crown. On account of its value and beauty, and as the greatest ornament of our forests, it was adopted as one of the emblems in the shield of the coat-of-arms of the State of Maine. It also, in 1775, formed a part of the coat-of-arms of New Hampshire, and in 1776 appears on the only coin she ever struck. Massachusetts showed her good taste in selecting the pine-tree for the third type of her coin; and might possibly have adopted it from a desire to please Charles II, it being the emblem of the tribute they paid him. The pine-tree gave a name to the whole issue of the Massachusetts Mint, and afterwards appears on her Colonial papers. At the commencement of the Revolution, in October, 1775, the floating batteries of Boston bore a flag, with the pine-tree upon a white field. April 20, 1776, the naval flag of the Colony of Massachusetts was ordered to be white, with a green pine-tree, and the inscription "Appeal to Heaven." It

was engraved on her bills of credit, and their motto reads, "Issued in defence of American Liberty."

The following are the actual weights of the best specimens of the pine-tree type in my collection:—Two one shilling pieces, seventy-two grains each, also two of seventy grains each, and one of sixty-one grains; three sixpences, one of thirty grains, one of thirty-two, and one of thirty-six grains; three-pence, seventeen grains. No change of any consequence occurs in the type of these coins till near the close of their coinage, when an abbreviation of the inscription on the shilling appears, reading *An. Do.* instead of *An. Dom.* They are also better executed, of less circumference, and quite round, having the appearance of being done by improved machinery, and have altogether a more modern appearance. They, with the Spanish coins ordered to be stamped with *N. E.*, 1672, undoubtedly close the series.

NOTE 1.—From 1561 to 1662 hammered money was issued at the same time with the milled in England.

NOTE 2.—There are notices of the old New England ensign as early as 1686. A representation of one in 1701 has in one of its quarters the figure of a pine-tree.

NOTE 3.—In 1678 Massachusetts, through her agents in London, offered to change the impress on her coin, "if his Majesty will please to order one more acceptable." He appears to have been satisfied with the impress, as no notice seems to have been taken of it. They made a similar offer to James II, 1686. In reply they say, "they will take time to consider of it."

NOTE 4.—Weight of the coin of the Commonwealth of England ordered to be struck 1649:—one shilling, ninety-two grains; sixpence, forty-six grains; three-pence, none; two-pence, fifteen and a half grains. The hammered coins of Charles II, issued before 1662, weighed—one shilling, ninety-four grains; sixpence, forty-seven grains; three-pence, twenty-three grains; two-pence, sixteen grains; but few of these coins were struck. In a former note I said no three-pences were coined from 1647 to '70, but I then overlooked the hammered three-pence of his reign, which are supposed not to have been struck for circulation, but only "Maundy" money.

J. Colburn, Esq., of Boston, also informs me that he has four three-pences of the *N. E.* oak type; and on a catalogue of coins lately sent me (in Yale College) I find a *N. E.* three-pence.

## MEMORIALS OF NATHANIEL WARD, A. M., LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD COL- LEGE, WHO DIED OCTOBER 13TH., 1768.

COMPILED BY E. F. BROWNE.

NATHANIEL WARD was a native of Salem, and as will be perceived by the following contemporaneous notices of him,—was a young man of uncommon scientific attainments and one of the most promising scholars of his time. He was a son of Miles Ward, a merchant of Salem, by his second wife, Hannah, who was the widow of Benjamin Hathorne. Nathaniel W. is erroneously stated, in the *Annals of Salem*, page 473, to have been the son of John and Hannah Ward. He was born in 1746 and graduated at Harvard 1765. Miles Ward, his father, was born 18th April, 1704, and died June, 1792, aged 88. His first wife was Elizabeth Webb, and he had by both wives fifteen children. Those who grew up were, Abigail, married first Samuel Griffiths, of Portsmouth, N. H., second John Bass.

Miles married Experience Goodale, and his daughter Hannah was married to the late Capt. Jonathan Neal, and Polly married Henry Osborn.

Sarah married John Ives, grandfather to the present William, John M., and Stephen B. Ives.

Elizabeth married Wm. Poole of Danvers, grandfather to the editor of the *Wizard*.

Samuel married Priscilla Hodges, and was many years Naval Officer of Salem, and was father of Lieut. Henry Ward of the United States Navy, and of Mary, wife of Hon. Joseph R. Chandler of Philadelphia, and of several other sons and daughters.

Anna, who married first Jonathan Mansfield and second Joseph Henfield, who was for many years an assessor of Salem.



Nathaniel, the subject under notice, born 29th July, 1746.

Lucretia, who married Dr. Joseph Osgood of Salem. Dr. Joseph Osgood of South Danvers is a grandson.

Joshua, a merchant, who owned and lived in the house on Washington street now occupied by Dr. Fisk. Washington was his guest in that house on his visit to Salem in 1789. The late Judge Joshua Ward was his grandson.

Miles, the father of Nathaniel, was son of Deacon Miles, who was born 11th March, 1673-4, and died August 19th, 1764.—His wife was Sarah Massey, daughter of John Massey, who was the son of Jeffry M., the original planter.

Of Deacon Miles it is related that "He said, within a week of his death, that there had been 19 weddings of his children, and all married into different families, that he had 91 children and grandchildren, 21 males of the name of Ward, 27 children of the 4th generation, and not a fatherless child in his family." See Boston News Letter, 20th September, 1764.

Deacon Miles was the son of Joshua Ward, who was born in the town of Huer, County of Kent, England, and who probably came to New England with his father, Miles Ward, who was a member of the church 1637, freeman 1641. Joshua married Hannah Flint, daughter of Wm. F. Her sister Alice, who married John Pickering, was presented at Court 1652 for wearing a silk hood, but was acquitted because she proved herself to be worth £200. Joshua was one of the crew of the ketch Providence, John Grafton master, which was cast away on a rock in the West Indies, the story of which is related by Mather in his *Magnalia* and by Felt in his *Annals of Salem*. He escaped a watery grave then, but found it about 1677 or 8, being lost in a shallow while fishing.

Miles, father of Joshua, died early in 1650, as the inventory of his estate in Court Records, 7th month, 1650, what debts to pay and what

debts to receive, related by himself in Virginia 3d 1st month, 1650: "In England given by his father as a legacy, fortie pounds, to be paid to said Miles by his brother, which he both giveth and bequeatheth to his four children." His wife Margaret was then living.

Nathaniel, at the time of his death, was engaged to Priscilla, youngest daughter of President Holyoke and sister of the late Dr. E. A. Holyoke of Salem, and who afterwards was the wife of Dr. Eliphalet Pearson of Andover. The publisher of the Salem Gazette advertises—"The Essex Almanac for 1769, the principal calculations, transits, eclipses, &c., made by the late ingenious Nathaniel Ward, A. M."

From the Essex Gazette, Salem, October 18th, 1768.

"On Wednesday last died at Cambridge, after a few days illness, Nathaniel Ward, A. M., Librarian of Harvard College. As he was a Native of this Town and his parents are still living, his Corpse was brought here, where his funeral was attended on Friday last, with great decency and respect by the principal Inhabitants of this Town and a number of Gentlemen of the College. His Character justly drawn was published in the Boston Weekly News Letter of Thursday last, as follows, viz:—

"To give an high character to the Dead, in whom there was no merit while living, is the greatest Prostitution of Praise, and a real Injury to the deserving, who thereby, to all except their acquaintance, are put upon a level with the worthless. But to set forth distinguished worth to public view, where there is no danger of Imposition, is a Debt due to the Virtuous Dead, and a Service to the Living, as it may induce others to follow the bright Example. For these Reasons there seems to be a great propriety in exhibiting to the World a short Character of Mr. Nathaniel Ward, who departed this Life Yesterday, about 10 o'clock in the Forenoon, at this place.

"He was born in Salem, where he continued till the Commencement, A. D. 1761, when he was admitted a member of Harvard College, where he gave early Proofs of a lively and pen-

etrating Genius. Whatever Part of Science he engaged in the Pursuit of, he quickly gained, and far from being satisfied with a superficial acquaintance with things, he always endeavored to make himself Master of what he undertook. He acquired a very considerable Knowledge in various Branches of Literature, but as he had a peculiar Turn for Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, he applied much time to these Studies; in which his acquaintance was so considerable, that the Professorship of these Branches of Science at King's College, New York, being vacant, was offered him last year, to which Place he was recommended by Mr. Professor Winthrop, but for some particular Reasons he did not accept the Chair.

“His private Character was such as gained him the Universal esteem of his acquaintance. Of an open and frank Disposition, his mind was elevated above every Thing mean and groveling, and his whole Conduct discovered the Benevolence of his Soul. His Professions of Esteem were ever sincere; Though he treated all with Politeness, he would never pretend a Friendship for any whom he could not embrace with a Cordial Affection. His Company was very engaging; a warm and lively Imagination, joined with native good Sense, and many Acquirements in useful Literature, rendered his Conversation entertaining and agreeable. Though Sprightly, he was far from being Vain, and was often heard to express the utmost Dissatisfaction at those who have treated Sacred Things in a light manner. In short, he was a Gentleman of Strict Virtue and undissembled Piety, who exhibited in his Life the fruits of that divine Religion he professed, which made all his other amiable accomplishments appear the more lovely. He was well qualified to fill some Place of Trust at the College; and having declined the last vacant Tutorship, to which he might have been unanimously chosen by the Corporation, he was elected the week in which he was taken ill to the office of Librarian, a place he would have filled with great Reputation, and in which he promised himself much Happiness. But alas! Heaven

determined otherwise. Confined to his bed by a raging Fever, for about a week, he expired in the twenty-third year of his Age, to the utmost Grief of all his Relatives and acquaintance; to the great loss of the College which had high Expectations from him; and of the world, to which, had Providence continued him, he might have been very Serviceable,

And is it thus afflicted Virtue cries,  
That Heaven distinguishes the early wise,  
Thus crowns the tender parent's watchful care?  
Celestial Piety, her sister fair,  
With accents mild, and look serenely bright,  
That scattered all the Horrors of the night,  
Replyd—Cease thou their happy lot to mourn,  
Who never more from rest to toil return.  
Thy pupils who to things unscen aspire,  
And endless joys, struck by my sacred fire,  
Their task fulfilled, lay down this Mortal Load,  
They cannot die too young who live to God.  
Cambridge, Oct. 13th, 1768.”

The editor of the Gazette says:—“Since the foregoing Character of Mr. Ward, wrote in Cambridge, was prepared for this Paper, we received the following, wrote in this place; and as his friends here are numerous, and all most sensibly affected with his Death, the inserting this it is hoped will not be looked upon as ostentatious or superfluous:—

“As I am not used to lavish extravagant Encomiums on the dead, nor versed in Panegyric, which is often prostituted to the praise of the undeserving, and more admired than believed; the following short Sketch of the deceased Mr. Ward's character is dictated by sentiments from an intimate acquaintance and the feelings of a divided Friendship:—

“His particular merit could be known only to those who enjoyed the Happiness of a familiar Intercourse with him; let it suffice to say, that *they* have, in the sincere Friend, lost the *polite* Scholar, the agreeable Companion and useful Instructor; studious in the Principles, and careful in the Practice of pure *rational* Religion, he was precise, tho' not rigid, and firm without Obstinaey. Few young Gentlemen ever received such early Honors, or distinguished Tributes to superior accomplishments;

fewer so well deserved them. Naturally imbued with an acute Penetration, the Difficulty of no Science eluded the Force of his Application and Genius; and with a Temper mild and forgiving, he readily discerned and pardoned the Faults of the heedless and undesigning, and the Insults of Malice and Envy. These united, amiable qualities made his Life extremely desirable to all who knew him and his death sincerely lamented."

His Epitaph, written in Latin, with the following translation, was found among the papers of John and Margaret Mascarine, and is now in the possession of the family of the late Joshua Ward, Esq., to whom I am under obligations for this and other information. It is there stated to have been written by Mr. W——d—probably Rev. Joseph Willard, afterwards President of the College. The translation differs somewhat, though not essentially, from the inscription on his gravestone in Charter street burying-ground:—

"In this Grave are deposited  
The remains of that worthy man,  
NATHANIEL WARD, A. M.,  
Son of Harvard College,  
And, a few days before his Death,  
Elected Librarian.

Whom

A penetrating Genius,  
Improved by diligent Study,  
And an extensive acquaintance  
With the Liberal Arts and Sciences,  
Rendered Superior to most.

His native good sense  
And literary accomplishments;  
His Amiable Disposition  
And Social Virtues;

Especially

His undissembled Honesty and Frankness of mind,  
Gained him Universal Esteem

And the Love of all.

He was a Son observant, dutiful;  
A Brother most affectionate;  
A Friend faithful, warm, constant;  
A Companion pleasant, affable, entertaining;  
A Piety sincere crowned his other Virtues,  
And promised a distinguished usefulness,  
But Ah! blasted hope!

In the Vigor of Youth,  
Amidst happy prospects,  
Cut off by a raging Fever,  
He breathed forth his Soul

October xii, A. D. MDCLXVIII, Ætatis q XXIII."

ON THE DEATH OF N. WARD, BY MR. (JOHN)  
MASCARINE.

Nature had form'd within his noble mind  
A Love to Truth, to Virtue, to Mankind;  
To all benevolent, in heart Sincere;  
He always held the honest man most dear,  
And shunn'd Hypocrisy's beguiling Leer;  
Not apt to blame, when he could not commend;  
Just to his Neighbour, faithful to his Friend;  
Ever disposed to succour the distressed;  
Largely his Bounty, or advice redress'd;  
With eager steps in Wisdom's paths he trod,  
And soar'd to Knowledge, Happiness and God;  
Ripe thus for Heaven, mourn not his early doom;  
Death summon'd, he obey'd, was welcom'd home.

COPIES OF UNPUBLISHED LETTERS  
AND DOCUMENTS.—No. 1.

COMMUNICATED BY M. A. STICKNEY.

The following copy of an autograph letter of Gen'l Washington's is directed to Anthony White, Esq., of Brunswick, (New Jersey), favored by his son, who seems to have been expecting to become Secretary to Washington, but who, on account of a previous engagement, as appears by the letter, employed R. H. Harrison, who long faithfully served him in that capacity. The letter is 4to water-ruled French paper. The seal used by Washington has given a very fine impression on the wax, of a shield, bordered on its right by a suspended wreath of roses, and from the base of the left ascends a sprig of wheat. The shield in its chief quarter bears one star, (perhaps for Virginia,) and thirteen surround it, for the United Colonies. New Jersey afterwards adopted a very similar shield on the reverse of the coins she issued in 1786, '7, '8. It appears on the pattern Washington cents issued in 1791, '2, also on the arms of the United States, and on most of the early coinage of the U. S. Mint:



Camp at Cambridge, 28th Oct., 1775.  
Sir:

I could not let Mr. White depart this camp without paying you the tribute of a letter. When I wrote to you last I thought it not at all unlikely that he might have been one of my Family before this, as I was not sanguine in my expectation of the Gentleman's (to whom I had written before I had spoke to y'r son on this Subject) coming this way. By the last Post I received a Letter from him, (that is Mr. Harrison,) informing me of his having received my Invitation, tho' long after date, and that he should immediately set out for this Camp; whereupon I advis'd Mr. White, as I learnt by a letter from a Member of Congress, that two Battalions were to be rais'd in the Jersey's to repair there without loss of time, being firmly persuaded that his merit would entitle him to an honorable appointment in one or the other of those Corps.

For the occurrences of this Camp I must refer you to Mr. White, who can relate matters more circumstantially than my time, or the limit of a Letter, will enable me to do. With great esteem I remain, Sir,

Y'r Most Obed't H'ble Serv't,  
G<sup>o</sup>. WASHINGTON.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### ABSTRACTS OF OLD DEEDS.

Joseph Hilliard of Salem in the Co. of Essex, Rope-maker, and Rachel his wife, in consideration of Ninety pounds in bills of Credit to them in hand well and truly paid by Clifford Crowninshield, Mariner, do convey unto said Clifford "about three-quarters of an acre of land situate in Salem aforesaid, bounded westerly on Smith & Becket's land, northerly on Mascoll's land, easterly on land formerly Hollingsworth's, then southerly on English's land, then easterly on English in part and partly on Tapley's land, and then southerly on the South River, with the appurtenances,"

&c., &c. Signed and sealed, June 22, 1741, in presence of

JOHN HIGGINSON,  
FRAN. CABOT.

Philip English of Salem, Innholder, with consent of Mary, his wife, in consideration of Ten pounds paid him by Clifford Crowninshield, Mariner, of said Salem, conveys unto said Clifford all that certain piece or parcel of land in Salem containing about fourteen poles, be the same more or less, Butting Southeasterly on land of Gilbert Tapley, Southwesterly and Northwesterly on said Clifford's land, and Northeasterly on a Lane, or however otherwise bounded, with the fences, &c., &c.

Signed and sealed this 24th day of April, A. D. 1744, in presence of

JOHN HIGGINSON, JR.,  
HANNAH HIGGINSON.

Robert Gray of Salem, Shipwright, with the consent of Ruth his wife, in consideration of thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence paid him by Clifford Crowninshield Mariner, conveys unto said Clifford "a certain lot of land in Salem, bounded Easterly on English's Lane so called, Northerly on Tyler's land, Westerly on land of Mr. Samuel Fisk, and Southerly on land formerly Mascoll's, or however otherwise ye same is bounded, being ye land given by Joseph Swasey to my Grandmother Abigail Masury, by deed dated ye 21st day of April, A. D. 1688, with ye privileges," &c., &c.

Signed and sealed this 12th day of Dec'r, A. D. 1752. in presence of us,

ICHABOD PLAISTED,  
WILLIAM BROWNE, JUN'R.

Philip English of Salem, Innholder, with consent of Mary his wife, in consideration of the sum of two hundred and sixteen pounds old tenor, to him paid by Clifford Crowninshield of Salem, mariner, conveys unto said Clifford "five acres and forty-six rods of land in the North Field so called in Salem, bounded Southwesterly on land set off to my sister Mary Browne in ye division of

ye real estate of my late Father Philip English, deceased, Merchant, and therein called Number One; West Northerly on land formerly John Foster's, there measuring sixteen rods and four tenths; Northeasterly on land set off to my brother John English in ye division aforesaid; and East Southerly on land of ye heirs of Josiah Orne, late deceased, there measuring fifteen rods and seven tenths; also five acres and forty-three rods of land in ye sd field and in Salem, bounded Southwesterly on ye sd land set off to my brother John; West Northerly on land formerly John Foster's, there measuring twenty rods and five tenths; Northeasterly on land set off to the heirs of my late sister Susannah Touzel, deceased, in ye division afsd; and East Southerly on land of ye heirs of ye sd Josiah Orne dec'd, nineteen rods and six tenths in length, with ye privileges and appurtenances to sd premises belonging, both which pieces of land were set off to me in ye afsd division, and ye first is therein called Number Two, and the second Number Four," &c., &c. Signed, sealed, &c., this 7th of May, 1746, in presence of us,

JOHN KNAP,  
BENJA. FRY.

Zachariah Curtis of Salem, Cordwainer, and Abigail his wife, in consideration of Twelve Pounds to them paid by Robert Gray of Salem, shipwright, convey unto said Gray "The moiety of a certain lot of land in Salem, butting Easterly on English's Lane, Northerly on Tyler's land, Westerly on Mr. Fiske's land, Southerly on land formerly Mascoll's, being the land given by Joseph Swasey to our Grandmother Abigail Masury, with the privileges," &c., &c.

Signed, sealed, &c., this 10th day of April, 1738, in presence of us,

JOHN HIGGINSON,  
JOHN HIGGINSON, JUN'R.

Abigail Curtice of Salem, widow of Zachariah Curtice, late of Salem, as guardian to the children and heirs of the said Zachariah, namely, Zachariah, Ebenezer, Abigail and Samuel

Curtice, all minors, in consideration of 40 shilling to her paid by Clifford Crowninshield, does demise, &c., to said Clifford a strip of land aforesd on the S. W. side of the homestead of said deed of 12 feet in width and 6 poles in length; viz., from the N. W. to the S. E. end of sd homestead quite thro' the same, keeping the width aforesaid, butting S. W. on land of Mascoll & Becket, N. E. on the remainder of sd homestead, and at each end on the land of sd Clifford, &c., to hold the same to him and his heirs for ye term of eleven years from this date, &c., &c.

Signed, &c., this 7th day of April, 1753, in presence of us,

MARY CASH,  
SUSANNAH WEBB.

Joseph Hilliard of Salem, Ropemaker, and Rachel his wife, mortgage unto Andrew Belcher, Addington Davenport, Thomas Hutchinson, Esqrs., John White and Edward Hutchinson, Gents., "Trustees named and specially Impowred in and by an act of ye great and general Court or Assembly made and passed at their Session, held at Boston ye 20th day of October last, Entitled, An Act for ye making and emitting ye sum of fifty thousand pounds in bills of credit on this Province, in such manner as in ye sd Act is hereafter expressed, to let out ye sd bills," and unto "such others as shall from time to time be appointed by ye Generall Court," a certain piece of land in Salem, containing by estimation about one acre and one half of land, bounded Southerly by the salt water, N. E. by the land of Obed Carter, N. W. by the highway, S. W. by ye lands of Woodbery, Webb, and Whitford, &c., &c., for the sum of sixty pounds, redeemable within five years. Signed, &c., this 8th day of June, 1715, in presence of us,

THOMAS FLINT, JUN'R,  
THOMAS MASSEY.

The last payment in redemption of the mortgage was made June 7th, 1720.

John Gavet of Salem, Labourer, and Mary, his wife, Samuel Clements of Salem, Tailor,

Wm. Crowell of Salem, Tailor, John Crowell of Danvers, Labourer, Samuel Crowell of Salem, Cooper, and Aaron Crowell, Glazier, and Robert Crowell, Labourer, both of Medford, Co. Middlesex, in consideration of five pounds, six shillings and eight pence to them paid by Clifford Crowinshield of said Salem, viz.,  $\frac{1}{3}$  to John Gavet and wife,  $\frac{1}{3}$  to Sam'l Clements, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  to Wm., John, Samuel, Aaron and Robert Crowell, convey unto sd Clifford a small piece of land in Salem, bounded S. by sd Crowinshield's land, W. by land of Samuel Whitford, N. on Fric's land, late Edward Hiliard's, and E. by a way on said Crowinshield's land, with privileges, &c., &c.

Signed, &c., this 24th day of June, 1754, in presence of us,

JOSEPH ROPES,  
NATH'L NURSS,  
NATH'L BROWN,  
SAMUEL MOSES.  
E. S. W.

#### NOTICE OF SAMUEL GARDNER.

In Mr. Dabney's list of Salem graduates (Gen'l Reg., Vol. 5, Page 51,) the name of Samuel Gardner occurs, but no names of parents given. He was the son of Jonathan and Elizabeth Gardner. These parents were distant relatives, the mother being Elizabeth Gardner before as after marriage. Samuel was born August 2d, 1740, and died February 4th, 1762, at Monte Christi, of small pox. He was a brother of my grandmother, and I have copied the dates from the family bible, now in possession of one of my cousins.

B. F. BROWNE.

Salem, July 16th, 1860.

#### NOTICE OF STEPHEN JAKUES.

Newbury, 21 July, 1860.

In one of the numbers of the Essex Institute

there are some inquiries concerning graduates from Harvard College. I will answer one of them.

Stephen Jaques of Newbury was born 28 July, 1686. Married Thankful Taylor of Yarmouth, where he taught school. He was married in Yarmouth, and brought his wife to Newbury, seated on a pillion behind him on a horse. Railways and stages were then unknown.

Rev. John Tufts was son of Capt. Peter and Mary T.; was born in Medford 5 May, 1689. He died in August, 1750, in either Amesbury or Salisbury, I do not know which, though I have it in some of my papers.

Yours truly,

JOSHUA COFFIN.

#### QUERIES.

Who was *Martha Derbe* whose intention of marriage with Thomas Elkins was published, March, 1735, in Salem. E. S. W.

In the Vol. Salem Witchcraft, as copied from our Records, we read that Wm. Morse (of Newbury) appeared against *Caleb* and *Abel* Powell, as accused of committing witchcrafts in his house in 1679-80. Is this correct? Were there *two* Powells? Or are the names *Caleb* and *Abel* confounded—making *two* out of one? *Coffin*, in his History of Newbury, takes a different view of the names of the two parties implicated in that witchcraft, and we have in the Vol. Salem Witchcraft merely a marginal record of the suit to guide us. C.

#### ERRATA.

On page 189, for "Now John Proctor told Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll," etc., read "Now Lt. Nath'l Ingersoll declares in Court, &c."

On page 202, (in note) for "Hoblomock" read "Hobbomock?"



# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

## OF THE

# ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.]

October, 1860.

[No. 5.

### A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE OFFICERS OF PROBATE FOR ESSEX COUNTY, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE COLONY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY A. C. GOODSELL.

Continued from Vol. II, No. 4, page 166.

Dec'r 20, 1683, to MAY 15, 1686, AND Nov'r 8, 1689,  
TO JUNE 18, 1692.

#### BENJAMIN GERRISH.

Only six days after the death of Mr. Veren the court passed an order that Mr. Bartholomew Gedney,\* who was one of the judges, should act as clerk *pro tempore* till a new clerk should be chosen. On the 24th day of June, 1684, the judges had agreed upon Benjamin Gerrish as a proper person, and he was accordingly appointed clerk, and at once assumed the duties of that office.

Mr. Gerrish was the son of Capt. William Gerrish of Newbury,† who came hither from Bristol, England, about the year 1640, and settled in Newbury, where he was sent as deputy to the General Court, and appointed to other important civil and military offices. He married Joanna, the widow of John Oliver,

\* Gedney afterwards became the first Judge of Probate for this county under the Province Charter, and a sketch of his life will be given in the proper place.

† Newbury and Salem Records, also Derby's Mss., for all the family history.

in 1645, and became the founder of a family which properly assumed a leading position among the best families of the Colony.

Benjamin was the fifth, in a family of ten children, and was born January 13, 1652-3. Of his early life and education, like that of most of his cotemporaries, it is impossible to learn anything of importance. As early as 1674 he appears as a subscribing witness to the will of Walter Price of Salem. He married, October 24, 1676, Hannah, the daughter of John Ruck, a man of note, who lived on the shore of a cove now filled in and called Creek street. His first wife died June 25, 1685, and he married Ann Paine on the 12th of November following. His second wife died in 1695, and September 24th, the next year, he married Elizabeth Turner. He had four children by his first wife, five by his second wife, and two by the last.\*

Admitted a freeman May 11, 1681,† Mr. Gerrish was, on the 16th of the next February, appointed Naval Officer of the port of Salem, and to enforce the Navigation Acts; and May 7, 1684, he succeeded Mr. Hilliard Veren as collector of powder money. On the same day that he was made clerk of the court he was sworn in as clerk of the writs for the town of Salem.‡ He acted as clerk till the political troubles which ushered in the governments of Dudley and Andros had rendered the courts in-

\* Derby's Mss.

† Col. Rec.

‡ Salem Court Rec.

efficient, and finally closed their sessions for a season.\*

Edward Randolph had, in October, 1683, brought over from England a writ of *Quo Warranto*, summoning the Colonists to appear before His Majesty's High Court of Chancery, to show by what right they claimed and exercised their corporate functions. No sufficient appearance being made, in the opinion of the judges, they, on the 18th of June following, decreed against the company and adjudged the Colonial Charter forfeited. News of this decree was not long in finding its way to New England, where, of course, it had the effect of embarrassing judicial proceedings, especially after July 2d, 1685, when Edward Rawson, the Colonial Secretary, received a formal copy of the judgment.

The Colonists were thrown into a state of great excitement by this adjudication of a tribunal supposed to be in the interest of persons disposed to wrest from them their lands and offices of government; and from the South Shore to the Saco there was much discussion and diversity of opinion as to the proper course to pursue in this emergency. In some places a disposition to acquiesce in the decree and to accept a new charter from the sovereign prevailed, and had the effect to stop judicial action in the courts at once, as without warrant. In other places the courts continued to sit for a longer period. The demise of the Crown and the accession of James II, happening about this time, served to protract this delay of justice and to still further complicate political matters till May 15, 1686, when Joseph Dudley arrived with a commission of President over all New England, which was published ten days after.

President Dudley immediately set about reforming the judicial system of the Colony, reserving, by virtue of his commission, the juris-

diction over matters of probate to himself and his council. An Inferior Court of Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace was erected in place of the old Quarterly Court, to which, Essex County, Stephen Sewall and John Appleton were appointed clerks, September 1686.\*

Sir Edmund Andros succeeded Dudley the 20th of December of the same year, (1686) and still further remodelled the courts. Mr. Stephen Sewall seems to have been acting clerk in Essex County during the ministrations of both Dudley and Andros.†

Mr. Gerrish, during this period, not only held his clerkship but was superseded as officer of the customs by Thomas Offley.‡ The only pointment received by him during this time that I can discover, was with two others "take account of births and deaths.§"

But James II was forced to abdicate in 1689 in favor of William, Prince of Orange, and his consort, Mary; the fame of which, reaching New England, incited the Colonists to rebellion. Led on by the clergy and others of the old aristocracy, the people rose, April 18, 1689, seized and imprisoned Gov. Andros and some of

\* Essex Ct. Rec. in Clerk's Office.

† It is commonly said that during the administrations of Dudley and Andros all probate business was assumed exclusively by the Governor and Assistants or Council. This is not so; since the records of the County Court in Essex show at least one case, and the files several more, in which the estates of deceased persons were settled by the Courts of Pleas during that period. What was the precise limit of the jurisdiction claimed and exercised in such matters by the Governor and Council I have, from the scarcity and insufficiency of historical records, been unable to determine; but it is probable that estates above a certain value were administered by the Governor, in virtue of his prerogative, and all others left to the County Courts—or at least that the courts were specially authorized to act in such cases. See Essex Probate Records and files, Will and Inventory of Charles Browne, Sept. 14, 1687, and Vol. 3, page 74, Prob. Rec.

‡ Felt.

§ Council Records, *temp.* Dudley.

\* At the June Term, 1685, John Appleton, the clerk at Ipswich, came in and finished the term which Gerrish had commenced. It was about this time that Mr. Gerrish's first wife died.

retainers, and, recalling the venerable Simon Bradstreet to the office of Governor, and the old assistants and the deputies elected in 1686 to their respective places, proceeded as legitimately acting under the old charter.

The courts now re-commenced their sessions as under the old charter, and Andros' courts were in turn superseded. November 8, 1689, the judges, having reappointed Gerrish to the clerkship of the Salem Court,\* ordered Mr. Sewall to give up the books and papers to him. This, Mr. Sewall refused to do, but yielded on receiving an order from the Governor and Assistants. Mr. Gerrish continued to act as clerk till, after the arrival of the Province Charter, the present Probate Court was, on the 18th of June, 1692, established in each county, and the other courts were again remodelled.

After the revolution Mr. Gerrish resumed his offices in the customs. April 20, 1689, he was appointed to receive fees for entries and clearances.† April 24, 1689, he was empowered to receive of Thomas Offley all bonds, money and unpowder. These offices he probably held till his death. He also held other offices. June 10, 1689, he was appointed "clerk of the writ at Salem till some one is chosen in his place." August 20th, he was appointed one of a committee to take the names of persons come from the eastward. November 23, 1691, he and Sewall are allowed money to distribute to sick and wounded persons from the eastern war.‡

Like Mr. Veren, his predecessor, he was a member and afterwards deacon of the First Church in Salem.§

At one time he owned a warehouse on Winter Island, which he bought of that famous trader, Thomas Maule, who built the house, which stood in all its original quaintness till torn down to give place to the elegant mansion of the Messrs. Curwen on Essex street.||

Mr. Gerrish lived in the old house occupied by Mr. Benjamin Brown, on the corner of Forester and Essex streets. This, while he was officer of the customs, became the Custom House, and some of the original records remain there to this day, in the possession of Mr. Brown.\*

Mr. Gerrish died April 24, 1713,† and is described in his will as a merchant.‡ He was a faithful, accurate and laborious clerk and a very legible penman. His chirography, and that of his cotemporaries, clearly indicate the period of transition from the old chancery hand to the modern running script.

### IPSWICH COURT.

It will be remembered that the act establishing the Quarterly Courts in 1636 provided for four sessions annually at Ipswich. The magistrates appointed to hold the Ipswich Court were Mr. Dudley, Mr. Dummer, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Spencer.

This court, like the Salem court, undoubtedly organized and commenced its labors forthwith, though no regular records are preserved till from the year 1646.§ On the 31st day of March, that year, Mr. Robert Lord appears as clerk, and the records thenceforth, in regular order, are still existing in the handwriting of the respective clerks, biographical sketches of whom follow in this article.

It is perhaps proper, here, to say that the original act instituting the Quarterly Courts was modified June 2d, 1641, so that four Quarterly Courts were to be held at Ipswich and Salem by all the magistrates of both those places, who, sitting together, had an enlarged

\* For these facts I am indebted to Benjamin F. Browne, Esq., a descendant of Gerrish.

† Derby's Mss.

‡ Probate Office.

§ In the Norfolk records frequent reference is made to the doings of the Court at Ipswich at a date much earlier than the first Ipswich record. And in the registry of deeds Mr. Symonds records some doings of that court as early as 1639.

\* Council Records 1689, Sec'y State's Office, Boston.

† Col. Rec. in Sec'y's Office.

‡ Ibid.

§ Derby's Mss.

|| Essex Deeds.



jurisdiction. The March and September terms were held at Ipswich, and the June and December terms at Salem, at first, but the last term was afterwards changed to November, on account of the difficulty of travelling at a later season.

The act of 1641 provided that no jurors should be summoned from Salem to Ipswich, nor from Ipswich to Salem. But the clerks of these courts exchanged duties occasionally for mutual accommodation or at the command of the magistrates.

We commence, then, with

[SEPT. 1636, to AUG. 21, 1683.]

ROBERT LORD.

Mr. Lord was probably son of the widow Katherine Lord,\* who came to Ipswich with her son in 1635, or earlier. Robert was born in England about 1602 or 3, where he married Mary Wait about the year 1630.

In 1635-6 (March 3d, O. S.) he was made a freeman of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and was chosen a deputy to the General Court March 12, 1637-8, when he was immediately appointed on a committee to raise a levy of £1500 for the use of the Colony. He afterwards served on other committees for the purpose of fixing the boundaries of contiguous towns and private lands in Essex County, which indicates his probable knowledge of surveying.

In March, 1648, the General Court, having five years before erected the old county of Norfolk, established therein a court and appointed the first sitting to be held at Salisbury on the last Tuesday of the next month, by certain justices named, who were, some of them, of the Ipswich Court. To the office of clerk of this court Mr. Lord was appointed, and continued to hold till the 24th of April, 1649, when

he was succeeded in this office by Mr. Thom Bradbury, who was then chosen recorder, but seems to have performed all the duties of clerk. In June, 1658, it will be remembered, Mr. Lord acted as clerk at the Salem Court during the absence of Stileman and before the appointment of Veren.\* March 27, 1649, Mr. Lord was appointed sealer of weights and measures for Ipswich. March 30, 1652, he is empowered by the magistrates to "issue all executions in civil and criminal cases." August 22d, 1658, he is appointed searcher of coin.

In addition to the above named offices, he was many years Marshal or Sheriff of the Ipswich Court, and was succeeded in this office by his son Robert, March 27, 1660. He was also clerk of the writs and a member of the militia, though I do not find that he ever held a high post in the militia, which in those days was considered almost indispensable to a public officer.

Mr. Lord wrote a very legible but not firm hand.† His last entry was July 13, 1683.

He died very suddenly while seated in his chair, on or before August 21, 1683, and lies buried in the old High street burying-ground in Ipswich. His wife, with whom he had lived nearly fifty-three years, survived him and also eight of his children, from one of whom two Registers of Probate, viz:—the Rev. Nath'l Lord, and his son, Geo. R. Lord, are descended.

AUG. 21, 1683, to APRIL 18, 1689.

JOHN APPLETON, JUNIOR.

On the death of Mr. Lord the judges, who were at Salem, passed the following order

\* See *ante* Stileman.

\* This is Mr. Felt's supposition, and it appears reasonable. There were several of the same name contemporaries, and it is very difficult to distinguish frequently one from another. There were Robert Lord, junior, and Capt. Robert Lord of the ship George, and a Robert Lord who arrived with his father, Thomas Lord, in 1635, aged nine years—neither of whom was the clerk.

† Mr. David Pulsifer of Boston, who is an authority in such matters, relates a tradition of undoubted accuracy, that one of the early provincial judges, hearing a lawyer in court flippantly condemn the chirography of a deed, called for the paper, and finding it to be in the handwriting of Lord, burst into tears, exclaiming, "why, this is the hand of Mr. Lord—I knew him well—it is the good old Lord's print!"

Salem, August 21, 1683. Whereas it hath pleased God to remove by death Mr. Rob't Lord sen'r, who was clarke unto the county court of Ipswich alsoe clarke of ye writts and considering the necessity of appointing some meet person to officiate in these services we doe hereby appoint and power Mr. John Appleton Jun'r thereunto and doe hereby order that ye bookes of Records with all other writtings that hath relation thereunto be delivered unto the sd Appleton, who is hereby desired and Impowered to grant attachments and alsoe coppies of Records and other writtings according to ye direction of ye law unto clarks of Courts et unto such persons as shall have occasion and so to continue untill the next County Court held at Ipswich, when further order may be taken in the matter.

WILLIAM BROWNE, }  
 BARTHO. GEDNEY, } Assistants.  
 SAMUEL APPLETON, }

Ver Copia as is on file and order'd to be recorded.

Attest, JNO. APPLETON, Clericj.

This appointment of Mr. Appleton was confirmed on the 25th of September following, when he was sworn in and commenced his labors regularly as clerk.

Mr. Appleton was born at Ipswich, October 7, 1652, and was the son of John Appleton, who suffered imprisonment during Andros' administration for refusing to pay certain taxes, on the ground that where there was no representation there could be no legal taxation;\* and who had been a deputy to the the General Court,† and occupied various high positions in the militia and in the civil government.

The ancestry of Mr. Appleton were of Little Valdingfield, in the County of Suffolk, England, which was the birthplace of John's grandfather, Samuel, one of our earliest settlers.

\*The author of the "Appleton Memorial" expresses doubt whether this was the father or the son. I am inclined, for various reasons, to follow the general opinion that it was the father.

†Gov. Hutchinson says, erroneously, an assistant.

There they are readily traced back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.\*

Mr. Appleton was married, November 23d, 1681, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Rogers, the fifth President of Harvard College, and had by her five or six children; one of whom, Margaret, became the wife of President Holyoke, and the mother of the late Dr. E. A. Holyoke, the centennarian. Another child was Daniel, who was afterwards register of probate in this county for several years.

On the 30th of March, 1683, Mr. Appleton was chosen Lieutenant of the 2d foot company in Ipswich, and afterwards rose to the rank of Colonel of a regiment. October 4, the same year, he was one of the feoffees of the Ipswich Grammar School. July 29, 1684, Mr. Appleton was succeeded in the office of clerk of the writs by Mr. Thomas Wade. June 30, 1685, it will be remembered, he acted as clerk at Salem during the absence of Gerrish. July 21, 1685,† he was admitted a freeman of the Colony. September 28, 1686, he and Stephen Sewall were appointed under Dudley, clerks of the new courts for this county; and the same day he was appointed, with two others, to take account of births and deaths. August 23, 1687, he appears to be town clerk—this was during the administration of Andros. In 1697 he represented Ipswich at the General Court, and was a member of the council most of the time from 1698 to 1722 inclusive. He was also, for several years, County Treasurer.

On the 23d of October, 1702,‡ he was ap-

\*See memorial of the descendants of Samuel Appleton, published in Boston.

†Savage says, 1682:—There were two admissions of John Appleton in that year, one in May and the other in October—which the accurate compilers of the index to the published edition of the Col. Rec. have marked "*bis*." John, *junior*, was admitted as above.

‡Prof Washburn makes his appointment to the Probate bench to take place after his removal from the C. C. Pleas. This is inaccurate. He was appointed as above, and his biographer's error may

pointed by Governor Dudley, JUDGE OF PROBATE for Essex County. This office he held till his death, a period of thirty-seven years;\* during all which time, it is said, no appeal was ever taken from his decisions.† In 1704 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, but was removed in 1732‡ by Governor Belcher, on account of his great age and incidental failings. The office of judge of probate, we have seen, he still retained, —an office of less importance, inasmuch as the principal part of the labor fell upon the register—the judge having little more to do than occasionally to affix his signature to blanks, or prepared documents.

He acquired considerable property, and his house was hospitably thrown open for the entertainment of distinguished strangers. Thus in 1716, Gov. Shute, on his way to New Hampshire, was the guest of Mr. Appleton; and so at different times were members of the clergy, with whom, from the orthodoxy of his religious sentiments, his wealth, position and upright life, he was held in high esteem.

He died on the 11th day of September, 1739, full of years and loaded with honors. Eulogistic sermons were delivered on this occasion by the clergy—two of which, from the emi-

nence of their authors and their supposed excellence, were printed and have been preserved. These were by the Revs. John and Nathan Rogers.

Mr. Appleton was a superior clerk; his calligraphy is bold, legible and flowing. He was the first clerk whose style of penmanship is distinctively modern.

As a judge, he occupied a place which is the connecting link between the ancient loose method of practice and the modern formal and exact method. Sir Edmund Andros has had the credit—I know not on what satisfactory authority—of introducing the existing forms of probate proceedings; but certain it is that the forms have most of them crept in by slow degrees from the adoption of the Province Charter to the present time—insomuch that the system still incomplete and silently changing. During Judge Appleton's time apparently much was done to regulate the practice of the court and the registry. It was during this period that the first printed blanks were used for records; and an attempt was made for the first time to record letters of administration, of guardianship, and the like. This was continued for a few years, but was abandoned under his successor, Judge Berry, and not resumed till the appointment of Judge Daniel A. White, in 1815.

Mr. Appleton's wife survived him and died at Ipswich, March 13, 1754, aged 91 years.\*

APRIL 18, 1689, TO JUNE 18TH, 1692.

THOMAS WADE.

The political disturbance incidental to the revolution of 1689 extended to the judicial courts, and so embarrassed them that they did not at once commence their sessions, notwithstanding it was voted by the General Court, as early as the 4th of July that year, that the courts of judicature should be open as formerly.

\*Felt and Washburn have it that Mr. Appleton commanded in the expedition against Port Royal, N. S. in 1707. I think this must have been Samuel Appleton, his cousin. In this opinion I am confirmed by Savage. See Genea. Dict.

have sprung from the fact that frequently, on a change of governors, all inferior civil officers were re-appointed or removed by the new incumbent. See Council Records, in Office of Sec'y State, Boston.

\* Felt, and others after him, say twenty years; yet it is clear that he held uninterruptedly for thirty-seven years.

† This is not so. Since the above was written I have had the curiosity to make some examination to see if this statement—made on good authority, (see Genealogical Register of the Rogers family—a very laborious work by our townsman, Augustus D. Rogers, Esq.—and other biographies of Appleton)—had any foundation in fact. I find, without going further, the appeal of Ebenezer Stevens of Andover, taken from the decree of Judge Appleton on the probate of the will of Capt. Benj. Stevens of Andover. The date of this appeal is July 6, 1730.

‡ Washburn.



Hence, perhaps, it is that I find no record of a court at Ipswich after the revolution, till some-time after the Salem Court commenced. Benj. Gerrish at first acted as clerk at Ipswich, till March 25, 1690, when Thomas Wade was chosen clerk, and the terms thenceforth continued as formerly.

Thomas Wade was born at Ipswich in 1650. His father, Jonathan Wade, who immigrated from England, being one of the wealthiest men in the Colony.

Mr. Wade was married to Elizabeth Cogswell, February 22, 1670. She bore him at least nine children, who, with their mother, survived him. One son was killed at sea in a battle with the French in 1697, and another drowned at sea in 1702.

Mr. Wade was chosen clerk of the writs, July 29, 1684. July 3, 1689, he was chosen captain of the Ipswich troop. May 6, 1692, with John Appleton, he is empowered to settle a minister at Newbury. July 26, 1692, he is appointed a retailer of liquors without doors—an occupation much sought after by the lay aristocracy of that time, indeed, I do not remember a half dozen public officers of note during the Colonial period who were not applicants for innkeepers' or retailers' licenses. Rum-selling was then, as now, a *profitable* business, and not then, as now, disreputable.

After the arrival of the Province Charter Mr. Wade sat in the General Sessions of the Peace till his death.

On the 5th of April, 1696, he received orders, as Colonel of the Essex Middle Regiment, from Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, to call out his men against the French and Indians. This was probably his last public service, as on the fourth day of the following October he died, at the early age of forty-six years.

As a clerk, he was tolerably correct, and an excellent penman. His official term was very short, and the business done during that time comparatively unimportant.

He was, I believe, an ancestor of Col. Nathaniel Wade, who was called by Washington

to the command of the garrison at West Point immediately after the defection of Benedict Arnold, and who was for a long time County Treasurer, in which office he was followed by his son, the late Deacon William Foster Wade.

### NORFOLK COUNTY.

On the 10th of May, 1643, the General Court established the old county of Norfolk,\* to comprise the following towns, viz:—Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover and Strawberry-bank, (now Portsmouth, N. H.) As the records of this county properly belong to Essex, and as its history forms a part of our colonial and local history, a consideration of the court officers of Norfolk comes legitimately within the scope of this article.

No court was actually established in this county till March, 1648, when the General Court ordered that the first court should be held on the last Tuesday of the next April.† The court was to be held by certain magistrates, named, chiefly of the Ipswich Court.

The first clerk of the Norfolk Court, who held from

MARCH, 1648, TO APRIL 24, 1649. WAS  
ROBERT LORD.

He was appointed by the Ipswich justices, and his biography has already been given. He was succeeded,

APRIL 24, 1649, TO FEB'y 4, 1680, BY  
THOMAS BRADBURY.

The name of this person occurs in our history as early as 1634, when he signs, with Thomas Morton, in attestation of a deed from Gorges and Mason.‡ He married Mary, daughter of John Perkins, in 1636.§ May 13, 1640, he was made a freeman. December 10, 1641, he was appointed the first clerk of the writs at

\* Col. Rec.

† Ibid.

‡ N. E. Hist. and Genealog. Reg., Vol. 5, p. 346.

§ Savage.

Salisbury. In March, 1648, he was appointed ensign of the train band at Salisbury. In 1650 he was appointed a "commissioner to end small causes" in Salisbury. In 1651 he was chosen deputy to the General Court, and again in 1652—6—7—60—61 and '66. Here he appears to have voted on the liberal side—in some instances, at least. In 1651 and '2 he was commissioned to lay out the bounds of Hampton; and he served on a similar committee to lay out a private grant to Emanuel Downing. In May, 1654, he was appointed a member of a special court, to examine certain petitioners who prayed the General Court to restore Lieut. Pike, he having been removed from office for some alleged refractory conduct. In October, the same year, and again in 1656, 1658, 1659, he was appointed on various committees to settle differences concerning lands, to fix boundaries and to locate grants. In May, 1657, the law providing for commissioners for ending small causes having been repealed, Mr. Bradbury was commissioned to bind over offenders in criminal cases. The same year, he was of a committee to inquire if ministers' widows and orphan children were properly provided for. In May, 1660, he was chosen to settle some difficulties at Portsmouth, requiring the intervention of the General Court. In 1666, he was of a committee to examine and report to the Legislature on the state of the defenses in and about Boston, constructed by Major General John Leverett. In April, 1668, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Customs for Norfolk County. In 1675—6—7 and '9, he appears as one of the associate judges for Norfolk.

Although Mr. Bradbury's term as clerk properly expired with the separation of New Hampshire from Massachusetts Bay in February, 1680, he still acted as recorder or clerk up to July 8th. 1681;\* and he appears to have kept the records even before his appointment. These, however, he may have completed from the memoranda of his predecessor.

\* Norfolk Co. Records in Registry of Deeds and Clerk's Office, Salem.

In addition to the duties already enumerated we find him acting as captain of a militia company at Salisbury, and in 1686 on the committee with Appleton and Gerrish "to take account of births and deaths." To crown all he was, of course, licensed as an innkeeper and retailer.

He died March 16, 1695; his wife, by whom he had six sons and five daughters, survived him till December 20, 1700, when she died an advanced age. During that mental endem the witchcraft delusion, she was one of the accused, but was acquitted.\*

Mr. Bradbury was an easy, legible and industrious penman, and evidently a man of sound judgment and more than ordinary ability.

#### THE PROVINCIAL JUDGES AND REGISTERSTERS.

Bradbury, Wade and Gerrish close the list of colonial clerks and registers, and bring us to the time of the institution of a regular Probate Court, which was organized soon after the revival of the Province Charter, and has remained substantially the same to the present day.

The peculiar system of the probate court had been first suggested by President Dudley in an order of council, May 28, 1686,† and §

\* Savage.

† As the record of Dudley's order is of historical value I subjoin a transcript of the original:

At a Council held at Boston in New England, 28th May, 1686. }

Present,

Joseph Dudley, Esqr., President,

Wm. Stoughton, Esqr., Deputy President,

[and Council.]

Ordered, That the Office for the Probate of Wills and granting Administrations be holden by the President for the time being, and his Clerk at the Council-house on Thursdayes at ten of the clock in the morning, and in other Provinces and remote Counties by such Judge and Clerk as the said President under his hand and seal shall authorize, and at such time as shall be appointed, taking Fees according to the Statutes, the sd Clerks being herein accounted as Deputies to the Secretary and Register, and from him to take Deputacion accordingly.

dmund Andros, succeeding him, did little more than adopt the plan of his predecessor. This system was authorized by the new charter rather by implication than in express terms; yet Governor Phips and his council proceeded to organize the probate courts in the outset as if there could be no question that they were legitimately constituted by a delegation of authority from the Governor, as supreme ordinary of the Province, to the several judges and registers.\* And al-

\* Below is a copy of the original record of this order, taken from the Records of the Council in the office of the Secretary of State. It will be seen by this that Prof. Washburn [see his Judicial History, 187] is incorrect in his supposition that the registers were first appointed at the suggestion of Governor Phips. Perhaps, however, he intended to say that the appointment of a Register to the Supreme Court of Probate dates from that time—which is correct:

At a Council held at the Council  
Chamber in Boston, Saturday,  
June 18th, 1692. }

Present,

His Excellency, Sr William Phips, Knt., &c<sup>a</sup>.

William Stoughton, Esqre, Lt. Gov'r,

[and the Council.]

Pursuant to the Power granted in and by Their Majties Royal Charter unto the Governour for the same being, with the Council or Assistants to do, execute or perform all that is necessary for the Probate of Wills and granting Administrations, for touching concerning any Interest or Estate, which any person or persons shall have within this Province or Territory. It is agreed, Resolved and Ordered, that henceforth there shall be one delegated Judge to be nominated and appointed by the Governour and Council, Commissioned and fully Impowered as the ordinary in each County within this Province, to take, view and make due probate of the Wills of all such deceased persons as did live and had Estates lying within the same County, and to grant Administration on the Estates of all persons dying therein intestate; also to audit, examine and allow the Accounts of such Administrations and to make distribution of such Intestate Estates, according to Law, and to make out all such processes, Citations, Orders and terminations with reference unto the premises and every thing necessarily depending thereon, as is proper and usual in like cases, within any of their Majties Colonies and Plantations. And as oft as it shall happen that any

though its legality was often doubted,\* this system was finally confirmed in 1760, after mature deliberation in the council board, and so

person making his Will, or dying Intestate within this Province, having Goods, Rights or Estate in divers Countys usually called Bona Notabilia; in all such cases the Probate of the Will or granting of Administration and all other proceedings necessary thereupon, shall be made, had and prosecuted by and before the Judge to be Commissioned as above for the County of Suffolke and none other. And every delegated Judge in each county shall be attended with an able Register to be appointed by the Governour and Council to enter and Register all such Wills and Administrations &c<sup>a</sup>. and shall be fully impowered to do and execute all and whatsoever is proper to the Office of a Register. Provided Nevertheless, That any Person or Persons agrieved at the Probate and allowance of any Will, grant of Administration, or distribution made of any Intestate Estate or any other order or Decree made by the Judge in any County, shall have liberty of Appeal unto the Gov'r and Council for reliefe therein.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Judges of Probate of Wills, granting Administrations, &c., and Registers appointed for the severall Countys following, vizt:

Suffolke	{ William Stoughton, Esqre, Judge, }	{ Consented unto William Phips. }
	{ Mr Isaac Addington, Registr. }	
Essex	{ Bartholmew Gedney, Esq, Judge, }	
	{ Mr. Stephen Sewall, Register. }	
Middlesex	{ James Russell, Esqr, Judge, }	
	{ Mr. Samuel Phips, Register. }	
Hampshire	{ John Pyncheon, Esqr, Judge, }	
	{ Mr. Samuel Partrigg, Regr, }	

\* The following transcript from the council records shows that Dudley entertained this doubt in 1702:

At a Council held at the Council  
Chamber in Boston upon Thurs-  
day, the 13th of August, 1702, }

Present,

His Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esqre, Gov'r, &c<sup>a</sup>.

The Hon'ble Thomas Povey, Esqre, Lt. Gov'r,

[and the Council.]

His Excellency declared to the Board that he had read and considered that clause in the Charter referring to the probate of wills, &c., lodging that power in the Governour and Council, without power of delegation.

But finding Courts established within the several Countys for that purpose, Saving the Rights and Powers contained in the Charter, he should continue those Courts, and nominate persons for the holding of them.



continued through the American revolution up to the present time.

A brief sketch of the history of the peculiar tribunals for settling posthumous estates, may serve to explain this somewhat technical matter to non-professional readers:—

The personal property of intestates during the middle ages was seized upon by the clergy,\* who used it up, in eating and drinking and embellishing their religious houses; in consideration of which, they offered prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased, or its easy transit through purgatory; while the real estate, or that portion of it not devoted to pious uses, descended to the heir. After a while various statutes were enacted, requiring the clergy to render an account of portions of the personality for the benefit of the creditors, the widow and the next of kin. These portions increased gradually, till, at length, the ecclesiastics had nothing more than the benefit—acquiring in fees, more or less extortionate—of the settlement of the estates of deceased persons. But they had gradually acquired *exclusive jurisdiction* in such cases, and their courts, held by clergymen, (the Pope being the supreme ordinary or chief justice,) were entirely distinct from the courts of common law.

When Henry VIII. established the church of England he assumed the place of the Pope,† as supreme ordinary over England and its dependencies, and his successors have held that office to this day.

Now, one power exercised by the king in this capacity—which in our government is wisely conferred on the Legislature, or left to the people—was the power to constitute inferior tribunals, or rather to delegate his judicial functions to others to exercise in his name and behalf, according to the Roman or Civil Law, which admitted of a delegation of judicial powers.

\* View of the state of Europe during the Middle Ages. By Henry Hallam. Chap. VII. Blackstone's Commentaries, Book 2d, Chap. 32.

† Black. Com., Book 1, Chap. 7th, Sec. 5 and notes.

Accordingly, King William and Queen Mary authorized the Governor and Council of the Province to “do, execute or perform *all that necessary* for the probate of wills and granting of administrations for, touching or concerning any interest or estate which any person or persons shall have within our said province or territory.”

By virtue of the words “all that is necessary,” &c., the Governor and Council, in turn claimed and exercised the right of delegating their authority as before mentioned; and doubt arose and was settled, as I have already described, as to whether the sub-delegations were warranted by the charter and the laws of the realm.

The Governor and Council remained the Supreme Court of Probate, to which an appeal lay in all cases from the decisions of the court judges.

During the growth of the Colony the business of the probate department had largely increased, both in amount and variety.\*

In March, 1649, the county court had been empowered to grant allowances to the widows of intestates and to divide and assign property among the children and heirs; and the October following, an ordinance was passed, providing for the punishment of such as embezzled or concealed any will or property of a deceased person, or neglected to administer or renounce executorship within a specified time after the decease of the testator or intestate. In October, 1673, the powers of guardians were defined, and they were ordered to give security to Court. In May, 1677, an ordinance was passed, authorizing the County Court to make distribution of insolvents' estates. In October, 1682, the County Courts were empowered to authorize executors and administrators to make specific performance of the contracts of the intestates or testators for the sale of land. In May, 1685, the courts were further empowered to summon in executors and others

\* See Col. Rec. *passim*. and An. Charters; and White's Probate.

render inventories and accounts, and to impose penalties for disobedience and neglect; and the next February this law was amended and reaffirmed.

The simple practice of the earliest courts had been, arbitrarily, to treat all real estate as mere chattels, and it was administered accordingly, without regard to the title of the heir. This error had been partially corrected, and petitions were presented to the General Court, in some instances, for leave to sell.\*

When the new Court of Probate was instituted the practice at once assumed the aspect of improvement. All that was valuable in the former practice was retained, and much that was improper was abandoned. Bonds, which in colonial times had run to the County Treasurer, were now made to the Judge of Probate; and, though many things remained imperfect and requiring correction, the court, in its leading features, started in substantially the same track that it is now pursuing, after a lapse of nearly one hundred and seventy years.†

Although no seal was formally adopted by either of the probate judges at first, yet, in Essex County, a small seal, once used in the old colonial courts, and now adopted by the County Commissioners,‡ was affixed, in a few instances, to letters, warrants, and some other papers, issuing from the court, till the year 1728, when a seal, represented in the following cut, was used by Judge Appleton, but abandoned not many years after.

The date of the order in council establishing this court is June 18, 1692; when Bartholomew

\* Col. Rec., Vol. 5, p. 479, and elsewhere.

† See Prob. Files and Rec. Essex.

‡ See some of the files in Essex Probate Office. The form of this seal is an ellipse, with its transverse axis, perpendicular,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch in length. In the centre is a figure, evidently a cypher for Essex; over the cypher is a nondescript bird—and beneath a figure, representing either a dagger or fleur-de-lis, with two minute ornamental rosettes above, and two below the cypher.

PROBATE SEAL,



ESSEX CO., 1728.  
[See note, below.]

Gedney was appointed Judge, and Stephen Sewall Register.

JUNE 18, 1692, TO JUNE 3, 1698.

BARTHOLOMEW GEDNEY, 1ST. JUDGE.

Mr. Gedney, one of the most distinguished in the list of those who have held this office, was baptized June 14, 1640, and was the son of John Gedney, (and Catherine, his wife,) a merchant and dealer in wines, who came hither from Yarmouth, England, in 1637, and was admitted a freeman the next year.\*

Bartholomew married Hannah Clark, De-

[The above cut was hastily prepared, with the assistance of the printers, and represents the old seal, so far as it can be restored, with tolerable accuracy. It was no small job to make out the character of this seal, and especially the legend, from the faded and imperfect fragments of the early impressions now on file. After examining many files, and by dint of some guesswork the whole seal has, I believe, been restored in this engraving.]

My apology for inserting the above must be the fact, that (the original die having been missing from the time that "man's memory runneth not to the contrary," and as I have not found a person among the many intelligent gentlemen in this county familiar with the history of the court who was aware of the fact that such a seal was ever used,) I deemed it a matter worthy of being recorded, though in a form which, if time would allow, might be somewhat improved.

The present seal is a "lion rampant" in a circle, surrounded with the words "COUNTY OF ESSEX"—apparently taken from the old seal. The modern lion is not so shabby an animal as his predecessor.]

\* Savage, and Derby's Mss.

cember 22d., 1662, and by her had four sons and five daughters.

He was by profession a physician, and practised as early as 1662.\* He also appears to have been at sea some time before he was appointed judge.† He was made a freeman May 19, 1669, and appears soon after in the militia; his first appointment being that of ensign in Capt. John Corwin's Company, October 17, 1676. Two years afterwards he was made lieutenant in the same company; and on the 10th of October, 1683, on the death of Capt. Corwin, he was promoted to the vacancy. In 1689 he declined a re-appointment, and Stephen Sewall was chosen in his stead. He afterwards rose to be Colonel or "Commander-in-Chief" of the Essex Regiment.‡

May 8, 1678, he was chosen deputy to the General Court, and November of the next year chosen one of the Commissioners for Salem.

In June, 1680, he was appointed by the General Court one of a committee to manage the affairs of the new plantation at Caseo Bay, formed the May previous, and called "Swegustagoe." Here, six years before, with Henry Sayward of York, he had made a large purchase and contracted for the erection of a saw-mill.§

He was chosen assistant or councillor, May 19, 1680, and held that office the three following years; when, having advised a compliance with the requirements of the crown officers in regard to the charter, much against the wishes of the clergy and the people, he was omitted from the list of assistants the next year.||

When President Dudley arrived, in 1686, he

\* Felt.

† See in Calef's "More Wonders of the Invisible World," trial of Capt. John Alden, senior, and Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 142, note by G. F. Chever, Esq.

‡ For these facts and many more see Col. Rec., Vol. 5th.

§ Felt's Annals.

|| Ibid and Col. Rec.

was reinstated in this office—being specially named in the royal commission—and again Sir Edmund Andros' commission the Decent following. He served actively throughout the government of Andros, and exercised judicial powers in Essex County during that period but was one of the number who addressed a letter to the Governor upon the rising of the people, requesting his Excellency to deliver the defences to them and to submit himself a prisoner.

He, and others, then constituted themselves a committee of safety, and, with commendable self-denial, convened the assistants and deputies chosen in 1686, and surrendered the government into their hands, with the former Governor, Simon Bradstreet, at the head.\*

He was not again called to the board of assistants till after the arrival of the Provincial Charter, when his name was found in that instrument as one of the first council.†

After the revolution of 1689 he was appointed by the Governor and Council one of a committee to draw up a report of the illegal acts of Andros' administration.‡ This resulted in the well known pamphlet, "New England Revolution Justified."§

\* For these facts see Council Records and Hutchinson's History and Collections.

† See the charter in An. Charters.

‡ Col. Rec.

§ Pub. in Force's Coll. "Tracts and other Papers &c., Washington, 1838, Vol. 4th. The order in Council is dated January 1, 1690, and reads thus:—"Ordered that Wm. Stoughton, Bart. Gedney and W. Browne, Esquires, with such others as are members of Sir Edmund Andros's Gov't as they shall see fit advise with, are hereby desired to draw up such information as they can give referring to the transactions of said gov't that were oppressive and injurious to the people, as well touching the manner of passing acts in said council as the execution of them and any other matters relating to the exercise of said government which were grievous and illegal and transmitt the same speedily to the Council. The gentlemen above named are requested to perfect what is above desired of them some time the next week."



In 1681 he was of the committee to examine the books of William Bowditch, the officer of customs, then lately deceased. In June, 1692, he was one of the committee appointed to revise the laws. On November 7, 1683, he was one of the parties summoned in the writ of *habeas corpus* against the Colony, and he was otherwise conspicuous on committees and in the government of the Colony.

As a military officer he was called upon to act in matters of great importance. Thus, January 10, 1690, he was one of a committee of seven to plan the successful expedition against Port Royal in Nova Scotia; and the 18th of March following, he was appointed commander-in-chief of this expedition, which he seems to have declined in favor of Sir William Phips.\* In February, 1691, he was of the committee on plunder—a large amount having been obtained at the sacking of Port Royal. April 14, 1692, he was appointed to go to Wells, in Maine, with thirty troopers, to make peace with the Indians and lengthen out the truce.†

In 1695 he was again appointed one of the commissioners for the war; and, August 16, 1696, he marched at the head of 460 men of his regiment, for Kittery.‡ A letter from the port at Saco, dated the 13th of the same month, shows with what high expectation the inhabitants there regarded his coming.§ In October following, he writes back that Capt. Chubb had shaken the faith of the Province with the Indians.||

\* I have not met with a satisfactory explanation of the record of these appointments. Gedney was first chosen to command this expedition; the next day Phips was appointed to the same position; and afterwards Lieut. Pike was appointed Commander-in-chief. It may be that Phips commanded the naval expedition, while Pike led the land forces—Gedney having declined the command of the latter.

† See Col. Rec.

‡ Felt's An.

§ New England Hist. and Genea. Reg., Vol. 3, p. 63.

|| Felt's An.

His judicial offices were not less important. He was the first Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for this County, appointed thereto in 1692. The same year he was commissioned one of the judges of that unfortunate Court of Special Oyer and Terminer before which the unhappy victims of the witchcraft delusion were tried and convicted. He sat in these trials—and it is painful to record that he was not exempt from the influences of that mania.¶

The date of his appointment as Judge of Probate is June 18, 1692. This office, as well as his seat in the Common Pleas, he held till his death—which occurred, according to most authorities, February 28, 1698, though the inscription on his tombstone in the Charter street burying-ground puts it February 1, 1697.\*

¶ See various accounts of witch trials, especially Calef, (as above). Mr. Chever, in his thorough article on Philip English, supposes John Gedney to be the magistrate before whom Capt. John Alden was examined, as narrated by Calef, but I see no reason for doubting that it was Bartholomew, the judge, a brother of John. See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. 3, p. 142.

\* February 1697, old style, would of course come 1698 new style, though I cannot, satisfactorily, account for the discrepancy in the day of the month. Felt, Washburn and Derby all record it February 28—probably following the Salem town records. Judge Sewall, in his published diary, makes it March 1, 1698–9! The first three may be correct, and the error may have arisen from misinterpreting the inscription on his tombstone; which, being cut in a freestone slab, lying horizontally, with the face exposed to the weather, has become nearly effaced. It is, probably, for this reason that Mr. Derby has overlooked it in his record of inscriptions in the Charter street burying-ground.

The substructure of his monument is of granite or brick masonry, and it stands directly in front of the Charter street entrance. At the close of a long summer afternoon, spent, despairingly, in search of some memorial of the distinguished magistrate, I came upon this apparently smooth tablet;—but, noticing the empty excavation in which the family escutcheon was originally placed, I looked further for the name of the occupant, and succeeded

We have already seen that Mr. Gedney sometimes acted as clerk or register in addition to his other duties.\*

I am not sure of the precise spot of his residence, but many things indicate that it was not far from the present Gedney Court. Probably the old house, formerly in that court, torn down several years since, and known as the "French House"—from its having been for some time the abode of the fugitive Acadians—was the dwelling house of the judge.

Like most of the Salem magistrates, Mr. Gedney was a member of the First Church, in Salem.

The facts of his life, so far as they have been preserved, exhibit the character of a brave and pious man; an able and patriotic public officer, who was at once conciliating, self-sacrificing and laborious; a magistrate, conscientious and diligent, though sometimes misguided; a military commander of comprehensive views, skillful and courageous; and a citizen, useful, enterprising and universally respected.

Truly, little more can be said in praise of any man, and yet, after due consideration, I think nothing less can, with justice, be said of him.

(To be Continued.)

in tracing with penknife and pencil (Old Mortality like) the name, the date of the death, and the age of the deceased—his 57th year, so the inscription reads.

As I surveyed the worn and battered sand-stone, moss-grown and covered with bits of broken crockery, placed there by the children of the neighborhood—who often spend a summer half-holiday in that quiet place—and considered that this monument and a few scattered records besides, scarcely served to transmit the name of one who, a few generations ago, stood pre-eminent among the illustrious of his countrymen, I could not repress a reflection on the fleeting nature of the fame acquired by the early great men of our country. Anywhere in Europe, with ordinary advantages, such a man as Gedney would undoubtedly have achieved the highest distinction and left an imperishable name.

\* Ante, B. Gerrish, biog.

## NEW ENGLAND GENEALOGY.

BY C. M. ENDICOTT.

Whoever writes a work upon this subject should possess the confidence of the public, not only for his extensive research, but for his candor and unprejudiced mind. Sir Walter Scott lost caste, as an impartial writer, when he undertook the history of NAPOLEON 1st, and brought to bear upon it all his Scotch and English prejudices. With the lapse of time every circumstance, however trivial, connected with the first settlement of Massachusetts, its rulers, receives increasing importance; the at all interested in the character and official honors of John Endicott have little reason to be flattered at the new attempt to degrade him and his office, by the author of a work entitled "Genealogy of New England," just issued from the press. To the *general* reader it is a matter of no interest who was, or was not, the first Governor of Massachusetts; and the discussion of such a question involving the integrity of history, if it be a question at all, to say the least, is in such a work out of place, and of bad taste, as it is calculated to provoke criticism and controversy. The ingenuity and industrious industry with which this author labors to make the worse appear the better side is worthy a better cause.

The establishment of "*an absolute*" Government in New England with John Endicott, Governor, surrounded with thirteen counselors, before the arrival of Winthrop, and even before he was connected with the settlement in England, constitutes him *no governor* in his own opinion, and he moves among the Company's Records, demolishing what he pleases which lies in the way of his argument, and labors to show that there was *no colony*, nor government, prior to 1630, the arrival of Winthrop.

It must be known to this author that there are many antiquarians among us, of equal search and knowledge of events, but perhaps less skilled as special pleaders, who have arrived at a different conclusion from him as to

the first governorship of New England. This author misstates some facts, suppresses others, forestalls many, and jumps at conclusions. He says, "After his (that is, Mr. E.'s) coming he was made head, or Superintendent, or Governor, of the first settlement at Salem."

These are the author's own words and conclusions. Who would believe, after so much difficulty in finding a *phrase* whereby to designate his office and station, that there is a record to this effect—"We have, with full *consent* and *authority* of this Court, *chosen* and *elected* the said Capt. John Endicott to the place of present governor of our plantation; not of any part of it, *as Salem*; but "*of our plantation*." And again, in the Company's first general letter of instructions to Endicott and his Council are the following words: "We have, in prosecution of that good opinion we have always had of you, *confirmed you Governor of our plantation*." His oath of office also says, "you shall endeavor faithfully and carefully to carry yourself in the place of *Governor* so long as you shall continue in it." And once more in the same oath of office are these words:—"All these premises you shall keep to the uttermost of your power and skill so long as you continue in the place of *Governor of this fellowship*." So much for the propriety of the application of a phrase.

No student in New England history needs to be informed, that in the beginning, under the first organization of the Colony, Matthew Cradock was the first Governor of the Company in England, and that John Endicott under the same organization was the *first* Governor of *our plantation*. This author likewise asserts, "it was never consummated (that is, the organization of an absolute government in the colony) by *needful authority*, or at least, *cannot be proved*. Why can it not be proved? For the plain and simple reason, which the author must have known, but which he suppresses, that the records of the doings of the government under Mr. Endicott's administration, together with the records of the *first church* in Salem, and of the town of Salem itself, during that period, are lost. This circum-

stance has opened a wide field for speculation, and is the foundation of all the controversy ever had on the subject; and we conceive it to be unjust and illiberal to take advantage of this circumstance to assert that "*no organization was ever consummated*," because in the absence of those records it cannot be proved except *collaterally*.

Again, to degrade Endicott's position and office, he calls his authority "*a power of attorney*," when he knows the company expressly designated what that office should be called, viz., "Governor of our plantation" or "of this fellowship." It was the same "*power of attorney*" under which Winthrop and all his immediate successors acted, that is, a power derived from the company. In the absence of these records, he ignores all collateral evidence of the organization of the government, particularly Morton's statement, in his scurrilous publication, called the "New English Canaan," that he, "at a general appearance, (that is, a general court,) at the worshipful town of Salem, there in open assembly was tendered certain articles devised between him (Mr. Endicott) and their new pastor, Master Eager, (probably Rev. Mr. Skelton); to these articles every planter, old and new, must subscribe, or be expelled from any abode within the compass of the land contained within the grant *then showed*. The tenor of these articles was as follows:—"That in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as political, we should follow the rule of God's word; and all the assembly (mine host only replied) did subscribe." This assembly was in accordance to the following instructions: "Let the laws be first published to forbid these disorders and all others you fear may grow up; whereby they may not pretend ignorance of the one, nor the privilege to offend; and then fear not to put good laws made upon good ground and warrant in due execution."

The author also ignores Edw. Howes's letter to John Winthrop, Jr., of the 25th March, 1633, in which he says, "there was presented to the Lords lately 22 of Indicut's lawes." This would again indicate that an absolute



government had been consummated; if so, from the scrupulous uprightness of Endicott's character, there can be no doubt it was by "*needful authority*," for Endicott's oath of office forbade him "to make statutes or ordinances without the consent of the council for the government of Massachusetts Bay." This reference from England to Endicott's laws would also indicate that these records were at this time (1633) in existence, probably in England. Again we quote from the company's records of the 30th of April, 1629:—"It is further ordered that the Governor, Mr. Endicott, [or his deputy] and the said Council, being chosen as aforesaid, and *having taken their oaths respectively to their places*.....at any of their meetings which the Governor at his discretion.....is hereby authorized to appoint, shall have full power and authority by power derived from His Majesty's letters patent to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes and ordinances, &c., &c., for the present government of our plantation, and the inhabitants residing within the limits of our plantation." No one, we presume, will charge Endicott and the Council with making laws *without having taken their oaths respectively to their places*.

It is conceded that Mr. Winthrop was *first* Governor *after* a new organization of the company, combining the two offices of Governor of the *company* and Governor of the Colony in one person; and that he was the first Governor who was at once chief officer of the corporation and chief administrator on the spot; combining the two characters which before Winthrop had been sustained by two persons, viz., Cradock and Endicott.

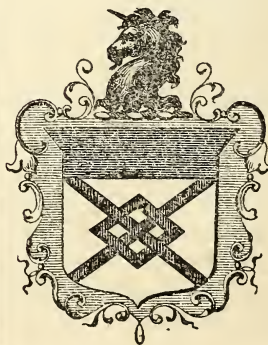
Winthrop does not appear to have exercised his authority as Governor until he was chosen at a court of the freemen on the soil, held 23d August, 1630. In his journal on his arrival he speaks of himself as an "*assistant*," and says, "We who were of the '*assistants*' and some of the gentlemen and some of the women returned with them to Naumkeag, where we

supped on a good venison pasty and good beer." The author admits "Endicott was the *first* and *only* Governor of London Plantation." This is a mere quibble. What, we would respectfully ask, was "London Plantation?" but this very "Colony of Massachusetts Bay?"

We will pass over some minor errors, such as his having lived in Boston above twenty years, which a reference to the records of Massachusetts for the year 1655 would have corrected; and his son Zerubabel instead of his grandson having resided in Topsfield. It would be useless to follow this closely written article of four pages through all its devious windings, and, therefore, the writer would remark, in conclusion, that he will yield to no man in his respect and veneration for the virtues which adorned with almost unearthly splendor the life and character of Gov. Winthrop; nor will he allow that the high estimation which he has formed of the eminent services of that great and good man, in promoting the welfare of the infant settlement of Massachusetts, is surpassed, but he cannot permit those feelings to prompt him to violate the integrity of history or to claim for Gov. Winthrop any distinction which does not of right and in justice belong to him, or place upon his brow the laurel which belong to another.

## NOTICE OF THE CURWEN HOUSE, AND OF ITS OCCUPANTS.

BY GEORGE R. CURWEN.



"Curwen House, on the corner of Essex and North streets, Salem Mass., was erected, A. D. 164 by Capt. George Corwin, and was occupied by him until his removal to the house which he died

high stood upon the site now occupied by Mr. Timothy Ropes's store and the building next east of it.

Capt. George Corwin was born in England, 11th December, 1610; and according to Far-er, at Workington, Cumberland County; which appears likely, from the fact that he and his descendants always used the Arms of the Curwens of Workington Hall, the same that and at the head of this article.

Capt. George Corwin was an eminent merchant of Salem, and a very prominent man—holding various offices of trust and honor under the Colonial Government. He died in Salem, January, 1685, leaving one of the largest estates that had been administered on in the colony; one item mentioned in his inventory being 621 oz. of silver plate. His first wife was Elizabeth White, widow of John White; second, Elizabeth, widow of Robert Brook, and daughter of Gov. Edward Winslow.

After the removal of Capt. George Corwin from the old house it was occupied by his son, Hon. Jonathan Corwin.

Hon. Jonathan Corwin, like his father, held many offices of honor in the Colonial and Provincial Governments; among the rest, he held various times the offices of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, Judge of Probate, Judge of the Superior Court, and Judge of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer, established by Gov'r Phipps 2d May, 1692, for the trial of persons accused of witchcraft.

His last named court met five times, viz., June, 28th June, 3d August, 9th September, and 17th September, during which time sixteen persons were tried, condemned and hanged for witchcraft, and one person (Giles Key) pressed to death for standing mute.

It is said that in the eastern front lower end of this old house some of the unfortunate accused were brought before Judge Corwin and other magistrates for their preliminary examination, but they were tried and condemned in the meeting-house which stood

where the meeting-house of the First Religious Society now stands, at the corner of Essex and Washington streets.

Hon. Jonathan Corwin was born 14th of November, 1640. He married Elizabeth, widow of Robert Gibbs, and daughter of Jacob and Margaret Sheafe of Boston. Robert Gibbs was a son of Sir Henry Gibbs, and some plate given by Sir Henry to Mrs. Corwin is mentioned in her will. Judge Corwin died 25th July, 1718, and lies buried in the family tomb, in Broad street burying-ground, Salem.

The next occupant of the old house was Rev'd George Curwin, (as he invariably spelt his name); he was son of Hon. Jonathan Corwin.

Rev'd George Curwin was born 21st May, 1682; graduated at Harvard College 1701; and married Mehitable, daughter of Deliverance Parkman, Esq., (by his second wife, Mehitable, who was daughter of Hon. John Waite, Speaker of Massachusetts House of Representatives,) 27th July, 1711. For a number of years he was an assistant minister with Rev'd Mr. Noyes, minister of the First Religious Society in Salem, and was ordained pastor and colleague of that society on the 19th May, 1714. He died 23d November, 1717.

Capt. George Curwen, son of Rev'd George, was born 4th December, 1717. Graduated at Harvard College, with his brother Samuel, 1735; married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Pickman, (by his wife Abigail, daughter of Timothy and Mary (Veren) Lindall,) and occupied the old house until his death, which occurred 7th June, 1746, after which it was occupied by his widow and children. The survivor, Mehitable, the wife of Richard Ward, Esq., coming into possession of it at the death of her mother, 3d January, 1810.

Mrs. Sarah Cushing, the last of the family who owned it, and who came into possession of it by inheritance from her mother (Mrs. Ward) and by purchase from the other heirs, sold it to the present proprietor soon after her removal

to New York, where she now resides, at the advanced age of 91 years, and in the full enjoyment of all her faculties.

Capt. George Corwin, Sheriff for Essex County in 1692, was a nephew of Hon. Jonathan Corwin. He never occupied the Curwen mansion, (his house was near the spot now occupied by Dr. Fisk, on Washington street,) but is distinguished from his connection with the witch trials. He was Sheriff of the County at the time, and on him devolved the painful duty of executing the condemned persons. He was son of Capt. John Corwin, by his wife Margaret, third daughter of Gov'r John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut, and was born 26th February, 1666. He married Susanna and Lydia, both daughters of Hon. Bartholomew Gedney. Lydia survived him.

This is the Capt. George Corwin mentioned in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts as being in the expedition against Canada, under Sir William Phipps, in 1660. For the part which he, by virtue of his office, was obliged to take in executing the sentence of the law upon those condemned for witchcraft, he was severely persecuted by the friends of the deceased, and at the time of his death (1696) the excitement against him was so great that his friends were unable for a long time to carry his body to the family tomb, and his remains were kept buried in the cellar of his house until the excitement had subsided.

He, like his father, varied in the manner of spelling the name—signatures of his are in possession of the family, signed Corwin and Curwen, and sealed with the family arms.

The house in its original form was quite an imposing structure for the day in which it was built, and it is to be regretted that any change was ever made in its appearance.

As it was erected there were six stone steps from the ground to the front door, but from the street's being raised and the settling of the house, there is now but one. A porch with a gable end projected from the front of the house, with the front door in it, which opened into a

spacious hall, and over the hall was a chamber. On either side of the porch were gables, (all the gables being surmounted by ornaments,) and on the back of the house was a one story kitchen.

At the time of the death of Capt. George Curwen, in 1746, the gables and porch were removed by his widow, two kitchens, with chambers over them, were added on the back of the house, the one story kitchen taken away, and the gambrel roof put on in which it now appears.

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### ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, page 184.

*Wm. Pickman, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of William Pickman, taken 28 June, 1676, by Robert Glanfield and John Sanders. Amount 20 17 00d. Allowed 27 4, '76. Administration granted to Elizabeth the relict and she is to pay to her child William son of ye deceased £40 when 21.

*Jona. Wilds, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Jonathan Wiles taken 28 June, 1676, by John How and William Andrew. Amount 3 14 6d. Allowed 30 4, '76, and administration granted to John Wiles.

*Wm. Pitcher, 4th mo., 1676.*

The will of William Pitcher, dated 21 November, 1675, mentions, I bequeath to my elder brother John Pitcher living in England att Kenton in Devonshire £40, and in case of my brother's decease to be paid to my brother's eldest son living, the remainder of my estate I give to my friend Andrew Tucker, in whose house I now lye sick. I appoint Andrew Tucker and Richard Rith; witnesses, John Pederick and William Venning; probated the 30 4, '76.



An Inventory of the above estate taken 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, 1676, by Robert Hooper and Edward Amphrey. Amount 83 11 08.

*Jeffrey Thistle, 4th mo., 1676.*

Will of Jeffrey Thissell of Abbotsbury in County of Dorset in old England, but at present in New England, mentions his eldest son Richard Thissell, money owed him by John Arlin of Salem and George Tuck, his chest at home. English house, daughter Jane Thissell now in Abbotsbury aforesaid, a bond that is in the hands of John Hedgecock of A. for £30 to me from Henry Feavour, his grandchild Jeffrey his son Richard's son 15 acres of land Bass River, son Richard's daughter Mary, mentions Ezekiel Waters; appoints Richard and Matthew Clark both of Marblehead; dated 29th October, 1675; his invento-amounts to £83 19s.

A paper dated 27 June, 1676, and signed by Robert White, who says he is aged 29 years that the aforesaid Jeffrey Thissell being aboard the Waymouth Merchant sailing from the Indies, being bound for New England, was then sick by the way. I was called together by Hen. Herman and he gave us £3 0s 6d to give to his daughter.

*Edw'd Ireson, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Edward Ireson of Lynn, taken 20th of 11th mo., 1675, by Thomas Laughton, Henry Collings and Mary Silsby. Allowed 27 4, '76; presented Alice the relict.

The will of Edward Ireson, dated 26 of October, 1674, mentions son Samuall 40 acres of land of my farme lying by John Iyokes (?) grand, my daughter Ruth; witnesses, Henry Silsby and Henry Collins; probated 27 4, '76. Allowed Alice the relict apt administratrix.

*Wm. Dewe, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of William Dewe, taken by Edward Bishop. Amount £12 02 0. Allowed 30 4, '76. Administration granted to said Edward Bishop.

*Andrew Alger, 4th mo., 1676.*

The Will of Andrew Alger of Scarboroah in the county of York in N. E. fisherman, dated 23 March, 1669-70, mentions wife Agnes, sons John, Andrew, and Matthew, daughters Elizabeth and Joanna. I appoint my wife executrix and my brother Arther Alger and my friend Andrew Brown senr, both of ye sd towne, overseers; witnesses, She; Fletcher and Roger Hill; allowed 30 4, 1676.

An Inventory of the above estate, amounting to £78 16 10d, was returned by Agnes the relict.

*Arthur Auger, 4th mo., 1676.*

The deposition of Robert Elliot, aged about 14 years, witnesseth that about ye 14th day of October, 1675, Arthur Allger was at Wm. Sheldon's house in perfect sence and memory and desired me and ye rest standing by to take notice yt he did give all his goods moveable and immoveable to his wife Ann, only she should pay ye children their portions and further saith not. Taken upon oath this 26th day of October, 1675, before me, John Win-coll, Assosiate.

The Deposition of Christopher Picket, aged about 60 years, testified to the above.

The deposition of John Corke testified to the above.

Ann Auger the relict had power of administration granted in Court 30 4, '76.

An Inventory of the estate of Arthur Auger of Blackpoint, wounded by the Indians and dying of his wounds Oct. 14th, 1675, at Marblehead. Amount 38 1 9d. Thaddeus Redden and Benjamin Redknap apprisers; mentions "The portion of ye 3 children of brother Giles to Abraham A., David and Gilas Roberts £5 12s each." Presented by Ann the relict and administrators.

An Inventory of the estate of Auther Auger of Scarbrough, taken Jan'y 4, 1676, by Giles Bary and Ralph Allanson att Scarbrough als Blackpoint. Amount £108 03 6. "Ralph Allanson and Giles Bary appeared before me and gave oath to the truth of the above at

Scarborough the 1st of June, 1676 ;" mentions a parcell of upland and meadow which was Brother Giles Roberts.

*Henry Kimball, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Henry Kimball, taken 16th of 4th mo., 1676, by Thomas Fiske and Richard Hutten. Amount £177 11 00. Administration granted to Elizabeth the relict of ye deceased 30 4, 1676.

*Caleb Kimball, 4th mo., 1676.*

An inventory of the estate of Caleb Kimball, slain with Capt. Lawthrop in the countries service, taken 25th of 9 mo., '75, by Charles Gott and Walter Fayerfield. Amount 50 05 00. Administration granted to Henry and Richard Kimball 30 9, '75. The said Henry being deceased sole administration is granted to ye said Richard the 30 4, '76, mentions he to pay the 12 children of the deceased Henry Kimball when they come of age.

*Richard Kimball, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Richard Kimball, taken 17th of June, 1676, by Walter Fayerfield and Thomas Patch. Amount 986 16 06. Administration of the estate was granted to Samuell and Thomas Kimball, sons of the deceased, the 27 4 mo., '76.

*Matthew Legroe, 4th mo., 1676.*

"The Testimony of William Fannen, Agged about 30 years, saith that immediately before Mathu groe went away toward Hadly a souldiar the said groe desired me to bare witness to a will that hee the said groe was making in writing wherein he did will what he had to Nathaniel Bricket of Newbury, and having not time to finish it, the said Groe by word of mouth said to mee, take notice that I doe will and give what estate I have and what is due to me abroad to Nathaniel Brickit in case I com not again, in consideration of his kindness and charg, hee the said Brickit have bin at with me in my sickness and otherwise; and I doe order Nath. Brikit to pay sum debts I owe and this is my mind and will hearin. John Michell,

agged about 25 years, doe testify this above written. William Fannen and John Michell made oath to the truth of what is above written before Daniel Denison, June 26, '76."

Richard Dole testified in substance to the above in court at Salem, 27 4, '76.

Richard Bryer, aged 33 years, testifieth in substance to the above; mentions the said Matthew Groe was hurried away into servis and there he lost his life.

"The testimony of Moses Litell, of the age of about 19 years, and Joseph Poore, aged about 22 years, this deponent sath that Mathew legro was a servant to Elisha Ilsie when he was presed for that war; that he was a covenant servant; that he was to serve after the warres of an apprentis from about the beginning of May in the year '75 untill 2 years and 6 months were expired to learn his tread. Sworne before me, June 22, 1676, Daniel Denison."

An Inventory of the above estate. Amount £22 5 0d, and administration granted to Nathaniel Bricket 18 5, '76.

*Eleanor Robinson, 4th mo., 1676.*

The account of administration on the estate of Elinor Robinson, deceased the 21st 5th mo., 1675, returned by Edmon Battor.

*Peter Barron, 4th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Peter Barron, deceased this 26 November, 1675, taken by Nathaniel Nelson and James Dennes. Amount 10 08 0d. Allowed 27 4, '76, and administration granted to Elias Hendly, he to fulfill the mind of the deceased.

*Tho's Alexander, 4th mo., 1676.*

"A true account of what Thomas Alexander left in Salem when he was prest away with captain Lawthrop upon the country's service;" taken the 30th June, 1676, by John Loomes and William Traske. Amount 97 6. Allowed 30 4, 76, and administration granted to Samuel Eborn.

*Freegrace Norton, 9th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Freegrace Nor-

ton, taken 28 March, 1676, by Walter Poyar, (?) Thomas Burnam Sen'r, Abraham Tilton, Eliha Wardal. Amount 68 3 6. Allowed 30 March, 1676. Administration granted to John Wainwright.

*Tho's Kimball.*

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Kimball, taken 18th May, 1676, by John Walker and Samuel Gage. Amount 556 3 0, and administration granted to Mary relict of the deceased 23 7, '76; mentions the 8 children, the eldest son Richard shall have £80.

*Christ'r Waller, 9th mo., 1676.*

The Will of Christopher Waller of Salem, made 17 day of October, 1676, mentions wife Margaret—to Joseph Woodman £10 if he will live with my wife as he now does until 21. I appoint my wife Margaret ext. Witnesses, Nathaniel Felton and Edward Berry. Allowed 30 9, '76.

*Eph. Skerry, 9th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Ephraim Skerry, taken the 19th 8 mo., 1676, by Francis Skerry and Henry Skerry junr. Amount 177 11 09d. Allowed 29 4, '77; administration granted to Martha the relict; mentions the 3 children when 18 years old to have £10 each.

*Samuel Putnam, 9th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Putnam, taken by Jacob Barney and Joshua Rea his 17 November, 1676. Amount 191 07 03d. Allowed 29 9, '76, and administration granted to Elizabeth the relict of the deceased.

*John Hutchinson,*

An Inventory of the estate of John Hutchinson, deceased about the 2 of August, 1676, taken the 8 November, by Nathaniel Ingersoll and Joshua Rea. Amount 273 5 6. Allowed 7 9 mo., '76, and administration granted to Sarah the relict.

A petition of Sarah Hutchinson, the relict of the deceased, requesting that she may have the use of all the property until the child comes to the age of 18 years.

*Micha. Lambert, 9th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of Michael Lambert, taken by Thomas Faxax and William Bassett. Amount 48 13 00d; allowed 29 9 mo., 1676, and administration granted to Ellinor the relict; mentions that the deceased left 4 children, viz: Michael, Abigail, Moses and Rebecka—the sons at 21 years and maids at 18 years.

*James Browne, 9th mo., 1676.*

The Will of James Browne of Salem, mentions wife Sarah, eldest son John Browne, I have already given him some and I now give him the estate left by Henry Bright of Watertown. "Whereas there is a writing drawne betwene my said wife and my son James Browne, bearing date 10 March, 1672, wherein on my wife's part, all the houseing and land lying in Newbery, given and bequeathed to my said wife by her father, John Cutting deceased, in his last will and testament, are made over to my said son James Browne;" son Samuel my dwelling house with so much of the ground belonging thereunto, beginning next to Samuel Pickworth grounds and from thence northerly, to take in one pole beyond, on the north side of the barne and so right crost the ground from the highways to John Gedney deceased his ground, to have and to hold; son Abraham under age he to pay his 4 youngest sisters, viz: Anna, Mary, Abigail and Martha when 18 or married, daughter Sarah Beasley. I appoint my wife Sarah executrix and my brother Nicholas Noyce and Mr. Hilliard Veren Sen'r overseers; witnesses, Hilliard Veren Sen. and Samuel Pickworth. Allowed 29 9, '76.

An Inventory of the estate of James Browne Senr, who deceased ye 3 day of November, 1676, taken 30th of November by Nicholas Noyce and Nathaniell Beadle. Amount £119 20s 06. Allowed 26 4, '77.

*John Porter, 9th mo., 1676.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Porter Senior of Salem, taken 22d of September, 1676. Amount 2570 12 00d. Allowed 30 9, 1676; returned by Mary the relict and extx.



*Thos. Skillin, March, 1676-7.*

An Inventory of the estate of Thomas Skillin, who deceased December 30th, at Salem, 1676, taken by Francis Neale and Henry Williams. Amount 17 03 00d. Allowed 14th March, 1676-7, and administration granted to Mary the relict of ye deceased.

*John White, 4th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of John White, a Taylor, late deceased in the house of Mr. William Southend, taken ye 28th of April, 1677-8, by Edward Grove, Nicholas Manning and Thomas Bridge. Amount 5 1 0d. Allowed 26 4, '77, and administration granted to sd Southend.



*Jeffrey Massey, 4th mo., 1677.*

The Will of Jeffery Massey Sen'r of Salem, dated 6 9 mo., 1676, mentions Ellin his wife, to son John Massey and his wife Sarah. I appoint sone John Massey executor and Henry Skerry Sen'r and Francis Skerry, they are also the witnesses. Allowed 29 4, 1677.

An "Inventory of the Estate of Jeffery Massey of Salem, deceased, that he died possessed of the 25 of the 9th month, '76, taken by Henry Skerry Sen'r and Francis Skerry. Amount 163 12 6d."

*Edmond Needham, 4th mo., 1677.*

"The will and Last Testament of Edmund Needham of Lyn in Nu England, being, blessed be God, in his perfect knowledge, memory and understanding tho otherwise ill in Body, mak ye writin by min on hand and according to min on mind to my children and grandchildren as follows, and

"First, I humbly Desire my only true God, maker and creator of heaven, ye earth, the sea and all that istherein, ( Exodus 20, 11. Psalms 95, 3, 4, 5, and 146, 5, 6. Jonah 1, 9, ) and me his most poor and unworthy creature amungst ye Rest and to resone my poor and unworthy soull of his moor pur and only free Grace and love for ye sake of his only and well beloved son Jesus Christ sake alone, excluding

all things of min on carnall or corrupte nature in or of myself, in any natur or means in or in part to my Justification but to Jesus Christ alon, my only and alon mediator, advocate and intercessor at ye throne of grase and a propisiation for all my sinnes. 1st John 2,

"Next, I desiar and impower my son Esel Needham, my true and lawfull executor to t my last will and Testament, to se my body desently and Christianly burried as near old wife, being his on mother, as may be.

"Next, I give to my son Daniell Needham side all the housing, dwelling house he r dwells in, Barn and all ye out housing, all Lands that was laid out to him, planting lar uplands and salt marsh, made conditionally in a deed to him expressed towards my maintenance while I live in this world; and also bedstead yt stands in my best bedroom v ye bed I leve him and two blankets and curtains Valence belonging to it, and to his children fiue yu sheep, yt is to say, John Needham on and Ezekiel Needham on and ju Needham on(e) and Mary Needham on Elizabeth Needham on.

"Next, I give to my sun Ezekiell Needham the Vpland and fresh and salt medo on V sides ye river and all the rest of my movables on the considerations mentioned in a deed to me, yet he should provide for me and my life upon then the was living all things necessary and convenient that we stood in need of our comfortable livelyhood in health and sickness while we live here in this world every sutabell to our old age and several condissis, and all my movables I give to him besides what as he my son Ezekiell Needham my Lawfull Executor hath discharged yet to doctors and all other if any ar debted or demand what sere yt any can imply demand of me and so my children and grandchildren's legasie in this my will expressed and then all the re to be as his on proper goods; that is to say my son Ezekiell Needham's own proper goods proper to him as ever they were proper to me, and to his too (two) children to keepe.

“Next, I give to my dafter Hannah Dinon and her to children Twenty-Five pounds, to be paid them half in cattell and ye rest in goods and honest sufisient pay, that is to say, fifteen pounds to herself present if living or ellst to her husband if he be living after her and five pounds to her dafter Hannah Armitage and five pounds to her last borne son John Dinon when they shall come to age; but if any one of them shall dy before they com to age the longest liver of them to have ye holl ten pounds, but if they both dye then their mother to have ye holl ten pounds at ye time yt if they had lived should come to age, but if ye mother and her son and dafter should all three dye then my son Ezekiell Need—to have ye holl ten pounds, only giving ye one half of it, that is to say, five pounds of it to his Brother my son Daniell Needham.

“Next, I give unto my son-in-Lawe Samuell Hart’s children—first to his dafter-in-Law born of her first husband Elizabeth How but now by marriage Elizabeth Hardwell, on yo sheep, next to his oldest sun Samuell Hart on cow and on yo sheep, ye sheep not exeding four years old—next to Joseph Hart one yo sheep, next to Abigall Hart one yo sheep and thirty shillings mor in goods and lawfull pay for her great car of me in my sickness besides the pay yt I shall give her for ye tim she staid wth me, and to his dafter Rebeck Hart one yo sheep, all the sheep not exceeding four years old.

“Next, I give to my son-in-law Joseph Mansfield’s children, first his son Joseph Mansfield one yo sheep, and to his next son John Mansfield, wth I have brot up ever since his childhood till now he is about fifteen years old, to him this John Mansfield I give on cow and on yo sheep not exceeding four years old, and to his dafter Elizabeth Wheat on yo sheep, and to Deborah Mansfield on yo sheep.

“And further, this I ad as a codasell or breefe inventory to this my last will and testament that my sun Ezekiell Needham, my Lawful Executor, shall not be put to any oath or oathes at any court or any manner or intent what

soever, therefor I have set this according to min own valuation of my holl estate, and if this will not save him from any oath in court he shall sally swer that yt is all my holl estate. I having firmly given him as his on propr estate as if it had never bin min, so son as ever ye breat is out of my body and I quite dead all ye rest. I well knowing yt he canot give any just othat wth out wronging his conscience, as I only know how my estate lieth and this min on valuation or inventory a following:

“First, all my housing, barn and out housing and all my lands wth all the range of ston wall fencing £400 0 0d; to holl peses of baies on red and ye other of ye collar of a chesnut on or to and forty yards apeace at ye lest £12 00 00; on holl peese of red peniston on or to and forti yards long at ye lest £6 00; 3 parsells of Canvis now about on hundred yards and other parcelles of linin cloth and Calico £10 00 00: my silver watch and silver box and other silver cupes and spoones and othar plate £15 00 00d; My clock yt striks and another wach and larum that dus not strik £5 00 00d; sum putar, sum old and sum new £2 00 00d; sum parcelles of Carsies and sum parsells of serges and my waring clothes £26 00 00d; sum pots and ket-tles and tramels and clothes and bedsteed £7 00 00; beds and beding £7 00 00; Debts in old England in sutfisient Bonds and most in Abell More’s hands as the company of ye marchant adventures and another like it as a great rith citizen fit for an Alderman of London, tho they do what they can to deseue us, yt is to say, my brothers and sisters to whom they o us about three thousand pounds £600.

£	s	d
400	0	0
12	0	6
06	0	0
10	0	0
15	0	0
5	0	0
2	0	0
26	0	0
7	0	0
7	0	0
600		

---

1090

and one horse yt was forgot	£3
and 4 cows and to young bul-	
locks forgot also	£17
and 20 sheepe forgot allso	£7

to be added to this inventory	27
to all with this addition is	£1117

“This addition was made before it was signed or sealed or confirmed by the witnesses.

But as for this debt in old England yt is sumthing unsertain what my to aturnies in England, being my to Brothers, may get for me and themselves with sumthing more yt may be coming both to themselves and me I desire to leve it to my children in ye best order as I can amongst them. Thus first I institut my sun Ezekiell Needham my Lawfull executor and lawfull aturny in this *in this* business as in min on stead and in min on Nam as in mine on person to look ye best after it as possible he can and what ever shall com over of it with ye charge about it discharged then for evar twenti pounds yt shall cum thus safe into his hands he shall pay unto his brother Daniell Needham if he be living six pounds, and to his sister Hannah Dinen four pounds if living or ells ye four pounds to her to children Hannah Armitage and John Dinen if they be living and their mother dead or ells to to ether on of them if on should be living and ye other dead.

“And Further, if this my will not satisfy any Court or Courts, man or men whatsoever wth out my sun Ezekiell Needham my lawfull executor's oath to my wholl estate, then my will is that my son Ezekiell Needham my lawfull executor shall safly mak oath yt this is my holl estate, I having fully and wholly disposed of all the rest in my life as it had never ben min, for other wise I cannot see hou he should mak othr wth out ronging his consience, my estate lying as it dos, wth is only best known to my self.

“The words interlined are in lin ye 8 *and-im-powar*; and in lin 11 to *him*; and lin ye 14 *my*; and lin 15 *a*; and lin 18 *allso*, and lin 21 *Hanah*; and lin 26 *brothar*; and lin ye 27 *Samuell Hart*; and lin 37 *yt is*; and lin 38 *all ye*

*rest wth that under it bloted out*; all thes int lines were dun by me before it was either sign or sealed, and yt this is the last will and testament of me Edmond Needham; in lin the *Lin in New England*.

Edmond Needham, Seal.

“Witnes yt testify to it follow, viz: Signed and sealed and confirmed in ye presence of us,

Rich. Walker,  
Ralph King.

“The above written is proved by the oath of the sd Richard Walker and Ralph King, who were witnesses and present when the said Edmond Needham did sign, seale and declare the same as his last will and testament and that there is not later will of his that they know in court at Salem 29 4, 1677.

Attest, Hilliard Veren, Clk.”

*Elizabeth Spooner, 4th mo., 1677.*

The will of Elizabeth Spooner of Salem, July, 1673, mentions son-in-law John Rur executor—our Reverant father Mr. John Hinginson—my cusen Margitt Rurke at Boston my cousin Thomas Clark at Cambridg. T widow Elizabeth Owin—my three grandch dren daftors, Elizabeth Osborn and Hannah Rurke and Sarah Rurke, my young grandch John Osborn Jun'r—my grandchildren Hannah and Sara and John and Thomas Rurke—son Rurke and his five children, Elizabeth, Sarah, Hanna, John and Thomas Rurke, which he had by my daughter Hanna Spooner. Witnesses, Hannah Rucke and John Rucke Junior. Allowed 26 1 mo., '77.

An Inventory of Widdow Elizabeth Spooner deceased 1676, taken 6 March, 1676-7, Hilliard Veren Sen'r, Richard Rix. Amount £302 16s 8d.

*Wm. Barber, 4th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of William Barber, taken by Ruth Knott, Robert Bartlett and John Mactain. Amount 25 13 00. Allowed 29 4, '77, and administration granted to Elizabeth ye relict.



## PHILIP ENGLISH.

## PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 204.

We shall give the examinations of the 22d, and this confession of Mrs. Hobbs made subsequent to it, but desire the reader to bear in mind the statements of the afflicted on the 22d as to the great witch meeting, since the examinations themselves do not reveal those statements. It is only by the abstract of the magistrates, in Good's case, that we really know what complaints or accusations were made by the afflicted on the 22d against the then accused, *over and above those which appear on record.* It is well to bear in mind also, that the real charges against the accused were their participations in the plot against the Church, and that this was the final crime\*—the great spir-

\*Though witchcraft was a crime punishable by Civil Statutes, yet, in its origin, it was of a *spiritual* nature, and thus came especially under the cognizance of the church. Under the theocratic government of the Jews it was, of course, wholly under the control of the Church, which was, in fact, the State. The Puritan Government, though not, like the Jewish, directly theocratic, was more or less so indirectly; and there is some reason to suppose that the civil government of New England punished the crime of witchcraft rather in the behalf of, and for the church, than otherwise. The opinions of the clergy were especially sought in reference to the subject of witchcraft in 1692, and evidently had great weight, both with the government and people. It was not a civilian who was especially authorized to publish the account of the witchcraft trials at Salem, and justify the government in the course taken, but Cotton Mather, the Divine. We may safely conclude, indeed, that the spiritual witchcraft plot against the Church took precedence of the civil crime against the State—included it, in fact, as the greater crime includes the lesser—and that this is the true view to be taken of the witchcraft, as it was regarded in 1692; and we mention this with no disposition to

itual wickedness—attempted. There can be no reasonable doubt that all those arrested on the 21st April, as those previously, were believed to be concerned in that plot—to have been present at great witch meetings, with that object in view—the assistants of the Devil in a crime, which, for breadth, depth, and extent, was unparalleled in the history of iniquity.

We commence with the examination of Deliverance Hobbs:—

Examination of Deliverance Hobbs, 22 April, 1692,

At a court held at Salem Village by John Hawthorn, Jonah Corwin, Esq's.

Mercy Lewes do you know her that stands at the Bar, (for the Magistrates had privately ordered who should be brought in and not suffered her name to be mentioned.) Do you know her? speaking to another; but both were struck dumb.

Ann Putnam jun'r said it was Goody Hobbs and she hath hurt her much.

John Indian said he had seen her and she choake him.

Mary Waleot said yesterday was the first time that she saw her i. e. as a Tormenter.

Why do you hurt these persons?

It is unknown to me.

How come you to commit acts of witchcraft?

I know nothing of it.

It is you or your appearance, [or spectre,] how comes this about? Tell us the truth.

I cannot tell.

Tell us what you know in this case. Who hurts them if you do not?

There are a great many Persons hurt us all.

But it is your appearance.

I do not know it.

blame the clergy of that period—only as an apparent historic fact, and from a desire to reach the truth of history.

There is good reason indeed to believe that the witchcraft of 1692 was neither more nor less than heresy, which; in the estimation of the more formal churchmen of that day, was sincerely, but fanatically considered as witchcraft.

Have not you consented to it, that they should be hurt?

No. in the sight of God and man as I shall answer another day.

It is said you were afflicted. how came that about?

I have seen sundry sights.

What sights.

Last Lord's day in this meeting house and out of the door I saw a great many birds, cats and dogs; and heard a voice say come away.

What have you seen since?

The shapes of severall persons.

What did they say?

Nothing.

What neither birds nor persons?

No.

What persons did you see?

Goody Wilds and the shape of Mercy Lewes.

What is that? Did either of them hurt you.

None but Goody Wilds, who tore me almost to pieces.

Where was you then?

In bed.

Was not the book brought to you to sign?

No.

Where not you threatened by anybody, if you did not signe the book?

No. by nobody.

What were you tempted to under your affliction?

I was not tempted at all.

Is it not a solemn thing, that last Lord's day you were tormented and now you are become a tormentor, so that you have changed sides. how comes this to pass?

Abig. Williams and Ann Putnam jun'r cryed out there is Goody Hobbs upon the Beam, she is not at the Bar, they cannot see her there: though there she stood.

What do you say to this, that tho' you are at the bar in person yet they see your appearance upon the beam, and whereas a few days past you were tormented, now you are become a tormentor. Tell us how this change comes. Tell true.

I have done nothing.

What, have you resolved you will not confess? Hath anybody threatened you if you confess? You can tell how this change comes.

She lookt upon John Indian and then another, and then they fell into fits.

Tell us the reason of this change? Tell the truth. What have you done?

I cannot speak.

What do you say? What have you done? I cannot tell.

Have you signed to any book?

It is very lately then.

When was it?

The night before the last.

Will the Lord open your heart to confess the truth. Who brought the book to you?

It was Goody Wilds.

What did you make your mark with in the book?

Pen and Ink.

Who brought the Pen and Ink?

They that brought the book, Goody Wilds.

Did they threaten you if you did not sign?

Yes, to teare me in pieces.

Was there any else in company?

No, sir.

What did you afflict others by? Did the bring images?

Yes.

Did not you hurt that child?—

Yes.

Where be those images, at your house?

No, they carried them away again.

When?

They carried some then and some since.

Was it Goody Wild in body, or appearance in appearance.

Was there any man with them?

Yes, a tall black man with an high crown'd hat.

Do you know no more of them?

No, sir.

*Note.*—All the sufferers free from affliction during her examination after once she began to confesse, tho' at sundry times they were much afflicted till then.

*Note.*—Whereas yesterday at Deacon Ingersols, Mary Walcot and Abig. Williams cryed there stands Goody Hobbs, showing also where Benjamin Hutchinson struck at her with a Rapier, and the afflicted that is the said Mary and Abigail said oh you have struck her on the right side. Whereupon the Magistrates asking her after the publik examination whither she had received any hurt yesterday, she said yes, in her right side like a Prick, and that it was very sore and done when she was in Trance, telling us also in what house and room it was done. Whereupon the magistrates required some women to search it, who found it so as she had confessed. Also a little after the said prick in her side, she had somewhat in her left eye like dust, weh agrees with what the afflicted farther said that Benja. Hutchinson afterwards touched her eye with the same Rapier and said pointing to the place here was a mark which the marshall being by said so there was.

Salem Village, April 22d, 1692. Mr. Sam'l Parris being desired to take in writing ye examination of Deliverance Hobbs hath delivered it as aforesaid.

And vpon hearing the same and seeing what he did see together with the charge of the afflicted persons against them, We Committed  
er. JOHN HATHORNE.

Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 473-4-5-6.]

[*NOTE.*—The "appearance" of Goody Hobbs "on the beam," that is, the wooden beam or rafter of the building, was her "spectre"—which spectral appearance is sometimes called an "appearance," to distinguish it from the actual body of the accused. In this examination Mrs. Hobbs, it will be noticed, accuses Mrs. Wildes pertinaciously, and it is well to remember, therefore, what Ephraim Wildes, her son, strongly intimates was the motive of Mrs. H. for accusing his mother—viz: out of revenge for his (as unstable of the town of Topsfield) arresting Mrs. Hobbs herself!

It is stated, in the beginning of this examination, that the magistrates had privately ordered Mrs. Hobbs to be brought in, and her name not to be mentioned, so as to see whether the afflicted would know their tormentor. Mercy Lewis and another sufferer, were asked by the magistrates if they knew her, and were very conveniently struck dumb. Ann Putnam, however, said "it is Goody Hobbs." Her knowledge may be accounted for, however, in the same way that the afflicted one knew Captain John Alden when he was examined. See note page 142.]

Mrs. H. may have consulted with her daughter Abigail in prison, and learned somewhat of the drift of events, and shaped her own course accordingly. She first charged Mrs. Wildes, Mercy Lewis and Sarah Osburn. She may have charged Mrs. Wildes out of revenge—also Mercy Lewis, who, in the warrant for her (Mrs. H.'s) arrest *had accused her!* We now append her subsequent confession, taken most probably about the 3d May—the effect of which confession must have been terrible; not only on the parties directly implicated and named therein, but on all their associates—among whom were Mr. and Mrs. English. This confession, however, must be really credited to the accusers of that day, who on the 22d April accused various persons of plotting against the church. Mrs. Hobbs was for saving her own life, most probably, and ready to confess anything with that object in view, and so made the following confession:

The first Examination of Deliverance Hobbs in prison.

She continued in the free acknowledging herself to be a Covenant Witch, and further Confesseth She was warned to a meeting yesterday morning and that there was present Proctor and his wife, Goody Nurse, Giles Cory and his wife, Goody Bishop alias Oliver and Mr. Burroughs was ye Preacher, and prest them to bewitehe all in the Village, telling them they should do it gradually and not all at once, assuring them they should prevaile. He administered the sacrament unto them at the same time, with Red Bread and Red Wine like Blood, she affirms she saw Osburn, Sarah Good, Goody Wilds; Goody Nurse and Goody Wilds distributed the bread and Wine, and a man in a long crowned white Hat sat next ye minister and they sat seemingly at a Table, and They filled out the wine in Tankards. The notice of this meeting was given her by Goody wilds. She herself affirms did not or would not Eat nor drink, but all the Rest did who were there present, therefore they threatened to torment her. The meeting was in the Pasture by Mr. Parris' house and she saw when Abigail Wil-



liams ran out to speak with them. But by that Time Abigail was come a little distance from the House. This Examinant was struck blind, so that she saw not with whome Abigail spake. She further saith, that Goody Wilds to prevail with her to signe, told her that if she would put her hand to the book she wld give her some Cloaths, and would not afflict her any more. Hir daughter Abigail Hobbs being brought in att the same time while her mother was present was immediately taken with a dreadful fitt, and her mother being asked who it was that hurt her daughter answered it was Goodman Cory, and she saw him and the gentlewoman of Boston striving to break her Daughter's neck. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 477.]

[NOTE.—The meeting named above was one of the church meetings of Satan and the Witches. The man in a long crowned white hat was the Devil himself, and Rev. Mr. Burroughs acted as his Chaplain or Preacher. Though Satan was believed to be descending upon the Colony in all his rage, and with all his army of horrible Devils, yet it is a noticeable circumstance that he often appeared at witch meetings in a very simple manner—unattended by any pomp or display, or retinue of evil angels, or devils—sometimes appearing as a tawny or white man, but with a high crowned hat upon his head—the sole insignia of his royalty.

It must be remembered, upon reading this confession of Mrs. Hobbs, what motives she was supposed to have for accusing Mrs. Wildes, who is very prominently accused in it.]

We now come to the examination of Wm. Hobbs. The original paper is mutilated in parts, but not very materially. John Hathorne seems to have been the examining magistrate.

Examination of Wm. Hobbs at the same Court, 1692.

Hath this man hurt you.

Severall answered yes.

Goody Bibber said no.

What say you, are you guilty or not?

I can speak in the presence of God safely as I may look to give account another day, that I am as clear as a new born babe.

Clear of what?

Of witchcraft.

Have you never hurt these?

No.

Have you not consented that they should hurt?

Abigail Williams said she was going to Mercy Lewes and quickly after said Lewes was seized with a fit. Then said Abigail cried is coming to Mary Walcot and said Mary presently fell into a fit also.

How can you be clear when the children saw something come from you and afflict the persons?

Then they fell into fits and halloo'd and suffered greatly.

er wife before you God was open her mouth and she had confession and you seem to before us.

I am clear of any witch.

What do you call it, and overlooking them? You look upon them and they are none [some?] of them.

Then they all fell into great fits againe.

When were you at any public Religious meeting.

Not a pretty while.

Why so?

Because I was not well. I had a distemper that none knows.

Can you act witchcraft here and by casting your eyes turn folks into fits.

You may judge your pleasure my soul is clear.

Do you not see you hurt these by your looks.

No. I do not know it.

You did not answer to that question.

don't you overlook them?

No. I don't overlook them.

What do you call that way of looking upon persons striking them downe?

You may judge your pleasure.

Well but what do you call it?

It was none of I.

Who was it then?

I cannot tell who they are.

Why they say they see you going to hurt persons and immediately hurt persons.

Abig. Williams said he is going to hurt Mercy Lewes and immediately said Mercy fell into a fit and divers others.

Can you now deny it?

I can deny it to my dying day.

What is the reason you go away when there is any reading of the scripture in your family. He denyed it.

Nath'l Ingersol and Tho. Haynes testified that this Hobbs' daughter had told them so.

As soon as your daughter Abigail and aft to-day your wife confessed they left for tuning [torturing?] and so would you if you would confess: can you still deny that you are guilty?

I am not guilty.

If you put away God's ordinances, no wonder that this the Devil prevails with you to keep us in counsel. Have you never had any apparition?

No sir.

Did you never pray to the Devill that your daughter might confess no more?

No sir.

Who do you worship?

I hope I worship God only.

Where?

In my heart.

But God requires outward worship not worship him in publick, nor worship him in my heart.

worship him in your family

amilly speak the truth

not given the Devil advantage  
you thereby?

He was silent a considerable space then said yes.

Have you not known a good while how that our daughter was a witch.

No, sir.

Do you think she is a witeh now.

I do not know.

Well if you desire mercy from God own the truth.

I do not know anything of that nature.

What do you think these people aile?

More than ordinary.

But what more than ordinary?

—— silent.

Why do you not answer what its they aile?

I do not know what they aile. I am sorry.

It is none of I.

What do you think they aile?

There is more than ordinary.

What is that?

I cannot tell.

Do you think they are bewitcht.

I cannot tell.

Now tell your wife and daughter o—

Did you not give consent that these should be hurt.

Never in my dayes.

What do you think cused your wife she was there the other day.

nal God in Heaven knows.

know that. We do not ask that.

ther you do not know what cused  
t till I know nothing.

man said he told me that if his wife  
not write in the book he would kill her.

was the same time that she did signe  
ppears by the time of her appearing as a  
ember of Mr. Parris' family and others.

Did you not say so?

I never said so.

Salem Village, Aprill 22d, 1692.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 199—200—3.]

NOTE.—It will be perceived that there are some breaks in this written examination, owing to the loss of a small portion of the original document.]

The examination of Mrs. Easty was had at the same place and date, before Justices Hathorne and Corwin, and we herewith append it:

The Examination of Mary Eastie,  
At a Court held at Salem Village 22 Apr., 1692.  
By the Wo'p John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin.

At the bringing in of the accused severall fell into fits.

Doth this woman hurt you?

many mouths were stopt and several other fits seized them.

Abig. Williams said it was Goody Eastie and she had hurt her, the like said Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam. John Jackson said he saw her with Goody Hobbs.

What do you say, are you guilty?

I can say before Christ Jesus I am free.

You see these accuse you.

There is a God.

Hath she brought the book to you?

Their mouths were stopt.

what have you done to these children?

I know nothing.

How can you say you know nothing, when you see these tormented and accuse you that you know nothing?

Would you have me accuse myself?

Yes, if you be guilty.

How far have you complied with Satan whereby he takes this advantage agst you?

Sir, I never complied but prayed against him all my days. I have no compliance with Satan, in this. What would you have me do?

Confess if you be guilty.

I will say it, if it was my last time, I am clear of this sin.

Of what sin?

Of witchcraft.

Are you certain this is the woman?

Never a one could speak for fits.

By and by Ann Putnam said that was the woman, it was like her and she told me her name.

It is marvailous to me that you should sometimes think they are bewitched and sometimes not, when severall confess that they have been guilty of bewitching them.

Well Sir would you have me confess that that I never knew?

Her hands were clinchd together and then the hands of Mercy Lewis was clincht.

Look now your hands are open, her hands are open.

Is this the woman?

They made signs but could not speak, but

Ann Putnam, afterwards Betty Hubbard, cry out Oh, Goody Easty, Goody Easty you the woman, you are the woman.

Put up her head, for while her head is by the necks of these are broken.

What do you say to this?

Why God will know

Nay God knows now.

I know he does.

What did you think of the actions of others before your sisters came out, did you think it was witchcraft?

I cannot tell.

Why do you not think it is witchcraft?

It is an evil spirit, but wither it be witchcraft I do not know.

Severall said she brought them the Book then they fell into fits.

Salem Village, March 24th, 1691-2

Mr. Sam'll parris being desired to take wrighting the Examination of Mary Eastie hath delivered itt as aforesaid. Upon hearing the aforesaid, and seeing what we did then see, together with the Charge of the persons then present, We Committed sd Mary Eastie to their Majests Goale.

JOHN HATHORNE, } Assist's.  
JONATHAN CORWIN, }

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 333-4-5]

NOTE.—It was very common at these examinations for the afflicted to fall at the sight of the accusers—that is, by the power of their *evil eye*—and in this poisonous influence was conveyed back again to the tormentors by their *touching* the afflicted—the latter being then able to rise. This for a time was considered as *proof* against the accused. The eye has been from ancient times, considered as the chief seat of the organ of witchcraft.

The ancient Naturalists thought the Basilisk killed other animals by *staring* at them. Plutarch writes of persons having such a poison in their eyes as to fascinate thereby their friends and acquaintances. Tully writes of women who had two apples [pupils] in one eye that always did mischief by their mere looks. Pliny speaks of a people that killed folks by looking on them, and he adds that they had two apples in each eye. It was anciently thought by some that the eye could emit optic spirits, or a natural poison of contagion, and so bewitch, fascinate, and destroy.



Witches were supposed to have such eyes. Pliny relates of the Thibians that they had such eyes, and were a people that could not be drowned. (See Increase Mather's Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcrafts, pages 41-2-3.)

The examination of Sarah Wildes took place on the 22d, and at the village, and before Justices Hathorne and Corwin, and we herewith append the account of it:—

The examination of Sarah Wilds at a Court held at Salem Village, 1692, by the wo'ps John Hathorn and Jonathan Corwin.

The Sufferers were seized with sou [fitts as soon as?] the accused came into the Court.

Hath this woman hurt you?

Oh she is upon the beam.

Goody Bibber that never saw her before says she saw her now upon the beam and then said Bibber fell into a fit.

What say you to this are you guilty or not?

I am not guilty Sir.

Is this ye woman? speaking to the afflicted.

They all, or most said yes, and then fell into fits.

What do you say, are you guilty.

I thank God, I am free.

Here is a clear evidence that you have been not only a Tormentor but that you have cause done [some?] to signe the book, the night before last. What you say to this?

I never saw the book in my life and I never saw these persons before.

Some of the afflicted fell into fits.

Do you deny this thing that is.

All fell into fits and confirmed that the accused hurt them.

Did you never consent that these should be hurt?

Never in my life.

She was charged by some with hurting John Herrick's mother.

The accused denied it.

Capt. How gave in a relation and confirmation of the charge made.

She was ordered to be taken away and they all cried out she was upon the Beam and fell into fits. [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 198-9.]

[NOTE.—One Goody Bibber [or Vibber] appears as an accuser in this examination—as one of those who fell into fits, &c. There is some testimony on the records as to the character of this woman. John and Lydia Porter, Joseph Fowler, Thomas and Sarah Jacobs, and Richard Walker gave this as the sum of her character in their depositions. She was an unruly, turbulent woman—would have strange fits *when she was crost*—was double tongued—very idle in her calling—mischief making—very much given to speaking bad words against her husband—an ill-wisher—obscene in her language—and could fall into “fitts” whenever she pleased. See Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 488-9, for their charges against her. Yet this woman appeared as an accuser in *ten* cases!]

No papers relating to the examination of Edward Bishop and wife, Mary Black, or Mary English are now to be found. Nehemiah Abbot disappears from the scene somewhat mysteriously, and was, perhaps, cleared of the crime by the accusers. Undoubtedly Mr. B. and the remaining parties, excepting Abbot, were examined, for they were all committed\* to prison. There is a tradition in the family of Mrs. Eng-

\* *Calef* (pages 202-3) gives the form of the “*mitimus*” by which these parties were sent to prison on the 22d, of which the following is a copy:—

To their Magesties' Goal-Keeper in Salem:

*You are in their Majesties' names hereby required to take into your care and safe custody the bodies of WILLIAM HOBBS and DEBORAH (Deliverance) his wife, MARY EASTY, the wife of ISAAC EASTY, and SARAH, the wife of JOHN WILD, all of TOPSFIELD; and EDWARD BISHOP of SALEM-VILLAGE, husbandman; and SARAH his wife, and MARY BLACK, a negro of Lieutenant NATHANIEL PUTNAM of SALEM-VILLAGE; also MARY ENGLISH, the wife of PHILIP ENGLISH, Merchant in Salem; who stand charged with high Suspicion of Sundry acts of Witchcraft, done or committed by them lately upon the bodies of ANN PUTNAM, MARY (Mercy) LEWIS and ABIGAIL WILLIAMS, of SALEM-VILLAGE; whereby great hurt and damage hath been done to the bodies of said persons, according to the complaint of THOMAS PUTNAM and JOHN BUXTON of SALEM-VILLAGE, exhibited SALEM, APRIL 21, 1692, appears, whom you are to secure in order to their further examination. Fail not.*

JOHN HATHORN, }  
JONA CURWIN, } *Assistants.*

*Dated SALEM, APRIL 22, 1692.*

lish, that she was placed in a room, separated by only a thin partition from the examining Judges, and heard the examinations and took some notes of the questions they asked the accused; and, when her turn came, demanded of the Judges whether such a course was lawful, and told them their decision should be reviewed by the Superior Courts or Judges. It may be that this tradition is true, since Mrs. English had given herself up for lost when first arrested, and told the officer, after having bade adieu to her family, "that she was ready to die." She expected death—prepared herself for it, and may have felt that courage which such a desperate belief would naturally create. She was a woman of a cultivated mind and firm character, and the tradition is not improbable.

The examinations\* of those who preceded her will, however, with but little imagination, reproduce her own, and we shall only append to her case, therefore, the deposition of Susannah Sheldon, evidently taken before the Grand Jury, and as against Bridget Bishop, in which, however, Mrs. English figures as a witch, and in no good company. It must be remembered too, that at that time she was a church member, and this made her offence, as plotting

*To Marshall GEORGE HERRICK, of Salem, Essex:*

*You are in their Majesties' names hereby required to convey the above-named to the goal at SALEM. Fail not.*

JOHN HATHORN, }  
JONA. CURWIN, } *Assistants.*

*Dated SALEM, APRIL 22, 1692.*

\* According to the "*mittimus*," by which the Marshal took into safe custody Mrs. English and the others arrested with her, (and which we have given, and as taken from Calef,) it is most probable that these parties underwent another examination, perhaps several subsequent examinations. Arrested parties were not unfrequently examined, and re-examined, to judge by the witchcraft records now remaining, and roughly and rudely treated the while. Mrs. English lost her life through the exposure and treatment she met with in prison; and as refusing to confess herself *guilty*, was doubtless made to feel all the indignity, and perhaps much of the cruelty of that day, both on examination, and while in prison.

against the church, all the more abominable. *Sus. Sheldon v. Bridget Bishop, (alias Good Oliver.)*

on the fourth day at night came Goody Olluer and Mrs. English and Goodman Corie (Giles Cory) and a black man with a crowned hatt with books in their hands, Goody Olluer bad me touch her booke i would not did not know her name shee tould mee her name was Goody Olluer and bid me touch her booke now I bid her tel mee how long shee had been a witch shee told me shee told me he had been a witch aboute twentie years then she came a streched snake creeping over her shoulder and creep into her bosom.

Mrs. English had a yelo bird in her bosom and Goodman Corie had two turcles (turtle) hang to his coat and hee opened his bosom and put his turcles to his brest and gaue them suck then Goodman Core and Goody Olluer kneeled downe before the black man and went to prayer then the black man told mee Goody Olluer had been a witch twenti years and a half, then they all set to biteing mee and so went away. the next day came Goodman Core Mrs. English the morning and told mee i should not eat my uittals, i took a spoon and put on Spoonful in my mouth and goodman Corie gaue mee a blou on the ear and almost choaked mee. then he laughed at mee and told mee i would eat when he told mee i should not, then he clenched my hands that they could not be opened for more than a quarter of an our then came Philip English and told mee if i would touch her booke he would not bite mee but i refused then hee did bite mee and went away.

the sixth day at night came Goody Olluer and Mrs. English, Goodman Core and his wife

Goodwif Core presented mee a booke i refused it and asked her whear she liued, she told mee shee liued in boston prisson, then she pulled out her brest and the black man gathered a thing like a black pig, it had no hairs on it and shee putt it to her brest and gave it suck and when it had sucked on brest shee put it to the other and gaue it suck there.

then she gaue it to the black man then they went to prair to the blak man, then Goody Olliner told me shee had kiled four women, two of them were the fosters' wives and John Fraskes's wife and did not name the other, then they did all bite mee and went away. then the next day came Goody Core (Martha Cory) shoaked mee and told me I would not eat when ny dame bid me but now I should eat none.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 183-4.]

In this deposition (which appears by the records to have been taken on or about the 2d June before the Jury, and was evidently used to indict Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, who was condemned, and hung on the 10th—the first victim under the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer, which met in Salem on the 2d,) there are certain little matters which may need explanation. The "goodman Core" was Giles Cory—the "black man with a hi crowned hatt" was the Devil—"the books" in their hands were covenant books with Satan—touching the book was signing the Devil's Laws and becoming a witch, and a plotter against the church. The "stretched"\* snake was a demon. The "yelo"(yellow) bird, which Mrs. English had, was her reward for serving the Devil. As this "yellow bird" figures in some of the examinations and confessions, we will try to give an idea of its origin and uses.

\* This "snake" was perhaps a device of Tituba's, taken from the native Indian belief, as the Indian *Powahs* (wizards) stated that their God—*Hibbomock*—(the Indian Devil) generally appeared to them as *snake*. It is an interesting enquiry, how far the demons appearing in 1692, and their doings, were part of the belief of the aborigines of New England, and can be attributed to it?

The Devil was usually described by the accusers (1692 as a black [tawney] man, "with a high crowned hat." So the Swedish children of Elfsland described the Devil, who carried them to Blockula, is being generally dressed as a mad Merry Andrew, and as wearing "a high-crowned hat!" This description of the hat may be of Swedish origin. Seecott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, pages 186 to 192.

The first mention of this kind of bird occurs in Tituba's examination, March 1st. She, like Sarah Good, at first denied that she afflicted the children, but gradually and dexterously glided into a confession. After acknowledging at last that the Devil had appeared to her in various shapes—sometimes like a hog—some times like a great black dog—urging her to serve him, she said that on his last appearance a dog, and when he told her he would do worse to her if she did not serve him, she told him, "I will serve you no longer. then he said he would hurt me and then he looked like a man and threatens to hurt me. She said that this man had a yellow bird† that kept (kept) with him and he told me he had more pretty things that he would give me if I would serve him." This is the first appearance of the yellow bird in the witchcraft stories. Subsequently to this, Tituba was examined, and accused Sarah Good of having one of these yellow birds—stated that the afflicted children also saw it, and that she (Tituba) saw it suck Good between the fore finger and long finger on the right hand. This was the way this bird was fed. At this examination, Dorothy Good (daughter of Sarah) accused her mother of having three birds—one of which was black and another yellow—"and that these birds hurt the children and afflicted persons." It is evident, therefore, from such testimony as this, that this kind of bird was a gift from the Devil—a sign of, as well as reward for serving him, and had the power of tormenting the afflicted. It was a mark too of (evil) prosperity.

† When Mrs. Cory was examined, her accusers said that the *black man* (the Devil) was whispering in her ear, "and that she had a yellow bird, that did use to suck between her fingers, and that the said bird did suck now in the assembly; order being given to look in that place to see if there was any sign, the girl that pretended to see it said that it was too late now, for she had removed a pin, and put it on her head, it was upon search found that a pin was there sticking upright." (*Calif*, page 188)

Was this diversion of the charge on the part of the accuser artifice, or not?



The turtles, which Giles Cory had, were doubtless sinular gifts of the Devil, (perhaps of Indian origin) and equally capable of mischief. The black pig, or Demon resembling it, which Martha Cory suckled, was also one of the Imps of Hell, and the black man, they prayed to, was the father of all lies and iniquities—the Devil himself.

As Mrs. English never was tried, owing to her escape from Boston jail, she may never have been indicted, and for the same reason. She was about being removed from B. to Salem when she fled. It is obvious, however, that both she and her husband were not forgotten in their absence by the accusers, who, in accusing others, kept their names before the indignation of the magistrates or Grand Jury. Some of this evidence has no doubt perished. That which remains, however, shows the purpose and spirit of the accusers.

We come now to the incidents connected with the arrest of Philip English. His frequent visits to his wife, while in prison, are said to have caused him to be suspected. It is very probable also, that he expressed freely his opinions upon the whole matter, and, perhaps, like John Proctor, to the dissatisfaction of the witnesses. On the 30th a warrant was issued for his arrest, and two other parties with him. The following is a copy of the warrant and officer's return:—

To the Marshall of the County of Essex or his Lawfull Deputy:

You are in theire Majestys names hereby required to Apprehend and bring before us Philip English of Salem, merchant, Sarah Murrell of Beverly and Dorcas Hoare of Beverly widow all in the County of Essex, on Monday next being the second day of the month of May next ensuing ye date hereof, about Eleven of ye clock in ye forenoon at the house of Lt. Nathaniell Ingersalls in order to theire Examination Relateing to high suspition of Sundry acts of witchcraft donne or Committed by them upon ye Bodys of Mary Walcott, Marcy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam and

Elizabeth Hubbard and Susannah Shelton viz: vpon some or all of them belonging to Salem village or farmes whereby great and damage hath benne donne to ye Bodys of sd persons according to complaint of Jonathan Walcott and Serjent Thomas Putnam in behalf of their Majesties for themselves also for severall of theire neighbours. hereof you are not to faile at your perill. Attest  
Salem, Aprill 30th, 1692.

Jus. JOHN HATHORNE, } Assis  
JONATHAN CORWIN, }

May 2d, 1692. I have taken ye bodys of aboue named Sarah Murrell and Dorcas and brought them unto ye house of leut. Nathaniell Ingersoll att ye time abouesaid. me.

GEORGE HERRICK, Marshall of Essex  
Mr. Phillip English not being to bee found  
Pr. G. 1

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 206-7.]

According to the marshal's return, Sarah Murrell and Dorcas Hoare were arrested and brought before the magistrates. This is the last we hear of Sarah Murrell\* in any

\* Sarah Murrell disappears from the scene in the same way, most probably, as did Nehemiah Abbot, who was arrested with Mrs. English. In the mittimus of Mrs. English, and others arrested at the same time, no mention is made of Abbot, who we may conclude was cleared of the crime by the afflicted persons' examination. This clearing of the accused by the tortured was sometimes, though rarely, done on that day. Sometimes the magistrates interfere. Calef mentions (page 220) that at the trial of Rebecca Nurse and others, "one of the persons cried out publicly of Mr. Willard, minister of Boston, as afflicting of her. She was sent out of court and it was told about she was mistaken in the person!" Had not the accused in this case been a prominent minister, his life would have been in danger. Rev. Mr. Parris was accused by some of partiality in urging forward certain complaints and prosecutions and suppressing others. He could thus prosecute clear whom he saw fit. It was doubtless in the power of the magistrates and clergy to suppress some of the complaints, and determine what accusations were mistakes. It was the alarming number of such

She was probably cleared. Doreas Hoare, however, was examined and committed. We herewith append her examination, which evidently took place at the Village:—

The Examination of Doreas Hoare, 2 May, 1692.

Severall of the afflicted fell into fits as soon as she was brought in.

Eliz. Hubbard said this woman had afflicted me ever since last Sab: was seven nights and hurt me ever since and she choakt her own husband.

Mary Walcott said she told me the same.

Abig. Williams said this is the woman that she saw first before ever Tituba Indian or any else.

Ann Putnam said this the woman that hurts her and the first time she was hurt by her was the Sab: was seven nights.

Susan Sheldon accused her of hurting her last moonday night.

Abig. Williams and Ann Putnam said she told them that she had choakt a woman lately at Boston.

Eliz. Hubbard cried out why do you pinch me. the mark was visible to the standers by. The Marshall said she [Mrs. H.] pincht her own fingers at that time.

Doreas Hoar why do you hurt these?

I never hurt any child in my life.

It is you or your appearance.

How can I helpe it?

What is it from you that hurts these?

I never saw worse than myself.

You need not see worse. They charge you with killing your Husband.

I never did, nor never saw you before.

You sent for Goody Gale to cut your [husband's?] head off. What do you say to that?

I never sent for her upon that account.

What do you say about killing your husband?

Susan Sheldon also charged her that she

takes that finally aroused the influential of the community to the danger of listening to any complaints.

came in with two cats and brought me the book and fell into a fit and told me your name was Goody Buckley.

No I never did I never saw thee before.

What black cats were those you had?

I had none.

Mary Walcott Susan Sheldon and Abigail Williams said they saw a black man whispering in her ears.

Oh! you are liars and God will stop the mouth of liars.

You are not to speak after this manner in the Court.

I will speak the Truth as long as I live.

Mary Walcott Susan Sheldon and Eliz: Hubbard said again there was a man whispering in her ear and said she should never confess.

Goody Bibber free from fits hitherto said there was a black man with her and fell into a fit.

What do you say to those cats that suckt your breast what are they?

I had no cats.

You do not call them cats that are they that suck you?

I never suckt none but my child.

What do you say. you never saw Goody Buckley.

I never knew her.

Goodm Bukly testified that she had been at the house often.

I know you but not the woman.

You said you did not know the name.

Many bystanders testified she disowned that she knew the name.

I did not know the name so as to goe to the woman.

Susan Sheldon and Abig. Williams cried there was a blew bird gone into her back.

The Marshall struck and several of the bystanders testified that they saw a fly like a Miller.

What did you see Goody Bibber, who was looking up.

Goody Bibber was taken dumb.

What can you have no heart to confesse.

I have nothing to do with witchcraft.

They say the Devil is whispering in your ear.

I cannot help it if they do see it.

cannot you confess what you think of these things?

Why should I confess that I do not know.

Susan Sheldon cried O Goody Hoar do not kill me, and fell into a fit and when she came to herself she said she saw a black man whispering in her ear and she brought me the book.

I have no book but the Lord's book.

What Lord's book.

The Lord's book.

Oh said some of the afflicted there is one whispering in her ears.

There is somebody will rub your ears shortly, said the examinant.

Immediately they were afflicted and among others Mercy Lewes.

Why do you threaten they should be Rubb'd?

I did not speak a word of Rubbing.

Many testified she did.

My meaning was God would bring things to light.

Your meaning for God to bring the thing to light would be to deliver these poor afflicted ones, that would not Rubb them.

This is unusual impudence to threaten before Authority. who hurts them now.

I know not.

They were rubbed after you had threatened them.

Mary Walcot Abig. Williams and Eliz. Hubbard were carried towards her, but they could not come near her.

What is the reason these cannot come near you.

I cannot help it. I do them no wrong. they may come if they will.

Why you see they cannot come near you.

I do them no wrong.

*Note.* The afflicted were much distressed during her examination.

This is a true account of the examination of Doreas Hoar without wrong to any party ac-

cording to my original from characters at the moments thereof. witness my hand.

SAM. PARRIS.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 257-8-9-60.]

[NOTE.—This “fly” can perhaps be explained thus. When the Indian “Powahs” (Wizards) desired to kill or torment a person, the Devil who served them sometimes seized something of the spirit of the person, while it wandered in its sleep, which was brought to the *Powah* in the form of a fly, and kept a close prisoner, and accordingly as the *Powah* dealt with this fly, so fared it with the *body* of the person belonged to. See Cotton Mather’s Hist. of New England, Book 6, page 52—also page 65 same Book.

As the spectator saw a fly like a miller after the marshal struck a blow at some fancied object or order, he may have liberated thereby the spirit of the bewitched person.

It is more likely, however, that the fly was supposed Imp or familiar spirit of the accused, which according to the English doctrine of witchcraft, could take the shape of a *fly*, spider, *bird*, &c., and which if struck at, and it could not be killed, was most certainly the “familiar” of the accused.

It would appear from the records—the depositions finally given in against her—that she had been guilty, twenty or more years before, of having in her possession and using a fortune-telling book—that she had told a few fortunes (it does not appear for money, however,) but she had given that up long ago, having been rebuked therefor—that she had strongly objected to having the body of her husband examined by a coroner’s jury, he having died very suddenly—that once, when very sick, (and in delirium most probably) she rose from bed unknown to her watchers and suddenly disappeared, and was afterwards found sitting on her doorstep, with her clothes and hat a cloak on, and moreover seized and held fast by some one who was running by her out of the house, and in a fright at her disappearance that various accidents had happened in her neighborhood, which savored of witchcraft, &c., &c. Suffice it to say, Doreas Hoar was condemned, but fortunately escaped execution.

† “After Goodwife Hoar was condemned her estate was seized, and was also bought again for eight pounds.” (*C. def.* page 230.)



EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL KEPT BY  
SAMUEL GARDNER, 1759.

See Collections Essex Institute, Vol. 2d, P. 212.)

COMMUNICATED BY B. F. BROWNE.

DEATHS AND BURIALS FOR 1759.

At Salem, Jan'y 3, Mrs. Gray, wife to Benj'n.

At Danvers, Jan'y 12, Miss Symonds.

At Salem, Buried Jan'y 19 Mr. Diman.

At Salem, Buried Jan'y 28 Mr. Hooper.

At Salem, January 28th, Miss Davis.

At Cambridge, February, of the measles, Miss Betty Epes, aged 22 years.

At Concord, Feb'y 16, the Hon'ble James Linot, Esq., aged about 66.

At his lodgings in Boston, February 6th, Capt. Lieut. Thomas Coomer of the Royal Artillery, aged 22.

At Dorchester, February 6, after a long illness, in the 70th year of his age, Brigadier Gen'l Hatch.

In Boston, February 16th, of the measles, Henry Gibbs, Esq., belonging to Salem.

At Danvers, February 23d, Madam Hubbard, mother to the Rev. Mr. Clark's Lady.

February 20, Joseph Whipple, Esq., going over a Bridge in a dark Evening, fell in and was drowned, to the great Grief of his Friends. He belonged to Rhode Island, and was formerly Lieut. Governour of that Colony.

At Salem, March 30th, Miss Elizabeth Orne.

At Salem, March, Miss Prat, aged about 90 years.

At Salem, March, Madam Smith, alias Mother No Nose.

At Philadelphia, March 11th, of a tedious illness, John Forbes, Esq., in the 49th year of his age; Commander of his Majesty's Troops in the Southern Provinces of North America.

At Cambridge, April 9th, Miss Watson.

At Salem, April, Capt. Andrew Tucker.

At Salem, April 28th, John Cabot—a Boy about 11 years old.

May 5th, Three men and one woman, all of Malden, who were going from Boston home in

a small Boat, by a sudden gust of wind the Boat overset and the 3 men were drowned, the woman was taken in and is likely to do well.

May 23d, Brigadier General Waldo Died at Penobscot, of Apoplexy; he went down there with our Governour.

June 6th, Died at Kittery, Sir William Pepperell, Bart., Lieut. General in his Majesty's Army.

Some time in June died the Rev. Mr. Daniel Putnam, Pastor of the Church of Reading precinct.

June 19th, Died at Salem, Mrs. Mary King, (Andrew.)

July or August, Died at Cape Francois, Mr. Benj'n Gerrish of Salem; he went to sea and was taken with Capt. Josiah Orne, and went to the Cape as an hostage for the ransom of the vessel. He died three days before Capt. Orne arrived there with the money.

August 25, Died at Salem, Capt. Tho's Dean. He came home as well to all appearance as ever and fell down dead, without speaking a word.

Some time in September died the Rev. Mr. Russell of Barnstable.

Sept'r 5th, Mr. Daniel Gardner of Danvers (my uncle) died. He was born December 16th, 1709.

Sept'r 13th, Mr. Tho's Ropes died; he had lately returned from sea. He was taken the last voyage. He married one of Deacon Bickford's Daughters. The Deacon has lately lost his Son, Pinson Bickford, who died at St. Eustatia. He was Capt. George Crowninshield's mate.

Sept'r, Died at Casco Bay, Mr. Stephen Minot; he was a resident at College—a very good preacher.

At Salem, October 17th, Miss Sarah Toppan. Died whilst I was absent, Old Capt. White's wife.

Died at Salem, whilst absent, Mrs. Lee.

MARRIAGES FOR 1759.

January 18th, Mr. Allen (Capt. Edward)

was married to Mrs. Gardner, (Widow of Israel G. She was a Hodges.)

May 3d, Samuel Holdman was married to Miss Hunt, both of Salem.

Febr'y 11, John Bowditch was married to Mary Carleton, both of Salem.

September 13th, Richard Darby, Jun'r, was married to Lydia Gardner, my sister.

(She and Mary were gemini; Mary married Jonathan Andrew.)

Sept. 18, Will. Cook was married to Sarah Very.

January 3d—Mr. Holt was ordained Pastor over the Second Church in Danvers. The persons that assisted at the ordination were Mr. Barnard, who began with prayer, Mr. Phillips preached, Mr. Clark gave the charge, Mr. John Chandler made the last prayer. Mr. James Chandler gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and the whole was conducted with great decorum and good entertainment was made for Scholars. Deacon Pickering sent a letter to the Council, and it was voted it should not be read; he was there himself, but they would not admit him into the Council. N. B. Mr. Holt voluntarily gave in a Confession of his Faith. About a dozen of Scholars there. Mr. Phillips' text was in Proverbs, 11th chap., ye latter part of the 30th verse.

January 10th—I went to another Ordination, which was at Middleton, where Mr. Smith was ordained Pastor. Mr. Emerson began with Prayer, Mr. Clark preached—his text was in John. 1st chap., 16th and 17th verses—Mr. Phillips gave the charge, Mr. Chipman concluded with prayer, and Mr. Cushing gave the right hand of fellowship. All was carried on with Decency, tho' the House was exceedingly full. We dined at Tim. Fuller's. After Supper we went down to Ezra Putnam's, the place provided for Scholars, but spent the evening at Mr. Jacob Fuller's, accompanied with about half a dozen Scholars.

January 17th—I went to an Instalment at Stoneham, where Mr. John Serls took upon him the pastoral charge of the Church and

Congregation. Mr. Parsons of Newbury prayed. Mr. Emerson of Malden preached from Colossians, 1 chap., 28 verse, a very Calvinistic Discourse, and I believe all that assisted were *pretty full in that scheme*. Mr. Cook gave the charge, Mr. Sherman concluded with prayer and Mr. Robie gave the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Serls was settled Minister at Stoneham, but the cause of his leaving them I never heard. Few Scholars. Went in a chair with Pickman.

Jan'y 31—There was an Ordination at Bedford, and there being a great weight of Snow then upon the ground I thought it best to tar at home. They ordained Mr. Holyoke.

Jan'y 28, Harbor frozen over.

February 2d—A violent shock of an earthquake.

3d—Went to and dined with my friend Clarke at Danvers. Coming home stopped to see Master Wyer at Uncle Osbourn's.

6th—Went to the Deacon's, (Pickering,)

8th—Went to Cambridge. Measles were very thick the President dismissed those that had not had them. Few Scholars were at the seat of the muses.

9th—The Corporation have broke up the College 3 weeks, in consequence of which determination I went to Salem, most of the way on foot. In the evening went to the Deacon's. Moody and Wingate were there.

March 1st—Went to Cambridge. Harry Appleton is returned from Sea and I saw him at Pickman's Chamber. I seem to be out of my element having lived from College so long. Mr. Barnard bro't his Son yesterday and I saw him at the Steward's. Spent the evening at Goodale's Chamber—Mr. Marchant and Lebel being there.

March 3d—Richard Leachmere, Esqr., Collector of his Majesty's Customs at the Port of Salem, seized the schooner Sarah, Bartholomew Putnam Master, he having run all the goods before, as I was informed by Mr. Wyer. N. B. This vessel came from Monte Christo, and on some pretence Mr. Leachmere would

enter them. There were three or four more which came from the same place, when I came from Salem, (he was then at Cambridge) which was on the first day of March. Whether he has entered them, or what is become of them I have not been so happy as to hear.

7—Fair and exceeding cold; almost froze my fingers.

15—Fine, fair day. Pickman went to Boston—brought news that Cushing is judge. Scholars formed themselves into a company and chose their officers.

19—Pickman went to Boston—brought news that four vessels from Monte Christo are taken, two belonging to Salem.

April 1—Coming from prayers, this morning, heard that there was a murder committed at Salem last Friday night, a boy of about 14 years of age—impatient to know further.

3d—Hear that the long expected Comet was seen at Boston.

4th—Pickman went home, returned the 6th and brought a letter. The boy's name that was killed was Ebourn. Aunt Ingersoll's Negro is put in jail on Suspicion.

9th—John Appleton came from Salem—all well. Supped on Robins which my chum and Wingate killed.

10th—Aunt Ingersoll's negro out of jail. A fray between some scholars and townsmen, as there was one yesterday between some soldiers and— Six of the former were put in jail and were tried before Judge Danforth.

11th—Went to Miss Watson's funeral.

16th—My father came to Cambridge and brought the agreeable news of my brother's arrival, as well as Capt. Darby's, at Salem, and says there is nothing new found out about the murder.

Appleton I hear is going on board the province ship.

May 3d—Pickman was in Boston and by Mr. Epes, who was there, he learnt that Mr. Vans has been turned out as Naval Officer and Mr. Turner placed in his room, and what is more remarkable, that Mr. Nutting had a Com-

mission sent him to be Naval Officer and accordingly went to take the Oath, but Mr. Turner obtained another Commission which supplanted Mr. Nutting.

4th—Miss Nancy Fayerweather was thrown out of a chaise and broke one of her arms and bruised her considerable. This happened at Newton. Dr. Kneeland was with her.

21—Went to Medford to the burying of Mrs. Turell.

June 7th—Dr. Wigglesworth sent for me, for not attending his lectures last Tuesday, when my brother was here, and what is worse, would not hear my excuse. Hard! Injured innocence. George Gardner came up with him, who could not return on account of the weather. A very bad storm. Wind exceeding high. Bad for vessels at sea. My brother perhaps. Lord preserve him.

8th—The storm continues with great violence.

9th—Fine, pleasant day.

11th—By the newspapers I learn that there are several vessels taken going to and from Monte Christo; perhaps my brother is among them. Take him under thy care O Lord!

12th—By Miss Gibbs, who is from Salem, we hear that it was certainly Dover who killed the boy the last of March, by his own confession.

13th—Barnard came from Salem. My Brother has got home. (Deo gratias.) Confirms the account we had yesterday.

19th—Wm. Pickman and Capt. Robinson in town. Say my brother has not got in, but it was my Cousin John Gardner. A Sad Disappointment.

23d—A very hot day. Went to Salem. Our folks dull, thinking my brother is carried to Jamaica, but were refreshed by news brought by Capt. Mason, who arrived in the evening.

28—Fair and exceeding hot. Went on the water and went on shore at Bakers' Island

29th—Went to Cambridge; set off at 4 with my Father; we having our Valedictory Oration pronounced, which was finely performed.



July 10th—The inferiour Court opened here, (Salem.)

11—The famous case between Col. Pickman and Mr. Pickering tried. I was there. The Deacon got beat in 75 damages.

13—Fair but exceeding hot; went to Cambridge with my Father.

17—Cloudy, rainy and very uncomfortable. My Father and Mother came.

18—Cloudy and very hot. Commencement weather. To my great Sorrow I am quite ill.

19—Poor I quite sick. My classmates came to see me.

21—A. M. came home. Vale College, valet Cambridge. Something tired of riding.

22—Mr. Diman and Mr. Gilchrist sick, no meeting. Here I am, but where next and what is to follow is quite uncertain.

27—Mr. Gibbs' goods sold at vendue. I bought a few books. Goodale is to keep school in town I believe.

31—News that the Brest Fleet, composed of 30 Sail and 100 Transports, have got out—where bound is a secret. Some preparations are here making.

July 10th—There came news that three of our Fishing Schooners were taken by a Shallop of Canso. One of the Schooners belonged to Capt. Darby, one to Mr. Cabot, and the other to Mr. Orne. There were about 20 men on board of all three, all of which belonged to the lower Parish.

July 20th—They all arrived in Salem in Capt. Darby's Schooner. The Shallop that took them not knowing what to do with them, nor where to carry them, and so put them on board this vessel, she being the meanest of them. Two of the men were wounded, but not bad.

August 9th—Went to my old Chum Pickering's. (John, afterwards Register of Deeds.) He is engaged to keep School at Manchester. Nat. Ingersoll courts one of his Sisters. (Nat. Ingersoll died unmarried.)

16th—Ives' farm sold at vendue. Capt. Darby bought it.

22—Fair, pleasant day. Went to Boston with my Brother; returned to Salem by Cambridge; saw there my Classmates, Jones and Kingsbury. Dined at Bradishe's; Mr. Barnard there.

24—Went to Nahant with Miss Sally Marston. Spent the Evening at Mr. Walter's.

26th—Capt. Dean buried; an exceeding large burying, about 400.

31st—We learn that the above Shallop has fitted out one of the Schooners and that she took one David Felt belonging to this town. She gave them her Boat, in which they found way to get home. There were other Schooners in sight, so that we wait to hear further.

September 3—Arrived at Salem Robert Fry in Capt. Darby's Schooner. She has been taken again by the same enemies—they gave him his vessel again. They have taken 9 sail besides the above, two belonging to Boston one from London, the rest were fishing vessels belonging to this Town. Uncle Gardner has lost one, Mr. Barton one, &c. 'Tis very remarkable that Fry should have his vessel given him twice.

Sept. 7—Goodale opened his School.

8th—Went to burying of Uncle Danie (Gardner.)

13th—Went to Mr. Ropes' funeral.

14th—Richard Darby and Lydia Gardner (his sister) nuptials were performed. Mr. Barnard (of 1st Church) did the needful.

15—Guns fired morning, noon and night. Colors flying.

22—Fair weather; good news from Germany.

25—In the evening walked. Saw Goodale. We with others drank a glass of wine at Miss Hannah's, a trick I never did before.

29th—Mrs. West at our house. She was Mr. Grant's 3d Daughter, and married very well in Connecticut.

October 1—A minister's meeting; Mr. Chipman preached. Mr. Barnard invited me to dine with the ministers, but I declined.

10th—Determined to go to sea with Cap.

Darby; quite sudden and unexpected; preparing for it; we wait only for a wind.

11th—Went to Cambridge to get my diploma; as I came out of Cambridge heard of the glorious news of the Surrender of Quebec. I brought it first to Salem. *Great Rejoicing.*

15—News of the peace in Europe.

19th—Fine, fair weather. Wind N. W. Sailed from Salem. May I be in the care of God throughout this voyage. (The remainder of the journal narrates the occurrences on the voyage to Gibraltar.)

## NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY—No. 6.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

In 1840, a farmer, Capt. Stephen Grindle, in the vicinity of Castine, Maine, had occasion to excavate the top of a ledge, and on removing the earth,\* found lying on the top of the rock, a quantity of ancient coin, of pure silver, amounting to about \$600.

They consisted of a large amount of Spanish Cobb money, and a great number of Pine-tree shillings, with coins of France, Spain, and other countries,† in fine order, and many of

\* An article on the discovery of the coins found at Castine, was published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, July 17, 1841, taken from the Belfast Signal. Also, a more extended account in the Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 6, page 105. By Joseph Williamson, Esq.

† Most of these coins, valuable to collectors, found at Castine, were purchased by John Warren, dealer in marine shells, minerals, paintings, engravings, gems, shells, and other articles of antiquity. He was an Englishman, at one time a wealthy brewer, and kept his carriage, but becoming reduced in property, came to Boston with a small stock of coins, shells, &c. He established himself on Tremont Street, in an old building, afterwards removed, at the erection of the Museum. He was there in 1840,—I cannot tell how much sooner,—and it is likely he was the first dealer in old coins in Boston, and perhaps in the U. S. He removed from Tremont Street to 293 Washington Street, up-stairs, where he continued till his death, which happened a few years

after, of beautiful workmanship. They were supposed to have been buried by Baron de St. Castin.

The earliest coin was one of John IV., King of Portugal, 1630–36, and it is said none after 1688; most of them were of a date long previous to that period. This large parcel of coins showed the specie circulation here before 1688, and the proportions of each country. It appears from Mr. Williamson's account of the old coins, found at Castine, that there was but one coin of England found in the collection. The reason is clear, the exportation of the coins of England being strictly forbidden by Acts of Parliament. The early settlers of her American Colonies must, in consequence, have come without them, and probably with very little of that of any other nation.

Wampum, and other representations of specie, were used as currency. The furs, and other commodities, sent by the first settlers to England, brought no return of specie, the balance of trade being always against them. The little specie they obtained from other countries, was also continually leaving them for England.

It was to stop, and retain it in this country, that the Massachusetts Mint was established, in 1652. It was different with the exportation of our fish to Spain, a considerable portion of the returns being specie. The coins of Holland were early introduced by our trade with the Dutch settlement at New York.

The coins of France, from almost the first settlement of New England, were current, being most of them introduced by an illicit trade carried on with her Colonies. From the parcel of coins found at Castine, I obtained at the time, many fine specimens of France, Spain, and the Pine-tree money, and one of them,

since, when his whole collection was sold, at private sale, to some Institution, I believe in Connecticut. (His price for the Pine-tree shilling was \$1.) Most of the collectors in this vicinity have more or less of them in their collections.

which I have always considered the most valuable (and perhaps unique,) in my collection, a piece of eight, coined at the mint of Potosi, 1652. It will be seen from the description I shall give of it, that the second coinage of the Massachusetts money, as regards the beaded circles, enclosing the legend and device, and the Anno before the date, are nearly the same as on the New England coins, showing that it might have been, in those respects, a pattern for their coins. I do not know of the Anno being placed before the date on any other coins. It is also a very interesting coin in another respect, being stamped with N. E., showing it to be one of the last issue of the silver currency of Massachusetts, ordered to be issued by the Court, Oct. 8, 1672:

"Whereas peeces of eight are of more value to carry out of the country then they will yield to mint into our coyne, by reason whereof peeces of eight which might else come to coynying are carried out of the country, it is therefore ordered by this Court & the authority thereof, that all peeces of eight that are full weight and good siluer, that is, six shillings of New England money, of Mexico, sevil and pillar and so all lesser peeces of each sort, shall pass in this jurisdiction as current as our own money peeces of eight, at sixe shillings a peece, & all lesser peeces proportionably thereunto, provided that all such peeces that shall passe in this jurisdiction have a stampe affix't vpon them, wch shall be N. E., to euidence that they are of right allay & due weight, as an addition to the sayd lawe, be it ordered and enacted by this Court & the authority thereof, that peeces of eight vnder the weight of sixe shillings shall likewise be passable for so much of New England money as they shall weigh, and that it be impressed vpon the stampe how much each peece doth weigh in legible figures wth the other letters on ye same, & of the same alloy."

The coin in my possession, weighs 17 pennyweights, the weight required, and is in a fine state of preservation, having the appearance of being coined by powerful machinery.

This Piastre of eight Reals, Plate Currency (called on that account a piece of eight,) has on its obverse, near its edge, a beaded circle to prevent clipping, the legend, "PHILIPV III. D. G. HISPANIARVM REX, -|-". In its field a shield surmounted by a regal coronet, first and third quarters, castles, the Arms of Castile, second and fourth, Lions, the Arms of Leon, in a bend at the base of the shield, Pomegranate, the Arms of Granada; on the left the Arabic numeral 8, its value, and on the right of the shield, 52, an abbreviation of its date. There are other marks, which I am not able to explain. On the first quarter of the shield appears the stamp N. E., similar to that on the first coinage of the N. E. money, a beaded circle encloses the field of the coin reverse, the beaded circles, the same as on the obverse, legend, E. L. PERV. -|- POTOSI ANNO, 1652. In the field, two upright pillars, with coronets, instead of capitols, and above them a regal coronet; at their base flows a representation of the Mediterranean Sea, and across the coin the inscription "PLVS VLTRA," "more beyond." The pillars are supposed to represent the Pillars of Hercules. The Arabic numeral 8, between the coronets, its value, IIII, on the right of the shield, the reigning king, and other marks not easy to explain. This coin shows, that different from what all other writers I have seen have stated,† that the shield was actually put on part of the coins struck by Spain, in her South American Colonies.

† The Rev. Edward Clarke, in letters on the Spanish nation, written at Madrid, 1760-61, page 27 says: "In regard to their silver specie, in the first place observe that it has no impress of any royal head; that whenever it has a shield or coat of arms on it, it is coined in Old Spain, if it be struck before the year 1733."



EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF  
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,  
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, page 153.

John Ingersoll, his son John be by Judith  
is wife the 12th 7th mo., 1644; their son  
athanyell be ye 10th 2d mo., '47; da Ruth  
be ye 20th 4th mo., '49; son Richard be 1st  
th mo., '51; da'r Sara be ye 28th 6th mo.,  
'53; Sam'l be ye 6th 8th mo., '58; son Jo-  
ph be 9th 10th mo., '62, and died ye same  
ear: da Hana be 11th 1st mo., '63, and died  
the same year.

Nathaniell Ingerson Senr and Hana Collins  
ere married 25m, 16—.

John Ingerson and Mary Coomes were mar-  
ried the 17th 3d mo., —; their daughter  
Mary borne 10th 7th mo., 1671; Ruth borne  
the 12th mo., 1673.

Nathaniell Ingerson and Mary Preston were  
married the 8th 8th mo., 1670; their daugh-  
ter Elizabeth borne 11th 12 mo., 1672; son  
John borne the 7th 8th 1674.

The widow Ann Ingerson deceased 30th Ju-  
ne, 1677.

Stephen Ingolls married to Dinah Elsen ye  
1st day of January, 1690-1; his daughter Ma-  
ry borne by Dina his wife 6th 9th mo., 1691;  
Dinah Ingolls, daughter of Stephen Ingolls and  
Dinah his wife, was borne at Salem February  
the 24th, 1693-4; Stephen Ingolls, son as afore-  
said, was borne at Salem June 16, 1696;  
Abraham Ingolls, son as aforesd, was borne at  
Salem Sep'r 10th, 1698.

Thomas Ives and Martha Withe were mar-  
ried the 1st 2d mo., 1672; their daughter  
Elizabeth borne the 8th 12th mo., '72, and  
deceased the 21st 5 mo., 1673; son Thomas  
borne ye 31st March, '74; daughter Deborah  
borne the 8th of December, 1675.

Hugh Joanes married to Hannah Tompkins  
Major Denyson 26th June, 1660; their  
daughter Hana be 9th 12th, 1660, and deceased 1st

8th mo., '62; da Sara deceased 12th 8th, '62;  
daughter Sara by Hana his wife 30th April,  
'63, and died soon after; their daughter Eliz-  
abeth borne 2d October, '64; their daughter  
Mary borne 30th January, ('65); son John be  
4th 6th mo., 1667; daughter Deborah borne  
ye 10th of March, 1669-70; son Samuell  
borne 30th April, 1672; Hana the wife of sd  
Joanes deceased 10th of May, 1672; Hugh  
Joanes his second marriage to Mary Foster 31st  
10th mo., 1672; their daughter Rebecka borne  
15th October, 1673; daughter Abigail borne  
the 7th January, 1674; their daughter Hana  
borne 17th 3d mo., 1677; daughter Rachell  
borne the 17th April, 1679; daughter Sara  
borne the 10th of July, 1681; their daughter  
Lydia be 20th Feb'y, 1684, by Mary Jones.

Peeter Joy and Sara Gaskin were married ye  
24th May, 1661, by Majr Hatherne; their  
son David borne ye 6th April, 1662; their  
daughter Anna borne ye 7th August, '63;  
Sara borne 1st 11th mo., 1666; Peeter born  
3d 10th mo., '69; William borne 13th 10th  
mo., 1675; Samuel be 25 July, 1678.

Thomas Jeggles, his daughter Abigail borne  
by Abigail his wife the 21st July, 1648;  
their son Thomas borne 14th November, 1650;  
son William borne 1st March, '52, and dyed  
ye 17th day; son Samuell borne 4th February,  
'53; da'r Elizabeth born 15 October, '56; son  
William borne 30th May, '59; Danyell borne  
9th December, 1662; Mary borne 9th March,  
'64; son Nathaniell 14th September, 1666;  
son John borne 25 March, 1669; Ebenezer  
borne 9th March, '71; son Benjamin borne  
25th May, 1674.

William Jeggells yt came from Virginia de-  
ceased 12th May, 1674.

Guston John and Elizabeth Browne were  
married 10th 11th mo., 1676.

Georg Jacobs married with Rebecka Frost,  
widow, the 9th 12th mo., 1674; their daugh-  
ter Margaret borne 26th 9th mo., '75; son  
Georg borne 29th 7th mo., '77; son John  
borne 18th 7th mo., '79; their son Jonathan

borne the 29th July, 1681; their daughter Mary borne the 20th May, 1683.

John Johnson and Hester Beeres were married the 23d of 12th mo., 1677-8; their son John borne 3d August, 1679.

Thomas Jeggles married to Mary Weston March, '83; his daughter Sara borne 5th Jan'y, '84.

Tho' Jeggles dyed 19th August, 1687.

John Kitchin, his son Benjamin by Eliz his wife, bo 28th 6th mo, '60, and dyed ye 15th 7th mo., '60.

Arther Kippen, his son Arther bo by Abigail his wife 6th 11th mo., 1660; their daughter Abigail, 4th 11th, '58, was borne; their son William deceased 14th 7, '6—; daughter Abigail deceased 3d 8th mo., '62; daughter Eliza borne 12th 3d mo, '62; son Joseph bo 23d Feby, 166—; daughter Hana borne 28th June, '69; Sara borne last of May, '70.

Henry Kene, his son Thomas born by Ann his wife 1st 1st mo., '55; daughter Hanna born 2d 1st mo., '57; Sara daughter of Henry Keny by Ann his wife bo 20th 6th mo., 1661; their son John in January, 1651; daughter Mary borne in May, 1659; Elizabeth borne in December, 1662; Lidea borne in April, 1666; Henry borne 1st May, 1669. John Kene deceased October, '70.

Elisha Kebbe and Rachel Cooke were married the 12th 10th mo., 1667; their son John borne the first of ye 12th mo., 1667; their son Edward borne 2d 12th mo., '69; son Elisha borne ye 28th March, 1673; son James borne the 27th December, 1675.

Charles Knite and Sara Lemon were married the 9th May, 1667; their daughter Elizabeth borne ye 18th of May, 1668; their daughter Mary borne ye 7th April, 1670; daughter Sara borne ye 22d July, 1673.

Arther Kebben, his daughter Jerusha by Abigail his wife borne the 19th April, 1672.

John Kenne, the son of Henry Kenne and Elizabeth Looke were married the 17th day of

June, 1675; their son John borne the 25 March, 1676; daughter Elizabeth borne 6 February, 1677.

Thomas Kenne, the son of Henry Kenne, and Elizabeth Knight were married the 23d May 1677; their son Thomas borne the 27th Julie, 1678; Joseph borne 7th Sept, 1681; Danl born 23d July, 1682; Jonathan 27 May, 1686.

Lott Killum and Hana Goodell were married 22d May, 1666; daughter Hanna in March '66-7; son James borne May, ('69); son Ephraim borne in June, ('72) and both James and Ephraim deceased in a short time after they were borne. Ruth borne September ('73) and dyed the same day; daughter Ruth borne 15 January, ('75).

John King and Elizabeth Goldthwaite were married in Sept., 1660; their son John borne in October, '62; son Samuel borne in May '64; son William borne in June, 1669; daughter Elizabeth borne in February, 1671; son Jonathan borne in February, 1674; son Thomas borne in February, 1677, and deceased in October, 1680; their daughter Hannah born 15th April, 1681; Mary King borne 28 March, 1687.

Elizer Keazer and Mary Collens were married the ninth day of December, 1679; daughter Sarah born December 6th 1686.

Jno Kettle dyed 12th October, 1685.

Jno and Nathl Kettle, twins of James Kettle, borne ye 9th 10th mo., 1689.

Jno, son of Jno Kenne borne ye 15th August, 1689; son Saml borne 26th October 1691.

James Kettle, son of James Kettle, borne by Eliza his wife ye 27th 10th mo., 1691. John, son of James and Eliza his wife, was borne July 3d, 1696; Eliza was born 19th January, 1693.

Ephraim Kempton, son of Ephraim Kempton and Mary his wife, born Nov 14th, 1674; their son Kempton born Feby 1st, 1675; their son Saml born March 4th, 1681.

Danll Kemy, son of Danll and Mary Ken-  
ny, born October 19th, 1705.

Alis, the wife of Hugh Laskin, dyed 28th  
5th mo., '58, and Hugh Laskin died —

Henry Keny, his son Thos born by Ann his  
wife 11th 2d mo., 1655; their daughter Han-  
na bo 2d 1st mo., 1657.

Abigaile Lovet, dar of John Lovet, bo by  
Mary his wife 20th 6th mo., 1654, and de-  
ceased 27th 3d mo., '59.

John Looms, his daughter Mary bo by Mary  
his wife 16th 10th mo., 1659.

John Lambert, his dar Sara by Preserved  
his wife bo ye 7th 12th mo., '60; their son  
Janyell bo by Preserved his wife ye 3d 8th  
mo., '58; Ezekiell borne the 3d of March,  
661; son Samuell dyed ye 7th 5th mo.,  
662; son Samuell bor 16th 1st mo., 1664;  
dar Mary borne the 26th of Aprill, 1667;  
Jonathan born 27th 10th mo., '69; Hana  
borne in December, '71, and died 8 daies after.  
Benezzer borne 2d April, '74.

William Lake married to Ann Stratton about  
th mo., '61; dar Ann bo 1st 4th mo., '62,  
and dyed 10th 4th, '62; dar Abigaile borne  
1st April, 1667; dar Mary borne the 1st  
2th mo., 1668; son William borne 12th  
March, 1674-5.

Eliza, dar of Robert Lemon, deceased 15th  
9th mo., '62.

Willm Lord, his son Willm by Jane his wife  
bo 27th 12th mo., '56; da Eliza bo 26th April,  
'60; dar Margaret bo ye 21st 7 mo., '60;  
son Joseph bo 11th mo., '62; son Jeremi-  
a borne the 2d Aprill, 1667; daughter Jane  
borne May, 1668; son Rowland borne ye 7th  
April, 1672, and dyed 5th 10th mo., '74;  
daughter Dina borne 4th 9th mo., '74; Willm  
ord senr died ye 14th January, 1672, being  
ye 97 year of his age.

James Lyon deceased 30th 6th mo., '61.

John Leach and Elizabeth Flint were married  
20th May, 1667.

Phillip Logee and Mary Snasher were mar-

ried ye 11th 7th mo., 1673; their son Phillip  
borne 27th 6 mo., 1673; daughter Mary borne  
16th 6 mo., '75; daughter Abigail borne ye  
24th June, 1687; Abraham born March 14th,  
1688-9.

Timothy Lindall and Mary Veren were mar-  
ried the last of February, 1672; his daughter  
Mary by Mary his wife borne ye 7th 2d mo.,  
1674; their son James borne the first day of  
February, 1675; son Timothy borne the 4th  
of November, 1677; son Nathaniell borne ye  
4th 9th mo., 1679; their daughter Abigaile  
borne the 15th 7th mo., 1681; their daugh-  
ter Sara borne the 4th March, 1682-3; son  
Caleb borne the 5th Feby, '84; their daugh-  
ter Rachell borne 3d December, 1686; son  
Veren borne 12th Feby, 1689-90; their daugh-  
ter Rachell died Augt 30th, 1743.

John Longly, his son John borne by Pricil-  
lia his wife the 11th 11th mo., 1680.

William Lord Junr and Mary Moulton were  
married ye 7th April, 1680; their son Wil-  
liam borne the 3d 12th mo., 1680; their  
daughter Abigaile borne the 21st December,  
1682.

Danll Lambert married to Mary Graye 5th  
June, 1682; yr daughter Mary borne ye 20th  
Feby, 1683; yr daughter Eliza borne 9th April,  
1684; yr sone Danll borne 7th December,  
1686; their sone Samll borne ye 5th Feby,  
1688; their 2d son Samll borne 7th April, 1689;  
Preserved borne 21st Aprill, 1691, and dyed  
24th 7th mo., 1691; sone Joseph borne 12th  
April, 1692.

Samll Lambert, his daughter Margaret born  
14th Jany, 1690; daughter Preserved borne  
last of April, 1692; son Samuel born 2d Jan-  
uary, 1693.

Margaret Lambert, daughter of Eben'r Lam-  
bert and Mary his wife Born July 26th, 1696;  
their daughter Mary born March 26th, 1702-3.  
their daughter Eunice born Aprill 3d, 1706.

John Lightfoot was married to Elizabeth  
Swasey, in May, 1630; their son Joseph borne  
the 14th day of Aprill, 1631; sone Samuell  
borne 23d day Octob'r, 1683.



Jno. Louder, his sone Will'm borne by Eliz'a his wife ye 10th Feb'y, 1691; his sone Nicholas borne 31st 6 mo., 1693; ye Daughter Elizabeth borne ye First day of October, 1695. Their son Jared borne the first day of November, 1697.

Sam'll Morgan married to Eliza Dixy by Maj. Hathorne, 15th 10th mo., '58.

Dameris, da'r of Paule Mansfield, bo by Dameris his wife, 12th 6th mo., '58; da'r Ruth ye 4th November, '62; son Paule borne 4th August, '64; son Elias bo ye 29 March, '67—died in July after.

Henry Moses & Remember Giles were married by Majo'r Hathorne, 1st 2d mo., 1659; theire da'r Hanna bo 29th 11th mo., '59, & deceased 2d 8th mo., '61; son Henry bo. 8th 12th mo., '61; da'r Eliza borne 8th 12 mo., '63.

### MISCELLANEA.

A LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TOWARDS THE BELL IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH, IN SALEM, 1741.

Sent for by Mr. Thomas Gunter, merch't in Boston, who generously gave us his trouble and commissions.

COPIED FROM RECORDS OF ST. PETERS CHURCH.

The Rev'd Cha's Brockwell,	£10	0s	0d.
Capt. Benj. Moreshead,	10	0	0
Mr. Shillaber Sen'r.	7	0	0
Mr. Sanders,	7	0	0
Mr. Brittain,	5	0	0
Mr. Myal Bacon,	4	0	0
Mr. Dampney,	3	0	0
Mr. Jno. Gibbs, Painter,	3	0	0
Mr. Thompson,	3	0	0
Mr. Hilliard Sen'r,			
Jos. Browne, Esq., Collec'tr,	10	0	0
Jno. Woolcot, Esq.,	5	0	0
Benja Browne, Esq.,	6	0	0
Mr. Lechmere,	3	0	0
Capt. Elkins,	2	0	0
Mr. Palmer,	3	0	0
Mr. Daniels,	3	0	0
Mr. Bethell,	3	0	0
Mr. Ingolls,	4	0	0
Will. Browne Esq.,	5	0	0

Mr. Wm. Lynds,	5	0	0
Capt. Ghatman,	5	0	0
Capt. Gerrish,	5	0	0
Mr. Moreshead,	6	0	0
Mr. Brown of Boston,	2	0	0
Capt. Kipps,	5	0	0
Capt. Beadle,	3	0	0
Mr. Benson,	1	0	0
Mr. Stone,	3	0	0
Mr. Leach in cash & stuff,	2	10	0
Mr. Masell Williams,	2	0	0
Mr. Phippen,	1	0	0
Mr. Manning,	5	0	0
Sam'l Brown Esq.,	5	0	0
Benj. Ward,	1	0	0
Mr. Dan'l Webb,	1	0	0
Mr Sam'l Massey,	1	0	0
Mr. John Ward,	1	0	0
Capt. Adams,	2	0	0
Mr. Cowen,	1	0	0
Mr. Jno. Hill,	0	10	0
Mr. Lisbritten,	1	0	0
Capt. Woodberry,	5	0	0
Mr. Bigsley,	0	10	0
Mr. Abraham Cabot,	2	0	0
By a gentleman,	2	0	0
Capt. Williams,	1	0	0
Capt. Messervy,	1	0	0
Mr. Moor,	1	0	0
Free gift,	2	0	0
Jonah Gardner,	1	0	0
—— Harris,	1	0	0
Clifford Crowningshield,	5	0	0
Stephen Higginson in Corn,	3	0	0
Sam'l Archer,	1	0	0
Mr. Gridley,	2	0	0
Mr. Goffe,	2	0	0
Mr. Norton,	0	10	0
Mr. Dana,	1	0	0
William Coffen,	3	0	0
By a gentleman,	5	0	0
By a gentleman,	1	10	0
Luke Nerdy,	1	0	0
Mr. Nowdy,	1	0	0
Mr. Cabot,	3	0	0
Mr. Smith, Boston,	2	10	0
Mr. Lander,	0	15	0
Mr. Jos Silsby,	0	15	0
Sam'l Lander,	0	15	0
Gam'l Hodges,	0	15	0
Capt. Newcomb,	1	0	0
S. Barton,	1	0	0

Jno. Turner, Jr., 2 0 0  
 Several others in Morehead's paper.

PRICE OF COMMODITIES IN SALEM MARKET, 1775.

Beef, three pence a lb.  
 Pork, four pence.  
 Mutton, three-pence half penny.  
 Veal, three pence 3 farthings.  
 Turkey, four pence.  
 Fowls, four pence.  
 Geese, three pence.  
 Partridges fourteen pence a pair.  
 Black ducks, same price.  
 Bass, one penny farthing a lb.  
 Pickerel, two pence farthing  
 Cod and Haddock, fresh, seldom weighed.  
 Sausages, sixpence half penny a lb.  
 Candles, seven pence half penny.  
 Eggs, seven pence per dozen.  
 Cheese, four pence per lb.  
 Honey, seven pence half penny.  
 Cider, ten shillings per barrel.  
 Rye Meal, three shillings and nine pence a bushel.  
 Indian Meal, the same price.  
 Wood, two shillings a foot.  
 Butter, 8 pence a lb.  
 Turnips, twenty-one pence a bushel.  
 Potatoes, twenty pence.  
 Apples, twenty-four pence.  
 Molasses, fourteen pence a gallon.  
 Loaf Sugar, 10 pence a lb.  
 Common Sugar, six pence half penny.  
 New England Rum, 20 pence a gallon.  
 Chocolate, twelve pence a lb.  
 Cocoa Shells, five pence.  
 Coffee, (not much used), ten pence.  
 Mal Wine, ten pounds a pipe.  
 Madeira Wine, eight shillings a gallon.  
 Lemons, two shillings and eight pence a dozen.  
 Nutmegs, twelve shillings a pound.  
 Cinamon, Clove, and Mace each, about twenty shillings a pound.

Pepper, two shillings a pound.

Female labor in the house, and found, two shillings a week.

A free black man, and found, twenty-eight shillings a week.

A common day's labor at hard work, three shillings a day.

In this reckoning seventy-two pence make a dollar.  
 B. F. B.

Thinking the paper below may prove of interest to some of the readers of the "Collections," I enclose it for publication. II.

"The deposition of John Fitch, of Gloucester, Aged about 40 yeares this 27th November, 1676, Whoe testifieth and sayeth that about 4 years since last Agust, I mett Mr. Harlakinden Symonds in England at withersfield, and I asked ye sd Symonds when he would returne over to New England, and he ye sd Symonds sayed he could not come because he wayted for a letter of Attorney web he had sent for. yt letter which ye sd Symonds brought with him from ye sd Bennet not haveing sufficient power in it to give ye sd executor a full or Legall discharge. This Deponent doth further say that ye sd Bennet before I went to England did very much vrge Mr. Symonds to goe to England, he vsed many arguments with mee to perswad & in courage ye sd Symonds to goe for sayd Bennet I haue giuen Mr. Symonds halfe. I wounder you should not be willing to allow a third part and Bennet sayd yt he would not venture his life for what he had there ouer ye Seas.

The marke of John Fitch,  
 Taken vpon oath 27th of Novemb. 1676, before me, Samuel Symonds, Dep. Govern'r.

I doe affirme that which is above sworne to be certainly true this 27 Novemb., 1676."

NOTICES OF HALE, FROM ESSEX COUNTY RECORDS, SALEM.

Rebecca, dau of John Hale, jr, b at Newbury, Feb. 18, 1683.

Mr. John Hale, of Beverly, and Mrs. Sarah Noyes of Newbury, were married March 31, 1684.

Feb. 12, 1718-19, at Beverly, ye Reverd Mr John Chipman & Mrs. Rebecca Hale were married.—E. S. W.

ANSWER TO E. S. W. S QUERY CONCERNING  
MARTHA DERBY.

Martha Derby was the daughter of Richard and Martha Derby, born Salem, Sept. 12, 1714; died Sept. 28, 1745; married Thomas Elkins, Mar. 30, 1736. Her mother was dau. of Col. Elias Hasket, of Boston, son of Capt. Stephen Hasket, born Apr. 25, 1670. Richard Derby, the father of Martha, was the fifth son of Roger and Lucretia, who came from Topsham, Devonshire Co., England, and landed at Boston July 18, 1671. Removed to Ipswich, where Richard was born, Oct. 8, 1679, and died in Salem, July 25, 1715. Married Martha Hasket, Feb 25, 1702-3.

Any other information respecting the Derby family will be cheerfully given, as the writer has a full Genealogical History of Roger's descendants, to the present time. P. DERBY.

QUERIES.

We present some additional Queries from Rev. J. L. Sibley, respecting the graduates of Harvard College. An answer to any of the above will materially aid him in his researches.

H. C. 1701. Curwen, George, born 21 May, 1782, or was it 1783? Whom and when did he marry?

1701. Cotton, Rev. Theo., of Hampton Falls, married 16 Aug., 1711, Mary, widow of Dr. Gedney, of Salem. What was her previous name? What was Gedney's christian name? She is *said* to have been a daughter of Gookin, of Cambridge. What Gookin?

1705. Rogers, John R. His mother's name? Day of ordination at Boxford, in 1709? I do not know how to ascertain but

by letters missive to some Salem church.—When and to whom married.

1708. Robie, Thos. Dr. When did he g to Salem? In 1724? When did he marry Mehitable, daughter of Major Stephen Sewall

1712. Phillips, Samuel, cast away on Connyhasset rocks, coming from England, as early as 1727, and probably earlier. Is there anything more known about it or about him? Was he son of Goldsmith? When born—parents—wife—time of death, &c.?

1712. Coit, John, of "Berinudas" *ma* have been a Gloucester man, and died 1745 or before. Birth—parents—wife—death?

1712. Stanton, Rev. Robert. When and to whom married?

1712. Brown, Nath'l, of *Salisbury*, born Married—date of death? Letters of administration taken out 7 Sept., 1747, by Nath'l Brown of Salisbury, son of Nath'l Brown.—Where and when born?

1712. Nutting, John. Wife or wives? Was he register of deeds? If so, when, and how long?

1718. Sewall, Mitchell, eldest son of Stephen. His mother's name? When was he born? His wives—1, Mary Cabot? When married, May 1729? 2d, Elizabeth Price.—When married, June, 1743?

1708. Rev. Mr. Fisk, he was ordained. Was he, *after* his difficulties, installed over the Tabernacle Church? If so, when?

1702. Fisk, John Rev., who was settled at Killingly, Ct. Was he a native of Wenham? If so, birth? Parents? He would have been born not far from 20 years before graduation, and would be likely to have had a letter missive sent to Wenham church at his ordination.

1709. Ward, Rev. Robert, of Wenham. There is doubt about the precise time of his ordination. To whom and when married?

1711. Rogers, John, son of Rev. John of Ipswich, when born?



# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

## OF THE

# ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. II.

December, 1860.

[No. 6.]

### PHILIP ENGLISH.

#### PART SECOND.

The Prosecution of Philip English and his wife for Witchcraft.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 248.

By a bill of particulars, now on file among the records, signed by John King and Annis or Ann King, the latter of whom was her daughter—and which bill or account was intended for the eyes of the committee who distributed the pecuniary relief granted the sufferers of 1692 in 1711-12, it appears that Mrs. H. lay in Salem jail some nine months, and that her daughter and son-in-law paid £9 for her support during that period, and made two journeys to Boston to obtain her reprieve. Mrs. Hoare died before 1711-12, as is evident from this account, and appears to have been barely saved from the gallows.

Philip English, (according to tradition) kept himself well out of the way of the Marshal for a while—going to Boston to see what he could do with the authorities there for his wife,—and, when he found that his absence was being used to her prejudice, he voluntarily surrendered himself, preferring to share one fate together. On the 6th of May a second warrant was issued against him, and directed to the Marshal General or his Deputies, though he was not arrested, it would appear,

until the \*30th; which fact favors the truth of

\* *Calef* says that at the end of May, the time when Philip English surrendered himself, there were about a hundred persons imprisoned for Witchcraft. (Page 214.)

Sir William Phips arrived on the 14th of May, 1692, with a Commission from their Majesties to be Governor of the Province, and having read his Commission, “the first thing he exerted his power in, was said to be his giving orders that irons should be put upon those in prison [those committed for witchcraft;] for though for sometime after these were committed, the accusers ceased to cry out of them; yet now the cry against them was renewed, which occasioned such order; and though there was partiality in executing it (some having taken them off almost as soon as put on,) yet the cry of these accusers against such, ceased after this order.” (*Calef*, page 205.)

It will be seen by this extract, that the Governor, by this course, aided the accusers, and gave the delusion new force, and it will be seen, also, how unreliable those accusers were; for the prisoners were ironed to prevent the free motion of their bodies, since those afflicted by them, were compelled, according to their own stories, to imitate every action of their tormentors. Hearing that the Governor had issued his order for putting the prisoners in irons, and not knowing the partiality practised, they ceased their outcries, believing all the prisoners to be in irons according to the order! If the freedom of the prisoners did afflict the accusers, how could it happen (if the witchcraft was true) that the freedom of those prisoners both did, and did not afflict them? Yet it appears that none, even of those who had spectral

the tradition concerning his voluntary surrender. We append a copy of this second Warrant :

To the Marshall Generall or his lawfull Deputies :

Whereas Complaint hath bin made by Capt. Jonathan Walcott and Thomas Putnam, of Salem Village, vpon the 30th of April last past, in behalf of their Majesties against Phillip English, of Salem, Merchant, for high suspition of Divers acts of witchcraft donne or committed by him vpon the Bodys of Ann Putnam, Marcy Lewis, Susannah Sheldon, &c., of Salem Village or farnes, and whereas warrant hath benne for some time since granted out for the apprehending of the said Phillip English to bring him vpon examination and he not appearing or found since in ye County of Essex.

You are therefore, in their Majesties names hereby required to apprehend the said Phillip English of Salem, merch't, and him convey vnto Salem in ye County of Essex and deliver him into ye Custody of the Marshall of said County of Essex or lawfull authority there, that he may be Examined Relating to ye abousd premises, Either by such as shall be appointed therevnto or to the Majestrates in said place, and hereof you are not to faile. Dated at Boston, May 6, 1692.

JOHN HATHORNE, }  
JONATHAN CORWIN, } Ass'ts.

In obedience to the within written warrt the within remanded Phillip English was arrested and committed by the Marshall Generall to the Marshall of Essex on the 30th of May instant, and in pursuance of the sd warrant the sd phillipp English was brought before the within mentioned John Hathorne and Jonathan

Corwin Esqr, the 31st May 1692, to answer to the accusation by me.

p mee JACOB MANNING, marsell depuy.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 207, 208.]

According to the Return of the Deputy Marshall, Mr. English was brought before the Magistrates on the 31st May, most probably at the Village, and was doubtless examined, as he was committed to prison. He would have been called (if tried) to answer among others, the following Complaint, which is still on file :

[Complaint.]

Susannah Sheldon v. Phillip English.

The complaint of Susanna Sheldon against Phillip English, the sd Susannah Sheldon being at meeting on the Sabbath-day being the 24th of April shee being afflicted in a very sad manner she saw Phillip english step over his pew and pinched her and a woman which came from boston wich saith her name is Good nd when shee were coming home against William Shaw's house their mother, Phillip English and a black man with a hy crowned hatt on his head and a book in his hand houlding the book to her and Phillip english told her that Black man were her God and if shee would touch that boock hee would not pinch her no more nor nobody els should.

on the next day phillip English came again and pinched her and told her that if shee would not touch the book hee would kill her.

on the second day at night appeared to her two women and a man and brought their books and bid her touch them shee told them she would not shee did not know wher they lived on of them told her they lived at the village and heald the book to her again and bid her touch it.

shee told her shee did not know their names on of them told her shee was old Goodman buch lyes [Bucklys] wife and the other woman was her daughter Mary and bid her touch the book, shee told no she had not told her how long she had been a witch then shee told her shee had been a witch ten years and then she opened her brest and the black man gave her

sight, were able to discern the fact of the unloosing of these prisoners ! Such are some of the reflections and conclusions naturally forced upon thinking men, if *Calef's* account be true, and we have never seen it contradicted. Hutchinson says that *Calef's* statement of facts is a fair one, though it occasioned great offence, when published.

two little things like yong cats and she pit them to her brest and suckled them they had no hair on them and had ears like a man

then they ofered her their books and shee refused them then they pinch her and the man struck her on the head and went away.

on the third day they apeared a woman without the door sat lafeing at her and came into the house and hopted up and down and proffered her the book and told her if she would touch it shee would not pinch her shee told her (wud not she did not kno her lived) told her she lived at Boston, she held her book to her again shee told her shee did not know her name shee told her name was Goodwife White. the same day came Goody Buckli and her daughter and brought books with them and told her if shee would touch their book they would not pinch her, but shee refused then they pinched her and went away, then i was sitting on the inside of the doorsil and Goody Buckley came and stoped my mouth and carried me a wai i know not how and near a mile and told mee that now shee had mee at her command if i would not set my hand to her booke shee would kill mee then.

william show [Shaw] being plowing in his fathers field heard a fearfull cry in a thicket of yong wod went to it and found her (?) in a terrible manner screaming and breacking of sticks and fighting in a violent manner.— [Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pp. 209–10.]

This Susannah Sheldon appears against him in two other depositions; which testimony we shall now append, and in which will be seen the manner in which those accused of witchcraft were entangled with each other in these accusations. The first deposition is in the case of John Willard.

Susanna Sheldon v. John Willard.

May 17th in the year 1692.

the complainte of Susanah Shelton saith Elizabeth Colson Remaynes in afflicting of the said Shelton night & day. And also Mrs. White also John Willard Remaynes in Afflicting of hur both day and night also Mr. In-

glish and his wife Remaines afflicting of hur both night and day.

George Jacobs and his wife afflicting of hur the last lord's day and tempting the said Shelton to sete hur hand to the booke they both appering yesterday againe And would haue hur sete her hand to the booke, the said Shelton said she would not, then she said she would stabb hur then sudenly she Rescued A sore wound on hur lith [left?] side, then Elizabeth Colson stabbing at hur on the back Right against the other wounds soe that she speate blood, then goody prochter Appearing to hur and Afflicting of hur and tempting hur to sete hur hand to the book And last night goody prochter Appearing againe and would haue hur sete hur hand to the booke and tould hur that she had sete hur hand to the booke a great while agoe. also sd Shelden has seuerall times seen John Proctor affliet Mary Warin sene they sd Prockter & his wife were in prison.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 296.]

NOTE Susannah Sheldon was afflicted mainly by the appearances [spectres] of the parties above charged. The "spectres" in 1692 appear to have performed about all the witchcrafts then practised. It is a noticeable fact in Deliverance Hobbs's important confession in regard to the Witch meeting in the pasture of Rev. Mr. Parris, *that every one of the parties accused of attending it* (excepting Rev. Mr. Burroughs) *were already in prison*, and therefore could only have been present by their *spectres*, who, however, resembled their owners, the witches, as one's likeness in a glass resembles himself. These spectres were spiritual, of course, and only visible to those having the spectral sight; that is, the power of seeing them—that is, the afflicted themselves. Yet, if the spectre could be hit by a rapier, or eane, the body of the witch it belonged to would also suffer by a close, inseparable sympathy. (See "Glanvil of Witches," *passim*.)

In Deliverance Hobbs's Examination, (in note,) Benjamin Hutchinson is reported as having struck at the spectre of Goody Hobbs,—that is, where Abigail Williams and Mary Walcott told him it was standing, and in the house of Deacon Ingersolls the day before, &c, and we find Goody Hobbs reported as acknowledging herself to be hurt in her side, &c.—that is, as having been wounded *through her spec-*



tre, &c. As Goody Hobbs was prepared to admit anything and everything asked of her, in order to save her own life, her assent to the spectral marvels of that day is accounted for without great difficulty.]

We have given a sketch of Willard's fate, and shall therefore pass to the next.

Susanah Sheldon v. Sarah Procter.

the complaint of Susanah Sheldon of Mr. andras and Sarah Procter 20 of this may they both afflicted me the next day Sarah Procter brought the book to me and Sarah Procter and andres and [illegible] thay mad me def and dum and blind al night and the next day till 10 of clock then came inges [English] and brought his book and drod his knife and said if I would not touch it he would cut my throt, then there Apeared to me A ded man he told me his name was Joseph rabson then he looked upon ingles and told him that he murdered him and drounded him in the se. thar was another man in the boot A long with me [Rabson] and the boot tossed up and down and turend over and my handes were clenched that I could not lay hold, the other man layd hold and was saued. then he [Rabson's ghost] told me [Sheldon] that I must tell maistr hatheren [the magistrate] and told me that I should not rest tel I had told it then inglish told me that if I did he would cut my leges of then ther apeared to me a shinging\* and told me I

\*Shining Man, or *Angel*, is here meant—one of those who were sometimes sent to uphold the afflicted, when on the point of despair. These angelic visitations are suggestive of the religious causes of the witchcraft persecutions. Thus "Mercy Lewis (as early as April 1st, 1692) affirmed (see *Calef*, pages 200-1) that she saw a man in white, with whom she went into a glorious place, viz: in her fits, where was no light of the sun, much less of candles, yet was full of light and brightness, with a great multitude in white glittering robes, who sang the song in Rev. v. 9, and the CX and CXLIX Psalms; and was given that she might tarry no longer in this place. This white man is said to have appeared several times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it should be before they should have another fit."

So the Swedish children, who were carried to

should tell of it tomorah then inglesh told m that he would go kill the governor if he coul he would go try he was the gretest innemy h had then he sayd that he would kil 10 folk i boston before next six day if he was tacken up [arrested] the greter weemen affiet me st not.

Vol. Salem Witchcraft, pages 348-9.

Bloekula by the Devil, were sometimes similar befriended by a white angel. Was the idea got from them? See Scott, page 190.

It must be borne in mind, in reading such complaints, and in fact throughout this witchcraft matter, that these afflicted persons *considered themselves, and were considered to be*, the suffering martyrs of the New England church—undergoing infernal torments from the witches and wizards of 1692, for refusing to join the Devil's church, and sign his laws; or to conceal the guilt of the accused when known to them, and were upheld sometimes by a *Divine* strength in consequence, and the visit even of ministering angels! The witches and wizards, who tormented them, were, on the other hand, members in full communion of the *Devil's church*, had subscribed to its *Covenant of Hell* (therefore called "*COVENANT witches*") and were resolutely bent on compelling them, by their witchcrafts and persecutions, to join that church also, or to silence them by any and all means from revealing the persecutions and crimes of those tormentors from the magistrates. Thus in this deposition of Susanah Sheldon's, Mr. Andras (or Andrews?) and Sarah Procter tormented her for not signing the Devil's laws, as did Mr. English himself, who drew his knife and threatened to cut her throat if she did not touch his book (sign the Devil's book or laws,) and then also threatened to cut her legs off if she told Mr. Hathorn (the magistrate) that he (English) murdered Joseph Rabson, which fact had been revealed to her by the dead man himself.

This Susanah S. seems to have been then a veritable neeromaneer, and as such, under the Jewish Dispensation, would assuredly have been put to death. During the illusion of 1692, however, she was considered the martyr and saint, and those whom she accused as the real witches and wizards. The very Bible itself was thus turned up-side down and perverted during that illusion. Those who committed the veritable biblical sin of witchcraft in 1692, were considered as the sufferers by it, and those who suffered by it were considered to be the

The malignity, spite, or credulity of this girl, or her advisers, (if it can be called credulity), is well shown in this charge, since it appears to have been made as on the 23d May, when Mr. E. was in Boston, or vicinity, with two warrants out against him, and to prevent the latter from gaining any indulgence or assistance from that quarter, if he was seeking it—a thing suspected, perhaps, if not known, in Salem, and by the accusers. Though the complaint is nominally directed against another party, yet Philip English is made to bear the burden of it, and it certainly does appear as if some person or persons were afraid that the Governor might use his influence in favor of the accused of witchcraft, and therefore he is represented as being the object of the especial vengeance of one of the accused, and that Mr. B. himself. It may indeed be that so much hurt was not intended, and practised; but the melancholy records of this affair show something besides delusion. There was delusion, and there was also deception. It is not our mission to distribute the blame,\* for we know

causes of it. Much of this confusion and mischief arose, we must suppose, from the attempt to establish and enforce the Jewish laws under the new Dispensation, and reconcile with both the more modern lore and legislation concerning witchcraft.

The Quaker *Maule*, in his Treatise (page 186) speaking of the afflicted ones, and their pretended knowledge as to who were witches, and their peculiar sight, enabling them to see the ghosts of murdered people, says,—“they have presumed to affirm that P. E. a merchant of Salem murdered J. R.’s son, of Salem, by drowning him at the Island of Barbadoes, with many more things of a like nature, which are too tedious to relate of these afflicted Evidences [Witnesses]; and I desire of God to be preserved from Such a Sight of Sight.”

That the afflicted in 1692 were considered by some as the suffering martyrs of the Church, see *Maule’s* Treatise, pages 186–7, whose testimony is strong on this point.

\* It never will or can be known how far the accusers were ever instigated to their work by parties who do not appear, and so were used by others as instruments of their own delusion, or bigotry, or re-

not, and perhaps never shall know, all the causes or agents of this work of the Devil. Those even who accused others, in some cases evidently accented them through fear. All the motives of the accusers can only be known to the infinite Judge, but there remains on human record some testimony, which shows, so far as human insight can penetrate, an evil spirit, not among the accused of that day, but their accusers—and a terrible spirit, too.

In the examination of Rev. Geo. Burroughs, both Ann Putnam and Susannah Sheldon testified, and as if together, that his two wives and two children were destroyed by him. At the examination of Martha Carrier, Susannah Sheldon “cried out in a Trance I wonder what could you (Carrier) murder 13 persons?”—(Witchcraft Volume, page 356) “Mary Walcott testified the same that there lay 13 ghosts”—thereupon “all the afflicted fell into

venge. We have seen, in the case of Mrs. Howe, a recorded attempt to induce an “afflicted” child to denounce her, and we are therefore led naturally to ask, “in how many other cases was this policy adopted?” All sorts of people, with all sorts of motives, were engaged, willingly or unwillingly, in this witchcraft tragedy; and with some sincerity, there was no little insincerity and fraud mixed up with it. How far those accusers were instigated by others to accuse, who hated their neighbors, or were fanatically opposed to them, is another question, easier to ask than answer. Rev. Mr. Parris is said to have hated Rev. Mr. Burroughs, as a former rival, and the accusation of B. can be traced back to the “afflicted,” who may easily have been consulted by Parris on the matter. Mr. B., however, was perhaps considered *heretical* in his religious opinions, and thus accused, without reference to mere personal feeling, though that would aggravate his persecution.

\* This seeing demons, spectres and ghosts in 1692, was, of course, quite common. Some of those then seeing such sights (when *sincere* in their statements) appear to have been day-dreamers of horrible dreams—in that condition of body and mind, when the interior sight is active, and the external senses are unconscious. Thus we ourselves see objects distinctly when dreaming—when our eyes are closed

most intolerable outcries and agonies." Unfortunately for the veracity and sincerity of this girl, there remains on file the testimony of

—when the external sense is unconscious. Somnambulists walk, and with open eyes, and by an internal consciousness, and yet see not external things. The case of John Lowder, who saw the apparition of Bridget Bishop, by moonlight, sitting on his breast, and then saw afterwards the spectral pig, and the strange Demon—which sights we have duly chronicled in our article (see June No of this Mag. page 142)—this case, we say, is one of the strangest, and most marked of those happening in 1692, and may, perhaps, be thus explained.

He states that he had some controversy with Bridget B., and that a short time after, he saw her or her apparition on his breast by moonlight.—Now Bridget B. had the reputation of being a witch—he had offended her, and knew it, and perhaps expected her vengeance, and got it—in the shape of a nightmare. Some time after that he staid at home one Sabbath—a very quiet day with the Puritans—*was not very well*, he states, and was left to himself—*alone*—in the stillness of the house, and to his own solitary thoughts and imaginations. Brooding over his own thoughts, and unwell in body, he sank below the level of ordinary and healthy consciousness among the dreams or reveries which belong to a half-conscious state. His dream or reverie, however, was not a healthy, but unhealthy one, sharing the nature of his body, then more or less diseased. He now sees the spectral pig—he strikes, kicks at it; this very exertion rouses him to consciousness, brings him up to the ordinary level of sensibility, and his natural sight and sense, and lo! the pig vanishes, as might be expected.

Then he sits down again, but also with the firm belief that he has seen a spectre—a veritable demon—and of course in a worse state of mind, and perhaps body, than ever. Therefore he soon sees, in his relapse, a worse demon—a species of man-monkey, black, with a cock's feet and claws, who frightens him terribly by his close presence, and even addresses him, (as did the phantoms, Mons. Nicholai, —only he knew the whole thing to be a delusion the while,) and, to judge by that conversation, the demon Lowder saw this time, was a messenger sent expressly to himself. He tells Lowder that he understands that he (L.) is troubled in mind, (we see by this that Lowder's mind had not been *right*) and that if he will be ruled by him, he shall not want

one Robert Moulton, senior, who tended and watched her some time during her afflictions, and we herewith append it.

Robert Moulton v. Susannah Sheldon.

the testimony of Robert Moulton senior testifieth and saith that I waching with Susannah Sheldon sence she was afflicted I heard say that the witches halled her vpon her through the yeard like a snake and had her ouer the stone walle & presently I heard

for anything in this world. Lowder now, to his soul, rebels vehemently against the demon, endeavors, in great indignation, to clasp his hands about him, and kill him. This rouses Lowder to consciousness again, and then the demon of course fled.

On going out into the yard, immediately after, Lowder unfortunately sees Bridget B. in her orchard, and through his mind rushes most probably the belief that to her he owes this visitation—the demon was sent by her, and remembers the moonlight experience of her torments. He therefore cannot stir a step forward; sees in her the cause and solution of the whole matter, and retreats from the house in a worse state of mind than ever; while shutting the house door to bar out Bridget and her infernal imps and assistants, sees, in the tremor of his terror, the same awful demon, or like it, just going to spring at him. Now, indeed, Lowder's soul is verily at stake. With a loud shout,—"Ye whole armor of God be between me and you,"—and thus foiled and baffled just in the moment of triumph, by the Divine armor graciously interposed, the demon springs back, and flew over the apple-tree in such a rage and disgust, that he kicked up the dust, which he shook off from his feet as he passed the ungracious threshold, (thus imitating the Christian apostles, when not well received into any house or city) was flung against poor Lowder's "stomach" with such force as to strike him "dum," and he lay some three days, and, he adds, without coming to breath or pause, after telling of this latter matter that the demon also shook many of the apples from the tree which he flew over; which shows the presence of mind, a keenness of sight and cool regard to the details of the affair; more wonderful, possibly, under the circumstances, than any other I have ever seen or heard of. If Lowder was not suffering at the time from disease of the mind, he must have suffered from something worse, and some one else must have been the cause of the case.



Contradict her former discourse and said at she came ouer the stone wall herselfe and heard her say that she Rid vpon a poole pole] to boston and she said the diuel caryed the pole.

ROBERT MOULTON.

Samuel Nurs & Joseph Trumball saw Robert Moulton sine this whrighting.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 493.]

NOTE. This Susannah Sholden appeared as accuser in no less than *eight* of the important witchcraft cases in 1692. This testimony of Robert Moulton, prior, most probably shows this accuser in her true character—a *dissembler*—perhaps, however, to save own life.]

The most, perhaps, which can be said for these afflicted ones, is, that they were possessed of the Devil, and did not really know the mischief they were doing. That they were really sincere, however, in all their outcries, actions, and sufferings, appears to us absolutely incredible, after an examination of the records.

The only remaining complaint against Philip English is in the case of George Jacobs, prior, being in the testimony of one John Doritch, who was a mere lad of 16 years, and seems to have joined the small circle of accusers with a good relish, to judge by the following testimony of his, given in at the trial of George Jacobs, Sr.

John Doritch aged 16 yeares or thereabouts testified and saith

That John Small and his wife Anne both deceased and formerly of the Towne of Salem both appear to this Deponent and told me that they would tare him to pieces if he did not goe and Declare to Mr Hathorn that George Jacobs Senior Did kill them and Likewise that Mary Warrens mother did appeare to this Deponent this day with a white man [angel?] and told him that woodwife [goodwife?] Parker & Oliuer did kill her and Likewise Core, Proctor & his wife Sarah Proctor Joseph Proctor & John Proctor did all afflict the deponent and do continually every day and he hath begun to be afflicted, and would have him this deponant to sett his hand to a

Booke but this deponent told them he would not: Likewise Phillip English & his wife Mary doth appear to this deponent & afflict him and all the abovesd persons Thretten to tare this Deponent in pieces if he doth not Signe to a Booke: Likewise Goodwife Pease & Hobbs and her daughter Abigail doth Afflict him and thretten the same: and Likewise a woman appeares to this Deponent who lives at Boston at ye Vper end of the Towne, whose name is Mary; she goes in black clothes hath; but one Eye; with a Crooked neck and she saith there is none in Boston like her, she did afflict this deponent, but saith she will not any more: nor tell him her name.

Jurat all relating to ye prisoner at ye barr.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft—pages 283-4.]

Such is the evidence yet existing on file against Mr. and Mrs. English, and various parties connected with them in this complicated net-work of the witchcraft persecutions. As it appears, by the warrant against Mr. E., that one Elizabeth Hubbard, a servant maid at the house of Dr. Grigs, at the village, also complained of him, and most probably testified against him on examination, we herewith append the following testimony of Clement Coldum and James Kettle; which goes to prove that if the Devil really did afflict her through his agents, that he was unwisely tormenting one whom he well knew. She, too, was given to dissembling, it would appear.

Clement Coldum v. Eliz. Hubbard.

The deposition of Clement Coldum aged 60 or ye about saith yt on ye 29th. of May 1692. being at Salem Village carrying home Eliz. Hubbard from ye meeting behind me; she desired me to ride faster. I asked he why: she said ye woods were full of Devils & said yr & there they be, but I could see none; then I put on my horse & after I had rid a while, she told me I might ride softer, for we had out rid them, I asked her if she was not afraid of ye Deuil, she answered me no; she could discourse with ye Deuil as well as with me, & farther saith not; this I am ready to testify on

Oath if called thereto, as witness my hand.

CLEMENT COLDDUM.

James Kettle vs Eliz Hubbard.

The testimony of James Cetel being of age who testifie and saith i being at doctor griges one a Sabbath day about the last of may in 1692, having some discourse with Elizabeth hubberd and I found her to speak seuerall untruthes in denying the Sabbath day and saying she had not ben to meting that day but had onely bean up to James houltons this I can testifie to if called as witness my hands.

JAMES KETLE.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft—pages 490-1.]

[NOTE. This Elizabeth Hubbard was the most prominent accuser in 1692, according to the Records, appearing in no less than *twenty* cases.]

Mr. and Mrs. English were only saved by flight. When Mr. E. returned to Salem, he found that much of his property had been seized, (as was the custom at that day,) when he was arrested for witchcraft. After John Proctor was put in prison, all his property was attached, and his family of eleven\* children left entirely destitute; "even the food that was preparing for their dinner was carried away by the sheriff." On the records yet appears a statement, that "Mary Rich of Lynn Widow in ye year 1692, was imprisoned and lost her bed & pot & other household stuffe"—probably everything she had. The officers seized the property of the accused at that day, as security or pay for the prison charges. Mr. English was served the same, though a portion of his property, and apparently a large portion, went to support those arrested for witchcraft, and in so far was turned to good account. He lost over £1100† of goods taken

\*There is a petition of the eldest of these children, Benj'n Proctor, on file, and as presented to the Legislative Distributing Committee which sat in Salem 1711-12, which is exceedingly creditable to him, as the supporter and stay of his family after the execution of his father.

†This sum, P. E. charged that the Sheriff, George Curwin, and his deputies took. As it was then the legal fashion for such seizures to be made, and as the

from his warehouse, and had his dwelling house so completely sacked, that his wife could only find, on her return, a servant's bed in the house, out of all the furniture it had previously contained. In the year 1711, the Legislature passed an Act to reverse the attainders of those convicted of witchcraft in 1692, and release their goods and chattels from any penalties or forfeitures incurred by the judgments and attainders of that day. The Legislature also appointed a Committee, the same year, to estimate and report the pecuniary damages sustained by the sufferers in 1692, and on their report, directed that about £600 be paid to the sufferers then living, or the legal representatives of those who were dead. The surviving sufferers, and the representatives of the dead, petitioned for some £800, besides the demands of Mr. English himself, who left claims to the consideration and determination of the Gen'l Court. What was allowed him

the sheriff and his officers were protected by law from the consequences of these acts, Mr. E. got no satisfaction for his loss. The sheriff was made to be, however, (but unjustly,) about the whole odium of the witchcraft delusion. He was only an instrument of the law in the affair, but the public indignation ran so strong against him, that when he died, his family were afraid to bury him openly and public for fear of insult to his body, and he was therefore interred in the cellar of his own house (he lived the premises in Washington Street, now owned and occupied by Dr. Fiske) until the popular commotion subsided, and was then buried with his deceased relatives. Perhaps no man, of all those concerned in the witchcraft trials or proceedings, felt, to a greater degree, the extremes of popular opinion, than Curwin.

Calef says (page 230) that "Mr. Philip English and his wife, having made their escape, Mr. Corwin the sheriff, seized his estate to the value of about fifteen hundred pound, which was wholly lost to him; except about three hundred pound value which was afterwards restored." This statement Calef is verified by the family tradition of the amount originally seized, and of the amount Mr. English says was actually taken, in his petition to the General Court. (See Hist. Coll. Essex Institute Vol. 1, No. 2, page 57.)

does not appear. Whatever it was, however, he\* declined receiving, as being altogether in-

\*There is some evidence on file in the Court Records—"General Sessions of the Peace"—in the years 1722-3-4, referring to Philip English, which may have some connection with the witchcraft persecution, and as giving Mr. E.'s opinion as to the moving agents therein; especially as the first extract we shall give, is a part of the same record, and at the time, as the charge made against him by the Grand Jury at the August term, 1722, and which we have already quoted when referring to the fate of John Proctor:

"The above named Phillip English is further presented by ye same Grand Jury yt from time to time as a common practice at and before & a ter ye above-mentioned time in ye other presentment hath declared yt is villifying & reproaching, ye Church of Christ, saying, They were ye Devils Church or members, appeared & pleaded not guilty. Its considered yt he pay a fine of 20s & Costs and stand committed till performed. ye sd Phillip English appeals. Phillip English senr priple. Saml Wakefield & Phillip English Junr Sureties in £20."

As this complaint against Philip English is recorded as of the same Court at which he was accused of having been so severe on Rev. Mr. Noyes, we can infer, perhaps, that both complaints refer to the same subject matter, viz., the witchcraft persecution. It may refer to *Episcopacy*, for P. E. was persecuted on that account, and put into jail three years later, (1725) for refusing to pay *Congregational Church taxes*—then compelled by law. It is more likely, however, that it refers to some matter connected with the witchcraft of thirty years before, in which various Congregational Church members had made themselves very officious, and proved themselves illiberal, fanatical, and bigoted. P. E. lost not alone a large amount of property by that persecution, but a dearly beloved wife, and he had no respect, probably for church members, as such, ever after.—Doubtless at that day (1722) there was much bigotry in the church, and Mr. E. saw it, had felt it, and freely spoke of it, whether he used the particular language charged against him or not. He appears to have been almost equally severe against the Magistrates at the same Court, (in connection with this very charge) who committed him to prison for contempt. An "humble submissive confession" of his is recorded for this, which, however, has the appearance of having been wholly written by some

adequate to his losses. The following petition of his is still on file among the Court Records, and may be of interest as illustrative of that period:

#### Petition of Mr. English,

To ye Comittee appointed to Distribute ye money allowed to the Sufferers in 1692.

Gent. I request ye favour of you to represent it to ye Genll Court what a great Sufferer I have been in my estate by reason of ye severe prosecution of me and my wife in that Dark time. It Cost me fifty pounds at Boston & we were forced to fly for our Lives at which time my estate was seized and Squandered away to a great Value and much of my provision vsed to Substist ye numerous Company of prisoners. In ye whole I am Exceedingly Demnified ye most of my personal estate to ye

Court officer, and at the Judge's dictation, and said to have been "acknowledged" by Mr. E. "when read to him." The whole matter is evidently an entry by the Court Clerk. The Court Records of 1723-4, however, show that Mr. E. sinned again in the same way, as the following extract proves, and which read by the light of *this day*, probably means, that Mr. E. considered himself the victim of some injustice, and did not hesitate to denounce it, and perhaps all concerned in it:

"Att a Generall Sessions of ye peace holden at Salem by adjournment January 29, 1723-4:

Philip English Senr of Salem being before ye Court this Day & Demeaning himself very Contemptuously & abusively to His Majesties Justices in Court assembled with vile Language. Its considered by ye Court that he give £20 bond with sureties for his good behaviour untill June Court there to be orderly Dismist & to Stand Committed till such bond be given & pay Costs of Court. Philip English Senr principall Phillip English Junr & William Mur-ray sureties in £20 Jointly & Severally."

Did our space permit, we should attempt to show some of the probable causes which Mr. E. had for disliking the decisions of the Courts of that day against him. We will only refer to one cause. As the largest proprietor of the Commons, and being active for their interests, he suffered at the hands of this very Court in 1702, being indicted by the Grand Jury and convicted for calling together a meeting of the Commons proprietors.



value of many hundreds of pounds taken from me & very little of it Restored againe. I pray to Consider my Extraordinary Sufferings.

I am Gent yor humble serv'ta,

PHILIP ENGLISH.

[Vol. Salem Witchcraft, page 514]

NOTE. Philip English was first imprisoned in Salem jail, together with his wife, [she on April 21, and he about May 30] and thence taken to Boston jail, where they lay 9 weeks, escaping from thence to New York early in August, 1692.]

The Act of reversal of the Act of Attainder is on file among the Records, and after stating the names of the persons executed or condemned, (which, however, is not a complete list, one or two being omitted,) gives the following as the *cause* of, and the stay put to, the prosecution, which deserves consideration:

"The Influence and Energy of the Evil Spirits, so great at that time, acting in and upon those who were the principal accusers and witnesses, proceeding so far as to cause a prosecution to be had of persons of known and good reputation, which caused a great dissatisfaction and a stop to be put thereunto until their Majesty's pleasure should be known therein. And upon a Representation thereof accordingly made, her late Majesty Queen Mary, the second of blessed memory by her Royal Letter given at her Court at Whitehall the 15th April, 1693, was graciously pleased to approve the care and circumspection therein, and to will and require that in all proceedings ag't persons accused for Witchcraft, or being possessed by the devil, the greatest moderation and all due circumspection be used, so far as the same may be without Impediment to the ordinary course of justice.

"And some of the principal accusers and witnesses in those dark and severe prosecutions have since discovered themselves to be persons of profligate and vicious conversation, &c. &c."

For these reasons,\* and because perhaps of

\*In a sermon preached at the Lecture in Boston, Nov. 1st, 1705, (which sermon has been kindly loaned us by M. A. Stickney, Esq.,) the preacher, (whose name, however, does not appear,) after stat-

the petitions presented the General Court by the surviving sufferers, or the heirs of the executed, for a reversal of the attainder, such an act, of which the foregoing extract is a portion, was passed Oct. 17, 1711. It will be noticed that the Legislature was quite guarded not to commit itself by appearing to discountenance *legal* and *proper* proceeding

ing that a people may have all the forms of godliness without its power, may make a great noise about outward form and gospel order, may be frequent in observing days of fasting, in public tragical confessions of sin, and in external expressions of sorrow therefor, may be very devout in attendance on the ordinances of God's sanctuary, and yet have nothing of the spirit of devotion, or the life of Christianity among them, and be also unjust, dishonest and immoral, rather covertly alludes, as one example, to the injustice practised by the government to the sufferers by the witchcraft persecution, and refers to a proper reparation therefor in these words:—

"When also the Injuries done by the Publick to particular persons are not duly repaired. There may be such a case, is more than supposable. As when God in anger to a sinful People, suffers particular persons to be taken off by the hand of Publick Justice; their Estates ruined and families impoverished, for the supposed guilt of this or the other crime; yet all Orders of Persons see reason to condemn the Rules of the whole proceeding as fallacious, and insufficient to distinguish the guilt from the innocent; and yet no due care taken to make that reparation for the Injuries done them. This seems to argue Publick Injustice; For neither the solemn Form of Justice with which the whole was transacted, nor yet the indisputable Integrity of those that lead in this affair, will be sufficient to Excuse from a just Restitution, which is due from the Publick." Pages 16—17.

According to this Preacher, the *character* of the State at that date was wofully low—that formality, hypocrisy, deceit, injustice and fraud abounded on all sides—that Massachusetts, in a word, was about demoralized; and he prophesies (referring to the State,) that "Tho' such a People may have been the HEAD, yet [they] shall soon become the TAIL among the Nations; and tho' God had sometimes borne them as a SIGNER on his Right hand, yet He will pluck them thence."

against Witchcraft—and as a crime, which, *when properly proved*, should be punished.—The prosecutions of 1692 were only considered as *mistakes*, which ought to be carefully guarded against in future.† The Legislature, however, have put on record their estimate of some of the principal accusers at that time, and the little testimony which we have been able to produce, from the Court Files, only confirms what was indeed evident enough at that day. The General Court seemed to consider that the accusers were instigated by evil spirits—the devil—in some, at least, of their accusations; and certainly, if any work ever bore traces of the malice, and mystery, and devices of Satan, his of Witchcraft surely did.

The persecution raged most bitterly from March to October, 1692. At this latter period, (in October,) our Salem jail was crowded with the accused—so full that no more prisoners could be received. (*Calef*, page 232.) The policy adopted by sufferers in other towns, of sending to Salem village to obtain the aid of those having *spectral* sight, to detect their

tormentors, had caused great persecution in the surrounding towns: the more especially as some of the afflicted in those towns soon became experts in the *spectral* sight also. It was in this way that the delusion spread into Andover, and caused more than fifty persons to be complained of there. It must not be forgotten also that the Magistrates of the Colony—the Governor\* at their head—were sincere believers in the witchcraft; and the clergy, as a general rule, were even more easily per-

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\*Sir William Phips (whose appointment as Governor was owing to Increase Mather's influence, while agent for the Colony in England, as *Calef* intimates, page 299) was a man who had risen from a mean parentage and education to be master of a ship, and by good fortune found a Spanish wreck, from which he took much treasure, and was subsequently knighted by King James. He sided with the agent who were for accepting the new Charter, and was subsequently made Governor. He aimed at the good of the people, according to *Calef*, though his government was "sullied (for want of better information and advice from those whose duty it was to have given it) by that hobgoblin monster, witchcraft." (page 296.)

Cotton Mather wrote a somewhat fulsome life of Sir William Phips, in which he states that he, P, had his fortune told him,—as that he should find a wreck, that he should be a commander, &c,—and it appears that after he found the wreck, he gave the fortune-teller more than £200. Mather reports the story, according to *Calef*, as if the fortune-teller brought these predictions to P. *in writing*, and therefore were not sought for by the Governor. *Calef* sarcastically alludes to this ingenious evasion of the crime of *seeking* soothsayers—a Scripture offence, and which would have been severely punished had it happened in Salem. Yet Sir Wm. Phips was the *chief* Magistrate of the Colony during the witchcraft period.

*Calef* states that it was reported that the wife of Sir William was at last accused of witchcraft, and that this is said to have brought the persecution to an abrupt conclusion. (page 312.) Sir William was finally recalled to England, on some petty complaints about mal-administration, and soon after died. Before he went he pardoned all those condemned of witchcraft, for which they gave about 30 shillings each to the King's Attorney, (page 291.)

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†Many witches had been condemned in England, and *hanged*,—and afterwards *burned*, (the common punishment there) long before our Salem tragedy. Sir Mathew Hale, even, had prescribed rules for the detection of witches, and had condemned them ere our delusion began. It was not until some time in his reign of George 2d, (1727–66) that it was enacted in England, "that no prosecution should in future be carried on against any person for conjuration, witchcraft, sorcery, or enchantment."

Judge Edmonds, in his work on Spiritualism, page 4, gives the following information, which we herewith append, as an act of justice to our New England Fathers:

"The Act of I. James I Chap. xii., against witchcraft, was passed when Lord Bacon, one of the greatest minds that England has ever produced, was member of the House of Commons, and Lord Coke, one of her most distinguished judges, was Attorney-General, and in the House of Lords was referred to a Committee which contained twelve Bishops, and Barrington, in his observations on the statute of 20, Henry VI., says that 30,000 people were burned for witchcraft within 150 years."

sued than the civil magistrates. The tragedy once begun, it rushed with great speed to its catastrophe. As early as the beginning of June, about a hundred persons were imprisoned on account of witchcraft. On June 2d, the specially commissioned Court of Oyer and Terminer sat at Salem, Bridget Bishop was tried, and on the 10th executed. So numerous were the arrests then, and of persons who had been in good repute, that Sir William Phips, the Governor, was induced to consult on the matter several of the clergy in and near Boston, and among them Cotton Mather, who was his pastor. These ministers advised the Government (and *Calef* says Cotton Mather drew up that advice,) and *after* Bishop's execution, and while some hundred were imprisoned to a speedy and vigorous prosecution of witchcraft, according to the laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation; but to a cautious proceeding, lest many evils ensue—to consult Perkins and Bernard as to what tests to make use of in the search for witchcraft, &c. This advice was prefaced by thanks to the Government for its diligent care in detecting the abominable witchcrafts which had been common in the country, and prayed for a perfect discovery thereof. This advice of Mather's brought both oil and water to the fire then raging, but more oil than water.—While it urged caution upon the government, tenderness to the accused, and denied that presumptions and convictions should be held on spectral evidence, the falling at the sight, and rising at the touch, &c. &c., it yet really thanked the Government in effect for detecting the witchcraft of old Bridget Bishop, who had been the only one then condemned, and who was convicted upon *Spectral*\* testimony—the

\*One severe check given to the witchcraft persecution was the charge made against good people, of sending their *spectres* to afflict various accusers. To admit the validity of *spectral* evidence in such cases, was to abjure all reason and safety, and hence arose the agitating question, whether the Devil could or could not assume the shape of good people, to work evil, and lay it to their charge. Says *Cotton Mather*,

falling at the sight, and rising at the touch and the like testimony, and that advice urged also a speedy and vigorous prosecution of those obnoxious to the laws of God or man in the matter. Such advice had its effect. What was negative in it, did not, and could not quench the flame, and what was positive was like oil poured upon the already blazing fire.

who felt the force of the dilemma, from which he and others were taxing their ingenuity to escape (Wonders of Invisible World, pages 52-3:)

"The multitude and Quality of Persons Accused of an Interest in this Witchcraft, by the Efficacy of the Spectres which take their name and Shape upon them; causing very many good and wise men to fear, That many Innocent, yea, and some virtuous persons, are by the Devils in this matter Imposed upon; That the Devils have obtain'd the power to take on the Likeness of Harmless People, and in that Likeness to afflict other People, and be abused by Prastigious Demons, that upon their Look or Touch, the afflicted shall be oddly Affected Arguments from the Providence of God, on the one side, and from our Charity towards man, on the other side, have made This now become a most agitated Controversy among us. There is an agony produced in the minds of men, Lest the Devil should sham us with Devices, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practised upon the World. The whole Business is become hereupon so Snarled, and the Determination of the Question one way or another so Dismal, that our Honourable Judges have a Room for Jehoshaphat's Exclamation, We know not what to do! They have used, as Judges have heretofore done, the Spectral Evidences to introduce their further Enquiries into the Lives of the Persons Accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with other Evidences that some of the Witch gang have been fairly Executed. But what shall be done, as to those against whom the Evidence is chiefly founded in the Dark World? Here we do solemnly demand our Addresses to the Father of Lights on their Behalf. But in the mean time the Devil improves the Darkness of this affair, to put us into a Blind Man's Buffet, and we are even ready to be Sinfully, yea Hotly and Madly, Mauling one another in the Dark."

See Increase Mather's "Cases of Conscience," (dated Oct., 1692.) for his opinions upon the power of Satan to represent good men, as well as evil. I. M. thought he had, and quotes the cases of St. Martin, Anatolius, Martin Luther, and others, (pages 6-7.)

[Concluded in Vol. III.]



EXTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, page 236.

*John Cole, 4th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Cole, taken June 25, 1677, by Thomas Gardner as the administrator. Amount £54 07s 4d: This is an addition to inventory returned at Essex Court. Allowed 27 4, '77.

*Widow Charles, 4th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of Widdow Charles deceased Dec. 21, 1676, taken by Moses Mavericke and Sam'l Ward. Amount £15 7s 00d.

"The Deposition of Mary Dennis, aged thirty-three years or thereabouts, this Deposition being with her Aunt Charles in her last sickness of which she died did at some certain times and the day also yt she dyed, tell her she expected she should dy of ye sickness that after her death, she would and desired she to make her will and told her, she would have her desk after her burrial and after her death she did give unto her sister Tryphena Geer her owne and cloake, & to Tryphena fairfield her daughter her red hersey petticoat and wascoat, and to Sarah fairfield a flunnal Petticoat and to Goody Goldsmith an old cloak & aporn, and to Goodie Haggett her felt hat And to Mary Dennis jun'r her warming pan to James Dennis jun'r the 2 Bibles to Amos Dennis her iron rammel & fire-pan & tongs to Agnes Dennis her bed and curtin belonging to it; and to Robert Charles his two daughters fifty shillings peice, to be paid to him when he came over for it, which shee desired to pay wth her debts, if she could get them, & make up the said mums, and what was she gave to me, And further saith not." James Denis and Mary's wife have power of Administration granted at court at Salem, 29 4, '77.

*John Hathorne, 4th mo., 1677.*

The will of John Hathorne of Lynn, dated 19th day of October 1676, mentions I give my four children each of them a fether bed my daughter called Marah to have the first choice, my little daughter Phebe next my son Ebenezar Hathorne next, and my son Nathaniel Hathorne, last being youngest, my daughter Priscilla Shove my grandchild Phebe Shove I appoint my wife Sarah and son Ebenezer executors, and my friends and neighbors John Fuller, Thomas Newhall, and Oliver Purchis. Witnesses Robert Burges and Oliver Purchis. Allowed 27 4, '77.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 21 of February by Quartermister Thomas Storker & Robert Barges both of Lynn. Amount £263 06s 11d.

*Elizabeth Putnam, 4th mo., 1677.*

An Agreement between Nathaniel Puttnam and his daughter-in-law Elizabeth Puttnam concerning dwelling house and land and mention her daughter Elizabeth Puttnam when 18 years old dated 22 March, 1677. Allowed in court at Salem, 27 4, '77.

*Henry Dispan, 4th mo., 1677.*

The will of Henry Dispan dated 20 of February, 1670, mentions son Henry son Edward son Henry executor and friend John Floyd overseer. Witnesses John Floyd and Sarah Floyd. Allowed 26 4, '77.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by Samuel Starker and John Chilson. Amount £50 00s 00d.

*Wm. Woodbury, 4th mo., 1677.*

Will of William Woodbury the elder dated 5th 4th mo., 1653, mentions his wife Elizabeth, his dwelling house, his eldest son Nicholas, 20s, son William 5 acres near Snake Hill. sons Andrew and Hugh, his son Isaac and daughter Hannah Haskell wife Elizabeth ex'tx. Witnesses, John Thorndike Nicholas Patch and Richard Braekenbury.

"This is a true Inventory of the estate of William Woodbry aged about 88 years de-

ceased the 29th of 11 mo., 1676-7. Amount £45 11s 2d.

*Nath'l Mighill, 9th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of Nathaniel Mighell deceased the 13th 8 mo 1677, taken the 27th of 9 mo 1677 by William Browne, Jun'r and Benjamin Browne. Amount £234 00s 00d mentions goods at Barbados. Allowed 28 9, '77, administration granted to Thomas Michael and John Bailey.

dated ye 26 No '77.

"To this honored court now sitting in Salem our humble request to your worships is that you wold be pleased to consider how it is with us in prospect of our brother's estate which is now given into Court in an inventory wee doe humbly construe that is doth by will and law fall to us who are the younger children by the exprestion in our father's will; which sath if Thomas die under age then his portion is to fall to Samuel and John; and if any of the younger die under age theire portions is to fall to ye youngest children; and therefore we construe that our brother ding without A will by the same reason it fall to us who are nexit of kin and youngest but if not consive our mother hath a right to this estate shee having put her owne estate into our Brothers hands to trade withall and having no reseat or agittance as for she resiving anything of to portion and therefore our oldest Brethering may as well challeng a right to his portion; but this we leave to your worships to consider off hoping the Lord will direct you to that which is right and soe wee remaine yours to command, Ezekiel Mighel John Bagly Steuin Mighell."

(The court granted the above petition.)

*John Langdon, 9th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Langdon. Amount £20 08s 00d. Allowed 30 9 mo., '77, and administration granted to Stephen Haskett.

The Deposition of Mithell Comes, and Peter Joy aiged about forty years or there aboutt doe here testyfie that wee heard John Langdon

say that hee hold and also did give unto Elizabeth Haskett the daughter of Mr. Stephen Heskitt; the soum of ten pounds and what more: he had left be devidid among the rest of the said Heskitt Children this wee doe testify that this was his will and desire of John Langdon when hee went away with Mr. Elizabeth Devenportt out the Contery which was in December one thousand six hundred seventy and six; and forther deponentes saith not. Taken upon oath 22 8 mo., '77. Wm. Hathorn Assist."

*Robert Wilkes, 9th mo., 1677.*

The Will of Robert Wills of Salem dated September 24th, 1677, mentions my "brother Isaac Woodberry's wife named Mary Woodbury my sister my shop and ground thereunto belonging lying and being neire Mr. Higginson's house in Salem and all my movables goods, and my dwelling house being neere Mr. Curwin's warehouse neer the water side and all the land thereunto belonging during th time and term of her natural life. Item I give unto Robert Woodberry eldest son of my brother Isaac Woodbury next and immediate after the decease of my sd sister Mary Woodberry the sd shop" &c "I give unto my Brother Isaac Woodberry's daughter Mary which he had by my sister Mary his now wife my house" &c., near Mr. Corwin's warehouse my servant John Smith. I appoint my brother Isaac Woodbury my executor. Witness William Clarke and Thomas Knill probated before John Leverett, Esq., Gov'r, Nov. 27 1677.

An Inventory of the estate of Robert Wilkes of Salem Deceased the 24 of 7 mo 1677 taken by Bartho Gedney and Daniel Bacon Amount £167 12s 4d, presented by Isaac Woodberry, executor.

*John Jones, 9th mo., 1677.*

The will of John Jones of Newbury ship carpenter, dated 17 July 1676 mentions "I am now taking a voyage to sea I give all my estate unto my mother Anne White and make

er my sole executrix; land in Barbadoes which was left my father Thomas Jones, witnesses Hilliard Veren Jun'r and Hilliard Veren Sen'r. Allowed 30 9, 1677.

*John Collings, 9th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Collins Jun'r, late deceased at Gloucester, taken Sept 8th 1677 by William Vinson and William Mlery. Amount £54 3s 0d and administration granted to Mahitabell the relict of ye deceased. Allowed 30 9, '77. £6 eldest sonn £3 apeace to the rest and the rest to the widow.

*Nicholas Potter, 9th mo., 1677.*

The will of Nicholas Potter of Salem dated 9th 8 mo., 1677 mentions son Robert Potter y daughter Elizabeth Newall, my two sons I ad by my last wife viz: Samuel and Benjamin my two daughters Sarah and Mary and Bethiah all my six children by my first wife viz Samuell, Benjamin, Sarah, Mary, Hannah and Berthiah the sons at 21 and the daughters 18 years. I appoint my Honr father John Gedney sole executor and my son Robert Potter and my brothers Bartholomew Gedney and Eleazer Gedney overseers, witnesses Hilliard Veren Sen'r and Nathaniell Beadle. Allowed 9 9 '77.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 25 October 1677 by Mathew Bamond and Edward Grant. Amount 206 11s 00d.

*Thos. Pickton, 9th mo., 1677.*

The Will of Thomas Pickton dated 19 of October 1677 mentions I give all my estate to y wife Ann Pickton and appoint her my executrix and John Galley and Henry Bayley overseers witnesses John Galley and Henry Bayley. Allowed 28 9, '77.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by Henry Bayley and John Gally amount £274 3d.

*Richard Waters, 9th mo., 1677.*

The Will of Richard Waters dated 16 day July, 1676, mentions wife Joyce, son Wil-

liam Ezekiel John & James Waters daughters Abigail Punchard Mary English, Susanah Pullover and Hannah Striker. I appoint my wife Joyce my executrix and friends Mr. Edm Batter Hilliard Veren Sen'r Christopher Babbidge and John Swinerton overseers witnesses Hilliard Veren Senr and John Swinerton. Allowed 28 9 mo., 1677.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 25 7, '77 by John Swinerton and Hilliard Veren Sen'r. Amount £132 08s 05.

*Thaddeus Brand, 9th mo., 1677.*

"An Inventory of ye estate of Teague Alias Thaddeas Braun, who was impressed a soldier of Lynn for the Countrey's service and was sent from Lynn ye 22nd June 1677 and was slayne in the fight at Blackpoint as we are informed on ye 29th of June, 1677; taken 4th of July 1677 by Thomas Newhall and Robert Fott. Allowed 20 9, '77 and administration granted to Thomas Marshall.

*Nicholas Fox, 9th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of Nicholas Fox deceased 1677 taken the 16 November by Samuell Ward and John Legg. Amount £45 07s 06d. Allowed 28 9, '77, and administration granted to Elizabeth the relict mentions for the bringing up of the children viz. Nicholas £10 and Elizabeth and William £5 each when they come of age.

*John Clay, 9th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the "estate of John Clay deceased being then a fisherman killed by the indians." "The 18th of November, 1677 then was the above said estate of John Clays prized at William Woods in Marblehead by us Richard Knott and John Harburgh. Amount £3 4s 0d. Allowed 27 9 mo., '77 and adm'n granted to William Wood.

*Richard Craniver, 9th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of Richard Craniver taken by Edmond Bridges and Peter Clays. Amount £17 03s 00d. Allowed 9, '77, and administration granted to the relict.



*O'badiah Rich, 11th mo., 1677.*

An Inventory of the estate of Obadiah Rich taken 28th of 11th mo., 1677 by Hiliard Veren Senr and Henry West. Amount £9 18s 06d. Allowed 30 11, '77 and administration granted to Bethiah ye relict.

*Robert Denton, 4th mo., 1678.*

"The Humble Petition of Edmund Dear William Danforth and Phillip Weatch: to the Honoured Court now sitting in Salem. A petition concerning money which the deceased Robert Denton willed by word of mouth to the above named Petitioners the money was then in the hands of John King. "The Deposition of Edward Neiland aged 38 years and Elizabeth Dear aged upwards of 15 years" concerning the above sworn to June 20, 1678, also "the Deposition of Edward Allin and Hilligrist Ross (to the same as the above & same date.)

*Thos. Purchase, 4th mo., 1678.*

The will of Thomas Purchase Senr dated 2 May, 1677, mentions wife Elizabeth Purchase my five children. I appoint my son Thomas Purchase executor and my friends Henry Jocelin Oliver Purchase of Hamersmith and Mr. Edward Alline of Boston overseers. Witnesses George Robinson and John Sternside.

"To the Honored countie court now sitting att Salem the humble petition of Elizabeth Purches widdow of Thomas Purchase deceased Humbly sheweth. That your petitioners husband being an hundred & one yeares of age deceased about five or six weekes since at Lynn, Who left behind him besides your petitioners five children to bee provided for. And but little or noe estate having lost most of what he had by ye Indians to the Eastward, Butt it pleased him to make a Will wth wee have withal present unto yr Honour in which will he made his eldest sonn Thomas Purchase his executor, who by reason he knowes nott how much his father was indebted, but knowes h's father left little or noe es-

tate behind him besides a parcell of land to Eastward, and being a young man is feare to accept of ye executorship for feare of volveing himself into many troubles. A your petitioners understanding that ye law requires either some executors or Administration to bee approved of by ye next court in countie, where ye partie deceased lived Humbly Supplicates this Honord Court that reason that he that was appointed executor refuseth to accept thereof, humbly request that this Honord Court would be pleased grant letters of Administration to her and son Thomas or otherwise to order & settle little estate that is, as in yr wisdom you shall think meet and ye petitioners shall ever pray &c. Elizebeth Purchas, Thomas Purchas."

"An Inventory of the estate of Mr. Thor Purchis Senior deceased in Linn in May 1678, Aged 101 years" presented by Elizebeth the relict and on of the administrators court at Salem 25 5, '78.

*Richard Richards, 4th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of Richard Richards taken the 25th of June '78 by us J Ward Flint and Richard Croade. Amount 8s 6d. Allowed 28 4, 1678 and administration granted to the relict.

*Philip Roundy, 4th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of Philip Roundy taken by us Richard Croade and William Hollis this 24th of June 1678. Amount 19s 6d. Allowed in Court at Salem 27 4, and administration granted to Ann the relict of ye deceased.

*Widow Bickford, 4th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of Widow Bickford's whose husband died intestate taken Marblehead the 26 June 1678 by William Woode and Robert Bartlett. Amount 4 09s 6d. Allowed 28 4, '78, and administration granted to Christian Bickford on her husband's estate mentions to bring up her children.

*Sam'l Condry, 4th mo., 1678.*

The will of Samucll Condry dated 9th of february 1677-8, mentions: my wife Anne, to my daughter Ann and her children,—to my granddaughter Mary (Hester Greene's daughter) my cupboard, and to Hester Greene's son Charles, about 7 years of age 80 shillings—to Hester Greene a pewter dish that was her mother Rebecca Condry's. I appoint my wife Ann and my daughter Ann Salter my executrixes 1677-8, witnesses John Brimbecrom Richard Reed John pedriche, Thomas Prefry and Samucll Reed. Allowed 29 4, '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken April 30th 1678 by Moses Mavericke Samucll Ward and Richard Oliver. Amount £89 9s 0d.

*Edmond Towne, 4th mo., 1678.*

"The Intent and purpose of Edmond Towne presented by Mary his wife considrin his estate presented to this Honnored Court now sitting Imprimis. The minde of the deceased was as is mine alsoe; and is Consented too by all parties concernd that the four sonns shall have all the lands Equally devyded amongst them. And the rest of the estate to be equally divided amongst the 5 garles only Sarah the second Daughter is already marryed and hath reseived to the vallue of twelve pounds already. Soe leaving my cause to God, and to your Honnors searious consideration I subscribe myselfe Mary Towne only provided that the widows thirds of the whole be taken out first. Jacob Towne on oath deposed that Thomas Towne, eldest son of Edmond Towne deceased declared himselfe to be fully satisfied wth an equal share of his father's estate with the rest of his brothers as is above proposed by Mary Towne in Court at Salem, 27 4, 78. Attest Hilliard Veren, Sen'r Clk." and administration is granted to Mary the relict of the deceased. An Inventory of the estate of Sargent Edwin Towne taken at Topsfield May the 3rd 1678 by Frances Pabody and Thomas Baker. Amount £435 12s 08d.

*Eliza<sup>th</sup> Kings, 4th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of Mrs. Eliza-

beth King deceased taken 26th of May, 1678 by William Bassett and Thomas——. Amount £21 19s 6d mentions "My mother in her live time disposed of her waring aparrell by her pertecular desire to her grand daughter Hannah Blaney alsoe my mother in her live time gave to her daughter Sarah Nedom one bed and boulster at her decease which is not inventored. And alsoe to my selfe one greate bible and a small silver dram cup and to my wife a silver wine cup which is not in the inventorie." Allowed 29 4, '78, and administration granted to Ralph King.

*Edw'd Wharton, 4th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of Edward Wharton taken 12th 1 mo., 1677-8, by Hilliard Veren sen'r, John Hathorne and John Higginson Jun'r. Amount £630 06s 05½d to goods in England £300. Allowed 27 4, '78.

The Testimony of Samuel Shattoek Sen'r aged about 58 years mentions that he heard Edward Warton say that he would give, to Mary Thask, wife of Henry Thask £5, to Hannah Sibly widow £5, to Sarah Mills and her Children £10, "he alsoe told me that his vice should be returned to England amongst his kindred, for he said it was his father's before him and it should be returned unto the Generation and that his eldest brothers son bore his fathers name and he should have it." "his tract of land lying at Shrewsbury at New Jersey which he purchased with other purchasers of the Indians he told me he had sold one half of it when he was in England to one John Harwood merehant in London and had taken pay for it, and that he had ordered one John Starke to settle upon it and keep it for him and his friend and further the said Edward Wharton express himself and say that John Winditt a youth which he brought with him out of England viz.: his sisters son should be sent to England when hee died. "Edward Wharton have two brothers in England by fathers & mothers side and one brother and sister by the mothers side and this brother is in Virginia. he (Ed Wharton) died ye 3d of

ye 1st month, 1677." The whole of the above is *affirmed* to by Samuell Shattocke and James Mills and part of it is *affirmed* to by Martha Robinson in Court at Salem 27 4, '78.

*Dennis Bartlett, William Pearce, and Robert Pike 4th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of William Pearce taken April 29 1678. Amount £13 1s 9d.

An Inventory of the estate of Denis Bartlett taken April 29 1678. Amount £7 12s 9d.

and An Inventory of the estate of Robert Pik taken April 29, 1678. Amount £3 02s 6d. Allowed 25 5, '78, and administration granted on the above estates to Ambross Gale.

*Edward Vinton, 9th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of Edward Vinton taken 17 of October 1678 by Samuell Ward and John Chin. Amount £5 08s 0d, returned by Elias Henly Administrator and Allowed 29 9, '78.

*John Breed, 9th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of John Breed taken by Thomas fuller and John Hall.— Amount 249 17s 0d. Allen Breed delivered this as a true inventory of his Brother John Breed's estate 24 Sept., 1678.

An additional Inventory of the above estate taken by Joseph Egg and John Newhall Amount £1 11s 10d. Allowed 29 9 '78.

An Agreement between Allen Breed jun'r administrator of the estate of John Breed and Sarah Breed widow of sd John Breed. Witnesses John Fuller Nathaniel Ballard and Joseph Breed, dated 24 Sept., 1678. Allowed in court 24 Sept., 1678.

*Robert Buffum, 9th mo., 1678.*

"To the Honord Countie Court now sitting at Salem the humble petition of John Hill, Robert Wilson William Beanes and Jerremiah Neale, children and heirs of Robert Buffum deceased:

Humbly sheweth That whereas our father Robert Buffum dyed intestate and an inventorie of the estate of the deceased was brought

into the then countie Court by his relique Tomazin Buffum, which Court was then pleased to make her administratrix of the sayd estate Who since that time hath either disposed o the same according as her fancie or affection led her, or. else keepeth ye same still in he hands, We your petitioners being children o the deceased humbly conceive yt as children we ought according to ye law of God and this Jurisdiction each of us to have our share or portion of that which was our father's right and therefore do humbly supplicate this Honord Court as ffathers of the Cuntry, to take our cause into your pious and Christian consideration and be ffathers to us in helping us that wee who are children may nott be deprived of that which as wee humbly conceive according to ye law of God and this Jurisdiction is our due Wee Subscribe yours in all service to Comand Robert Wilson John Hill William Beanes and Jeremiah Neale."

"The Deposition of Mary Buffum alias Mary Neale, aged aboutt 30 yeares, this deponent testifieth that when her ffather Robert Buffum was sick of that sickness whereof he dyed she tended upon him in his whole sickness untill such time as he dyed and during the time of his sickness, this deponent did severall times here her mother Tomazin Buffum desire her father Robert Buffum to make his will for ye settling of his estate of which he seemed to take little notice till a little before his death she againe Desired him to give their son Caleb a certaine tract of Land Lying in ye North field of ye towne of Salem which he was nott willing to doe, but sayd he would have his sonn Joshua have a double portion and for the rest of the children he would make noe difference betwixt them for sayd he are yours as well as mine. Mary Neale made oath to the truth of the above written this 25th of November 1678 before me Bartho. Gedney Commissioner."

*Edward Carlton, 9th mo., 1678.*

"To the Honoured Court now sitting at Salem this 27 of November Anno Dom 1678,



The Humble request of Christopher Babbage and Hanna his wife that whereas Mr. Edward Calton sometime of Rowley left an estate in New England when he went out of the Country; part of which hee sending his son John Carlton by vertue of a letter of Attorney did receive in his behalf: We conceiving that there being some of his estate unreceived by his sayd son, desire that this Honoured Court would appoynt some of our relations Jeremiah Jewett or Nehemiah Jewett or both to be administrator to the estate of the said Mr. Edward Carlton that if any thing may be perserved it may be forth coming to the children of the Hanna Relict of the said John Carlton deceased the only heirs to any such estate (as we conceive) or as authority shall dispose of it; and in yer sue doeing yer servants shall pray. Christopher Babbige Hannah Babbage Jerimiah Juett and Neremiah Juett have power of administration granted to ye estate of Mr. Edw. Carlton deceased; who was formerly of Rowly" 29 9, '78.

*Wm. Hollingworth, 9th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of William Hollingworth taken 29th of August 1677 by Joseph Grafton and Thomas Gardner Sen'r.—Amount £92 9s 0d. Allowed 26 9, '78, and administration granted to Eliner the relict.

*Joseph Parker, 9th mo., 1678.*

The will of Joseph Parker of Andover Tanner dated 4th November 1678 mentions wife Mary to have my dwelling house, "my second son Thomas non compos, son Stephen my son Joseph my gristinill, son Samucl millers meadow my three daughters Sarah, Mary and Ruth, £10 each." "I give to my dear wife all my estate in old England that at Renusey and also my legacies that is left me by my friend here." I appoint my son Joseph sole executor and my brother Nathan Parker and my friends Left John Osgood, Henry Ingalls and Ansyne Thomas Chandler overseers witnesses Audley Bradstreet and Thomas Chandler. Allowed 29 9, '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 18

of November by John Osgood Henry Ingalls and Nathan Parker. Amount £546 5s 6d.

*John Brimblecomb, 9th mo., 1678.*

The will of John Brimblecome dated 11 May 1678, mentions Tabitha my wife son Phillip Brimblecom my two daughters Richard (?) Holman and Mary Tucker. I appoint my wife and son Phillip executors and friends John Codner and John Legg overseers they are also witnesses. Allowed 29 9, '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 12th of November 1678 by William Nick Thaddeus Ruddam (Amount £76 6s 0d) and Christopher Noble.

*Edward Bodie, 9th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of Edward Bodie taken by John Roads Sen'r John Roads and Erasmus James Sen'r 28 Nov., '78. Amount £4 10s 06d and administration granted to Erasmus James Sen'r 29 9, '78.

*Alex'r Branander, 9th mo., 1678.*

An Inventory of the estate of Alexander Braninder of Wenham deceased 22nd of October 1678 taken 19th November 1678 by Thomas Fiske John Batchelor and Charles Gott. Amount £5 3s 0d. Allowed 29 9, '78 and administration granted to Charles Gott.

*Wm. Robinson, 9th mo., 1678.*

The Will of William Robinson of Salem dated 9th February 1676-7. "Imprimis. I give and bequeath unto my son Joseph Robinson who is now in the Barbadoes and whom the Lord has blessed with a liberal competency and hath no child & his Brothers here have each of them a great charge and want more help than he doth—upon which consideration although he be my Eldest Son I give and bequeath unto him but 12 pounds, not to be paid him unless he come in his owne person to demand it," my daughter Sarah Newbury my grandchild Tymothy Robinson when of age. I appoint my two sons Samucl and John Robinson executors. Witnesses Stephen

Danell and Richard Croade. Allowed 29 9 mo., '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken 22 of November 1678 by Samuel Gardner Sen'r and John Massey Amount £110 00s 0d.

*Ann Condy, 9th mo., 1678.*

The will of Ann Condy widow dated 9th of October 1678 mentions her sister Millett, Christian Hooper to her daughter Elizabeth Hooper, Elizabeth Tainner her daughter Elizabeth Tainner; to Elias tainner, to Josias Tainner, to Ann Tainner, to Joanna Tainner, to Thomas Tainner, to John Hooper his son John Hooper, to Sarah pick. I appoint Mathew Salter my executor, witnesses Elizabeth Briers and Sarah Pick. Allowed 29 9, '78.

An Inventory of the above estate taken by John Legg and Thaddeus Raddn, Amount £54 14s 6d.

*Wm. Snelling, 12th mo., 1678-9.*

Administration on the estate of William Snelling granted unto Sarah the relict of the deceased now the wife of Samuel Clark 1 12 mo, 1678.

*Wm. Hathorne, 12 mo., 1678.*

Administration on the estate of Capt William Hathorne granted unto Sarah Hathorne the relict of the deceased in court at Salem 4th of Feb'y 1678 before Daniel Gookin Sen'r & William Hathorne Assistants.

*Wm. Symonds, 4th mo., 1679.*

Administration on the estate of William Symonds granted unto Mrs. Mary Symonds the relict of the deceased and Mr. Jonathan Wade Mr. Wade bound in £1000 in court at Ipswich 17th of June, 1679, the petition of Daniell Epps and the rest of the fraternitie about the estate of our Honoured Father Samuel Symonds mentions that the estate is worth about £2500 and that no inventory of the estate has yet been returned, and that it is now about 8 months since our father died, and our Brother William Symonds dyed intestate about one month since, dated this 27th of June 1679.

*Henry Ball, 4th mo., 1679.*

A List of debts due from the estate of Mr Henry Ball who deceased the 15th of May 1678. Amount £15 and administration granted unto Samuel Eborne one of the creditor 26 4, '79.

*Benj. Chadwell, 4th mo., 1679.*

An Inventory of the estate of Benjamin Chadwell taken 17 of June 1679 by John Newhall and Samuel Cobbett. Amount £141 6s 00d and administration granted unto Eliza Chadwell the relict of the deceased 24 4, 1679 mentions bringing up the children until age.

*John Pearson, 4th mo., 1679.*

The Will of John Pearson dated 19th, of April 1679, mentions Wife Maddlin Son John Pearson and his children, daughter Sara Tounsend and her children, "daughter Mary Barnap and her children thirty acres of upland lying between the lands of Jonathan Poole and Robert Barnap," my daughter Bethia Carter and her children, servant John Lilly witnesses William Cowdry and Jeremiah Sweyen administration granted unto Maudli the relict and John Pearson the son of the deceased 25 4, '79.

An Inventory of the above estate taken the 14th of May 1679 by William Cowdry Thomas Bancroft and Hanamah Parker. Amount £897 19s 00d mentions marsh in Towne mars in Lynn and Meadow near the Reddin line.

*Sam'l Mansfield, 4th mo., 1679.*

An Inventory of the estate of Samuel Mansfield of Lynn who departed this life the 10th of April 1679 taken by John Newhall & Robert Rand. Amount £154 8s 6d.

A Petition concerning the above estate of Samuel Mansfield who died of Small Pox mentions he left three children the eldest a son named Andrew and two daughters all under age whereupon the said widow and her father and the father of the deceased make appointment of Mr. Thomas Laughton Senr and Andrew Mansfield & Nathaniel Bershaw to divid

he estate, mentions that Samuell Mansfield gave his son Andrew Mansfield unto his father Andrew Mansfield to keep until he arrive to the age of 21 years, dated at Lynn 20th of mo '79. and signed by Nathaniel Bershaw Sarah Mansfield Thomas Laughton and Andrew Mansfield, and administration granted to Sarah the relict of ye deceased 25 4, '79.

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE.

BY E. S. W.

About the year A. D. 476, when order began to be established in some degree among the contending tribes, who then occupied the territory which we now call France, viz the Burgundians, Visigoths, Saxons, Vandals, who passed into Spain,) and Franks, the latter, under the rule of Pharamond and Merove, conquered a large territory, extending from Belgic Gaul, to the river Somme, whose capital was the city of Treves. Although we can place but little reliance upon the chronicles of his time, still it is certain that the Franks, although little civilized, became a powerful race, and extended their power as far as the river Loire, and about the year 485 were ruled by a Christian King named Clovis, a grandson of Merove, and principal founder of the French monarchy. During his reign the court removed to Paris. He died in 511. His successors, called the Merovingian Kings, ruled the Franks for about two centuries and a half, a line of weak princes, taking but little part in the government of the realm. "After this the substance of authority wasted in the hands of the Mayors of the Palace, officers who held the rank of chief judge and steward of the household, and were second only to the king. This mayoralty at last became hereditary in the family of Pepin d'Heristal, who stood in much the same relation to the latter Merovingians, as did the Earl of Warwick to Hen-

ry VI., and Edward, Earl of March. He placed six princes upon the throne successively, reserving to himself every power and privilege of royalty. These kings are called in history the *rois fainçants*, and sometimes, from the flowing hair which the descendants of Clovis were alone permitted to wear, the *rois chevelures*."

Pepin d'Heristhal, mayor of the palace of Austrasia, Duke and Prince of the Franks, died 714, and left two sons, Griswald, mayor of the palace of Neustria, murdered 714, and Charles Martel, duke of Austrasia, and mayor of the palace, who died 741. He left the kingdom, at his death, to his two sons, Carloman, duke and prince of the Franks, who obtains Austrasia 741, and dies 755, and Pepin, the Short, duke and prince of the Franks, who re-unites the monarchy 746, and dies 768. He left two sons: Charlemagne, king of Neustria, 768, who re-united the monarchy 771, king of the Franks and Lombards 774, was crowned emperor at Rome 800, and died 814, and Carloman, king of Austrasia, who died 771, leaving a son Pepin.

### II. CARLOVINGIANS.

Charlemagne was succeeded by his son, Louis *Debonnaire*, who died 840, leaving three sons, Lothaire, king of Italy, Charles I, *the bald*, king of France by the peace of Verdun, 843, (who succeeded his father) and Louis, the German.

Charles I died 877, and was succeeded by his son, Louis II, *the stammerer*, who died 879, leaving three sons: Louis III, by whom he was succeeded, who died 882; Carloman, who succeeded Louis III, and d 884, and Charles III, *the simple*, deposed 923. Carloman was succeeded by his uncle, Charles II, *the fat*, who d 887, and was son of Louis the German.

Charles the II was succeeded by Charles *the simple*, who being deposed 923, was succeeded by his son, Louis IV, who d 954, and was succeeded by his son Lothaire, who d 986, and left the crown to his son Louis V, who d 987.

It was by this time evident that the race of



Charlemagne was drawing to a close. Lothaire, and then Louis le Faineant succeeding Louis d'Outremer (the 1Vth) by their weakness, indolence and cowardice, tarnished the lustre of that imperial name which had been the terror of the nations two hundred and thirty-six years before. One brave and sagacious man there was, however, to whom the Franks instinctively turned for protection. This man was Hugh Capet, son to Hugh the Great. In the year 987, when the Faineant died at Compregne, the nobles assembled at Noyon, formally excluded the Duke of Lorraine from the succession, and placed the crown upon the head of the first of the Capets.

#### HOUSE OF CAPET, 987-1328.

Hugh Capet d 996, and was succeeded by his son, Robert II, who d 1031, and left two sons, Henry I, his successor, who d 1060, and Robert 1st Duke of Burgundy, 1031, founder of the old House of Burgundy, extinct 1361. Henry, grandson of Robert of Burgundy, 1195, was founder of the House of Burgundy in Portugal, extinct 1580, from which came 1422 Alphonso, (natural son of John I, king of Portugal,) duke of Braganza, founder of the present reigning House of Braganza.

Next to Henry I, came his son Philip I, who died 1103, leaving the throne to his son, Louis VI, *the fat*, who d 1137, and was succeeded by his son Louis VII, *the young*, who d 1180. Louis VII married Eleanor of Aquitaine, and had a son, Philip II *Augustus*, who succeeded him, and married Isabella of Hainault. At his death, in 1223, he was succeeded by his son, Louis VIII, mockingly surnamed *The Lion*, who died 1226, leaving two sons: Louis IX *St. Louis*, who succeeded his father, married Marguerite of Provence, and d 1270, and Charles of Anjou, king of Naples, 1265, founder of the first line of Anjou, from whom came the house of *Anjou-Hungary*, through Charles Robert his nephew, king of Hungary 1308, who died 1342, and whose son, Louis *the Great*, king of Hungary, and 1370 king of the Poles, d 1382. The mother of Louis IX

and Charles of Anjou was Blanche of Castile. St. Louis left two sons: Philip II, *the hardy*, who succeeded his father, married Isabella of Arragon, and d 1285, and Robert, count of Clermont, father of Louis 1st, duke of Bourbon, 1327.

Philip the Hardy had three sons, Philip I *the fair*, who, by marriage with Jane, Queen of Navarre, obtained that kingdom, Charles Count de Valois, and Louis, Count D'Evreux whose son Philip was king of Navarre 1328 by marriage with Joan, daughter of king Philip *the fair*—extinct 1441.

Philip *the fair* d 1314, and was succeeded by his son, Louis X, who d 1316, leaving the throne to his son John, b and d 1316, who was succeeded by Philip V, who dying 1328 was succeeded by Charles IV, who d 1328. The three sons of Philip IV, (Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV) being now dead, without issue, their sister Isabel's (who married Edw. II of England) son Edw. III of England claimed the throne, but after his victory at Cressy, and his capture of Calais, he made a satisfactory treaty with France.

#### HOUSE OF VALOIS, 1328-1589.

Philip VI, son of Charles of Valois 2d, son of Philip the III, now ascended the throne, he d 1350, and was succeeded by his son John *the good*, who d 1364, and was succeeded by his son Charles V, *the wise*. Besides Charles he had two other sons: Louis of Anjou, father of the 2d line of Anjou, and the mod. titular king of Naples,—extinct 1481, and Philip *the bold*, founder of the mod. House of Burgundy, extinct 1477.

Charles V died 1380, leaving Charles VI, who d 1422, and Louis, duke d'Orleans, who had Charles, duke of Orleans, and Johanna, countess of Angoulême. Charles VI was succeeded by his son Charles VII, who d 1461, leaving the throne to his son Louis XI, who d 1483, after which his son Charles VIII reigned, who d 1498, without issue, when the crown came into the possession of Louis XII, son of Charles, duke of Orleans. Louis dying

15 without issue, Francis I ascended the throne, son of Charles, count of Angoulême, the son of Johanna. Francis d 1547, leaving the crown to his son, Henry II, who married Catherine de Medici, and d 1559. His sons were Francis II, who married Mary Stuart, and d 1560, Charles IX, who died 1574, and Henry III, king of Poland 1573, who died 1599.

#### HOUSE OF BOURBON, 1589-1830.

Henry III leaving no children, was succeeded by Henry IV, son of Antony, of Bourbon, king of Navarre by marriage with its heiress, Anne d'Albret, and descended from St. Louis through Louis first duke of Bourbon; Henry IV, also king of Navarre, was assassinated by a vaillat 1610, and was succeeded by his son Louis XIII, who d 1643, and left Louis XIV, who married Maria Theresa, and d 1715, and Philip, duke d'Orleans, who d 1701, from whom descended Louis Philip, *Egalite*, who d 1793. Louis XIV had a son, Louis, the dauphin who d 1711, and had two sons, Louis the dauphin, 1712, and Philip V of Spain, d 1746, one of whose sons was Charles I, king of *Two Sicilies*, and also of Spain, and from whom came the house of *Bourbon-Anjou*, which includes the present royal family of Spain, and the princes of some of the Italian States.

Louis the dauphin, 1712, left a son, Louis XV, who d 1774; his son, Louis the dauphin, d 1765, and left three sons, Louis XVI, guillotined 1793, who m Maria Antoinette of Austria, and had 2 sons: Louis the dauphin, d 1789, and Louis XVII, who d 1795 in the Temple; Louis XVIII, who d 1824, and Charles X, deposed 1830. Charles had two sons, Louis, duke d'Angoulême, and Charles, duke de Berri, murd. 1820, who m Caroline of Italy, and had Henry (V) duke de Bordeaux, d 1820.

During the time which elapsed between 1804-1815, Napoleon was Emperor of the French. He mar'd 1st, Josephine Beauharnais. 2d, Maria Louisa, of Austria, by whom

he had Napoleon II, King of Rome, who d 1832, as Duke de Reichstadt. Napoleon d at St. Helena, May 5, 1821. Josephine's children before she mar'd Napoleon, were: Eugene, vice-king of Italy, d 1824, as duke of Leuchtenburg, and Hortense, who m Louis Napoleon, king of Holland, afterward Count de St. Len. Charles X, 1830, was succeeded by Louis Philippe, duke d'Orleans, son of Philippe *Egalite*, who reigned until 1848, when a revolution broke out, which forced him to abdicate. He died at Claremont, in England, the seat of his son-in-law, the king of the Belgians, in 1850. During the greater part of the year 1848, Paris was in a state of revolution, and on the 11th of December, Prince Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic, having carried the day against Gen. Cavaignac, M. de Lamartine, and M. Ledru Rollin. The tenure of the presidency was fixed for a period of four years, but before one of these had quite elapsed, it was proposed to extend the term to ten. Another year, however, went by before this point was carried, and on the 1st of January, 1852, the prince-president was formally installed at the Cathedral de Notre Dame, and in his residence at the Tuileries. On the 4th of November, 1852, the prince-president addressed a message to the Senate, desiring that the nation should be consulted upon the expediency of restoring the empire of France. The question was then put to the vote throughout the country. The ayes amounted to 7,864,189; and on the 2d of December, the prince president was proclaimed Emperor by the title of Napoleon III. On the 30th of January, 1853, he was married to Eugenie de Montijo, Countess of Teba, a Spanish lady of Scottish extraction and ancient family. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Paris, and took place, with great splendor, at the Cathedral de Notre Dame.

At 8 o'clock Sunday morning, March 16, 1856, the Senate and Legislature met and received the official announcement of the birth

of an heir to the throne, which event took place at a quarter of three o'clock the same morning. The announcement was received with the greatest delight throughout Paris; addresses and congratulations poured into the Tuileries, and in the evening the whole city was illuminated.

The child was named Napoleon-Eugene-Louis-Jean-Joseph,—Napoleon and Louis after his father, Eugene after his mother, Jean after the Pope, his godfather, and Joseph after Josephine, Queen of Sweden, his godmother, and bears the title of King of Algeria.

E. S. W.

# EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL KEPT BY SAMUEL GARDNER, 1759.

Continued from Vol. II, Page 253.

COMMUNICATED BY B. F. BROWNE.

1759. Oct 19th—Sailed from Salem, very sick.

20—I prodigious sick, no comfort at all.

21—I remain very sick, the first Sabbath I have spent from church this long time, little sleep this night.

24—A little better contented, but a sailor's life is a poor life.

26—Spoke a ship from London to Boston. Messrs. Hibbert and Whipple, who were passengers, came on board us.

31—Fair, pleasant weather, if it was always so, a sea life would be tolerable.

November 11th—This makes the fourth Sunday I have been out. Read Dr. Beveridge's Serious Thoughts.

12th, 10 A. M.—Saw a sail standing to S. W. I am quartered at the aftermost gun, and its opposite with Capt. Clifford—we fired a shot at her, and she hoisted Dutch Colours.

13th—I have entertained myself with a Romance, viz., "The History of the Parish Girl."

14—Quite pleasant. Here we may behold the works of God in the mighty Deep. Happy he who beholds aright.

15—Between 2 and 3 this morning we saw

two sail, they chased us, the ship fired 3 shot at us, which we returned. They came within us by reason of a breeze which she took before we did. She proved to be the ship Cornwall, Capt. ——— from Bristol, bound to the coast of Africa, in company with her consort the Snow Diamond, Capt. John King.

18—Bishop Beveridge employed my time.

21—We now begin to approach to land. May we have a good sight of it.

22—Just as the sun set, the Captain discovered land, and at 6 in the morning, (23d) we saw it again.

23d—At 8 o'clock 3 Teriffa Boats came off after us, they fired at us, which we returned as merrily. They were glad to get away well as they could. We stood after one, but it is almost impossible to come up with the piratical dogs. At 2 P. M. came to anchor Gibraltar bay, the boat went on shore, but staid on board.

24—I went on board the Active Frigate after went out in a cruise. Dined with Mr. Elkins on little fish we bought of a Spaniard. Guns fired at the Spanish Batteries. P. M. went on board the Grand Seigneur with Capt. Darby and Ross—he had thoughts of buying her. She mounted 18 guns.

25—Capt. Clifford on board A. M. The Captain staid on board, which is his usual practice on Sundays. P. M., one Mr. Jackson formerly belonging to Plymouth on board. He is now mate of a Brig bound to England.

26—Went on shore. Went up to Mr. Lynch's brother's. He is blest with a pretty wife & 3 fine children, though he is none of the handsomest. Dined at Mr. Lynch's, with Miss McIntosh, Davis & the two Capt. Rosset. Saw Capt. Clifford on the Mole.

27th—A prize from Malaga came in.

28th—Went on shore. Dined at Mr. Lynch's. Capt. Clifford with us—saw the soldiers in the Garrison exercise—they had a cruel fellow for an officer, for he whipt them barbarously.

29th—Went on shore. I with 3 captains went up to the New Mole and then went on board the prize that was taken under the



Pope's colours. She was from St. Domingo with Sugar, went on board another prize that was taken under Spanish colors. The Kensington Frigate lay there. We dined at Mr. Lynch's; after dinner we went out & saw the poor soldiers licked again. This day Capt. Derby made a beginning to sell his Cargo. Coming from the Mole we saw a Jewish burying. They appeared very devout & sang as they went along. This morning, Capt. Jones in a London ship in the Bay died and was brought on shore—he is to be buried tomorrow. He was as well as he ever was in his life last Saturday. This day Mr. Elkins commenced 21 years old.

30—Went on shore and dined at Mr. Lynch's. St. Andrew's day, and several had their crosses in their hats.

December 2d.—Cloudy, rainy, windy weather. Read Dr. Watts' Lyric Poems.

3d.—Capt. Clifford came on board this morning and invited Capt. Derby and myself to dine at his brother's; accordingly we went and were entertained with an elegant dinner. He has a fine woman for a wife. His first and second Lieutenants dined with him and the Doctor of the Regiment. Capt. Clifford belongs to Sir David Cunningham's Regiment.

4th—Went on shore and dined at Mr. Lynch's with the family. This day the trial of the Pope's ship came on; they petitioned for 2 months more time, which was granted them, which is agreeable to us, for we stand a better chance of selling our sugar.

5—Fair, pleasant day, though it looked unlikely in the morning, & I staid on board. P. M., we took a sail in our little boat round the shipping. In the bay is the Guernsey of 50 guns & also the Gibraltar & Kensington Frigates. Capt. Derby dined at Mr. Poor's. I was enquired after.

6th—Went on shore & dined at Mr. Lynch's. We went with Capt. Ross to his brother's house and were invited to dine with him.—Capt. Ross & I went to the Spanish Popish Church and it happened they were just burying a dead body. I there saw Superstition

and Idolatry to that degree that it made me feel what I can't describe. The church is considerable well furnished with images. There are the 12 Apostles & our Saviour, which were given by Mary, Queen of Scots.

7—The Captain of a London Ship came under our stern in a Spanish Boat, with 3 Spaniards, they refused carrying him on Board his ship according to agreement. He left his great Coat in the Boat, he not paying them, they carried it off. Our boat carried him on board his vessel. Just then beginning to blow, between 9 & 10, as near as I can remember, which increased to a very great degree, so that a snow that lay just ahead of us parted her cables and came directly down on our Hawse. We as soon as we saw her drive, cut away our small cable and by reason of that, she went clear of us without any damage on either side. We had been in this condition above 6 or 8 minutes, before we parted our best Bower, and drove directly down upon a small Brig which lay a little west of us. We received some damage, sprung our Bowsprit, & broke our stanchions on the quarter deck. We had no sooner got clear, but we fell foul of the above mentioned Snow, which brought up a little astern of us. She having a good anchor on her Bow, our Cat Heads took his Quarter, by which our Cat Head was broke & our ont lieker which was a Crotchet Yard, took his small Boat, which hung on his side and stove it all to pieces. Our Boat, which also hung on our side, stood a very narrow chance of being served the same, but as it happened very luckily we got clear of him without any further damage. We observed the master & his mate crying and wringing their hands. We then hoisted our fore stay-sail and a bit of the mainsail and stood over to the Spanish lines, where the ground is very soft, so that she can't possibly do any great Damage. We then went down and ate a mouthful of victuals, it being now Dinner time. The Captain after that brought off an anchor and a Hawser, but just as he came on board, the Guernsey's Boat sent by Capt.

Millbanks came down to our assistance, and brought with them a fine new Hawser. The Captain bent it to the anchor he brought off, and carried it out astern. The man of wars Boat afterward went and brought our sheet anchor & we then waited till morning.

9th—I turned out at 2 o'clock in the morning and she had not begun to right; likewise at 6, which was about high water & she did not float. Capt. Derby then ordered the man of wars long Boat to be filled with Sugar, she carried 13 Hds on shore, which were put into Mr. Lynch's store. The Guernseys Boat then went on board their own ship. Capt. Derby came off and hired a schooner to take Sugar on board and gives them 10 dollars pr day. They not coming directly, the Capt. sent our Moses (Boat) after them, which soon returned, and says the Spaniards had gone to Church, it being some great day among them, Capt. Derby then went on shore & soon brought them on board. They took in about 30 Hogsheads and as soon as this was done, we went directly to heaving her off. The Guernseys Boat came again according to promise, with the same Crew. The Lieutenant & Lieutenant of Marines likewise came alongside and spoke very civilly and obligingly and by the Long Boats assistance, under a kind Providence, we got off and warped her up to the Mole where Capt. Derby intends now to haul her in. It is now Ebb Tide, and impossible to get her moored aright. We then went to the Cabin & ate a mouthful of Cheese. Mr. Doane a mate came in her both times. He has lost his left thumb & two fingers. The boats crew consisted of 8 or 10 hands. Capt. Derby gave Mr. Doane a 10 Gall. Keg of Brandy and made a present to the Crew. They went away with promises to call again.

On Sunday the 8th Capt. Derby went on board a craft which lay a little a stern of us, which he supposed had cut our warp which was made fast to them. His suspicions were not without ground, for he soon discovered the piece, with which he gave some of them a flogging. They all took to their Hold and

laid over their Hatches. Capt. Derby came off from them. A thieving Crew they are here.

10th—Capt. Derby went on shore & hoisted out the Hds, in the Schooner and put them in Mr. Lynch's Store. I staid on board all day it being dirty & wet and not having anything to do. Benjn Moses, a Jew, a Huckster in Gibraltar was on board of us. I had some discourse with him about his religion. He said if Jesus Christ had been the Messiah God would never have suffered him to have been crucified. Poor creature, he errs greatly. I endeavored to set him right. by telling him, it was our Saviours business in this world to undergo these sufferings. He seemed to lay great stress on this, and said, "We crucified him, we crucified him," and lifted up his hands whereby he represented it to us, which put me in mind of the ancient Jews his forefathers, calling upon Pilate to have our Saviour crucified, desiring his blood to be on them and their children, which has justly provoked Almighty God, to leave them to their impenitent infidelity, scattered up and down all over the Universe, which I urged on him with divers others; but he said for a conclusion, that his Father and Grandfather were Jews & so he would be, and if they were gone to Hell He would go there too, which I exposed as a great piece of Folly and Stupidity.

In the morning we heard a firing and looked out in the Guts and there was a snow attacked by 3 of the piratical Tereffia Boats. Two Cutters in the Government Service soon got under sail, 3 men of war that lay in the Roads manned their Barges and sent them out, and did a Privateer. We could now perceive her to have struck, this was about 8 o'clock, they soon retook her. She anchored at the back of the neck, the wind not then permitting her to come round. She had only 4 swivels and 6 or 8 men. They very much bruised a Boy, which has since died of his wounds. It seems that after they had boarded him, this Boy who was stationed at the main Halliards, not being ordered, or not being able to strike their colour

they did the business for him with an Iron Crow. It is said the person that did it was a Mahometan, but whether he is one that is taken I am not able to learn. They were not able to get any of the Boats, I learn, but they got some prisoners, which were on board the Snow, but how many I cannot learn, but there were 2 Spaniards, Tereffa born, which it is hoped will meet with their just reward, which I should think would be nothing less than hanging.

12—The snow that was taken yesterday, came from the Coast of Africa. They found on board of her, when she was retaken, 8 or 10 of the hands that belonged to the boats that took them. The master and mate were carried to Tereffa.

Just at dark (yesterday) came on Board of us, two Gentlemen, one of which is an Officer on board a man of war, the other belongs to the Granada, in the Kings Service. The former (our people say) was in the skirmish in some of the Barges, as the Boats Crew that rowed him on board told them. If so he could have given us a relation of it, but we not knowing of it & he not speaking of it, prevented what would have been very agreeable to me. The other belongs to Philadelphia and wants a passage to America, which was their business on board. Capt. Derby told him, he would give him a passage whenever he went, but when that would be was very uncertain.

It is now between 9 and 10 o'clock at night, which is the latest I have set up, since I left Salem. I have been writing down to day remarks which are very large, with what I have put in my other Book.

11th—Went on shore and dined at Mr. Lynch's. Had discourse with Sinto Senannes. I am to go to the Synagogue with him next Sunday, P. M.

The book ends here, and I have not been happy enough to recover the others. The extracts are made from fly leaves in Ames's Almanack for 1759. Boston; Printed & Sold by Draper, Green & Russell & Fleet.

Price Two Pistareens p. Dozen, and Five Coppers Single.  
B. F. B.

## THE FIRST VOYAGE TO JAPAN.

BY E. S. W.

In the last number but one of the Institute's Collections appeared an interesting account of the voyage of the ship *Margaret*, of Salem, to Japan, in 1801, compiled by Mr. J. F. Allen, from the private journal of the late George Cleveland, Esq.

The title of this article was "First Voyage to Japan," and it is the error contained therein, that I desire to correct. The *first* voyage to Japan from the United States was not made by the *Margaret*, but by the Ship *Franklin*, owned by Messrs James and Thomas H. Perkins, and James Dunlap, of Boston, and commanded by Capt. James Devereux, of Salem. This point, besides being supported by ample oral testimony, is also proved by the dates of the following papers, viz.: The Letter of Instructions, the Ship's Charter Party, and the Directions of the Dutch East India Company, (now in my possession,) and of the entries in the *Franklin's* journal, in the possession of the E. I. M. Society, which show that the *Franklin* was the *first* American vessel which traded with Japan, having visited there two years before the *Margaret*. In his

### LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS,

dated "Boston, December 7, 1798," Capt. Devereux is instructed, "being Master of our Ship *Franklin*, now ready for sea, to proceed immediately to Batavia, in the Island of Java; on your arrival there" to co-operate with "Mr. Walter Burling, who goes out in the Ship & to whom the cargo is (jointly with yourself) addressed," in the sale of the old and the shipping of the new cargo, with which you will return with all possible dispatch to this place." The coffee, of which article the cargo was to consist, was to be in bulk if possible, and



boards were carried out to prepare the hold for that object, and materials for the construction of a coach-house on your quarter-deck, for the accommodation of yourself and officers home, and to enable you to fill your present cabin with coffee—you will therefore have your dead-lights caulked in, and fill all your accommodations below.

We allow to your first and second officers, two and one half tons privilege, and one ton to your third mate—your sailors will be allowed to bring their adventures in their chests and no otherwise. Your own privilege will be five per cent. on the whole amount which the ship may bring, and tis our orders that she be completely filled.

As it is our intention to dispatch another ship to Batavia, consigned to Mr. Burling, he will after finishing the business of the Franklin, apply himself to the other vessel, and return in her to Boston.

We wish you a speedy and successful voyage, and are, Sir,

Yr friends & owners,

JAMES & THO. H. PERKINS,

JAMES DUNLAP."

*Extracts from the Ship Franklin's Journal, on a voyage from Boston towards Batavia.*

Dec. 11, 1798. At 6 P. M. discharged the Pilot.

Apr. 19, 1799. At midday Java Head bore N. W. b N., dist. 3 leagues: our passage has been 130 days from Boston.

Nothing material on our passage from Java Head to Batavia, which has been nine days in beating up.

*From Batavia towards Japan.*

June 17, 1799. At 7, A. M. got under way, and sailed out of Batavia Road.

July 18, 1799. At 4 P. M., two Japanese prows came alongside, and supplied us with fish.

*From Japan towards Batavia.*

Nov. 25, 1799. At 3 P. M. got under way.

Dec. 18, 1799. At. 11 P. M. anchored in Batavia Roads.

*From Batavia towards Boston.*

Jan. 18, 1800. At 5 A. M. weighed anchor, and got under way.

May 20, 1800. At 9 A. M. saw Cape Cod, distant 4 leagues; this day took a pilot, and anchored in Boston Harbour, after a passage of 123 days.

The foregoing extracts from the ship's journal give merely the dates of arrival at, and departure from the different places visited, they showing conclusively the priority of the Franklin's voyage.

When the Franklin arrived at Batavia. April 1799, Capt. Devereux found that the Dutch East India Company were in want of a ship to take a cargo to and from Japan, and after some preliminary negotiations, he came to an agreement with them, (which is given below) and which was carried out to their mutual satisfaction. He then took in a cargo upon his re-arrival at Batavia, and sailed for Boston, where he arrived safely, having made quite a successful voyage. In fact the success in this new field of commercial enterprise stimulated other merchants, and a new ship, called also the Franklin, and commanded by Capt. Devereux, was built, owned by Messrs. Joseph White, Robert Stone, sen., and others, whose intention it was to prosecute the same line of trade which the old Franklin had so successfully opened, by placing her at the disposal of the D. E. I. Company.

Unfortunately, however, contrary to the earnest advice and remonstrances of Capt. Devereux, (who was fully aware of the requisites demanded by the Company in their ships,) the owners decided not to copper her, and the result was, that on her arrival at Batavia, the Company were unwilling to employ her in the conveyance of their freights, and the ship Margaret arriving soon after, they chose her instead. Capt. Derby, in the Margaret's journal, makes the following entry: "April 24, 1801. Anchored in Batavia Roads at sunset, and found the Ship Franklin, Capt. Dev-

ceux here." The Franklin soon after sailed for the Isle of France, and thence home.

I am unacquainted with the names of the officers or crew of the Franklin, on the voyage to Japan, and of those in the second Franklin, with one exception,—the late Mr. Samuel Dudley Tucker, who went out as clerk with Capt. Devereux.

The cargo from Japan to Batavia consisted mostly of natural productions, but in addition to these, I find a sale of "sundries received by ship Franklin from Japan," in which the following articles are mentioned: Cabinets, Tea Trays, Boxes of Birds, Waiters, Knife-Boxes, Boxes of Fans, Camphor-Wood, Mats, Kusidors, Nests of Pans, Baskets, and other similar articles. Many of these, together with carefully inlaid Tables, Pictures and Views, were brought home by Capt. Devereux, and are now in the possession of his family, being highly prized on account of the interesting associations connected with them, as for their intrinsic beauty.

The following are copies of the Charter party, and the Instructions from the D. E. I. Co. :—

"The Ship Franklin's Charter party for a voyage from Batavia to Japan, June the 16th, 1799.

We the undersigned, Johannes Siberg, Commissary General, &c., &c., on the one part, and Walter Burling, Supercargo of the American Ship Franklin, at present at anchor in his Road, of the burthen of 200 tons, commanded by James Devereux, on the other part,—Declare and Certify to have agreed with respect to the Charter of said ship, as follows :

Article 1st.—The second signer, as supercargo of said ship, lets and freights to the company, the above-mentioned vessel for a voyage to Japan and back, and that to carry such merchandize and other articles as the Co. may put on board, as well from this city to Japan, as from thence here, for the sum of thirty thousand piastres.

2nd.—That the merchandize to be carried from hence to Japan shall consist of

30,000 lb cloves in sacks,  
6000 lb cotton yarn,  
2080 pieces of chintz,  
250,000 lb sugar in sacks,  
20,000 lb tin,  
5000 lb black pepper,  
5000 lb sapan-wood,  
2000 lb elephant's teeth,  
100 lb mummie,

and also some necessaries for the agents of the Co., calculated at four tons.

3d.—That the letter engages to bring in return from Japan to this place, in the said ship,

2500 cases of copper,  
50,000 lb camphire,  
1700 empty boxes,  
900 boards,

on condition, that if the letter should transport from Japan, more than the quantities prescribed of copper and camphire, the freighter shall pay him one hundred and fifty piastres for every ton of 1850 lb. Holland weight, over and above the sum specified.

4th.—That the freight agreed upon after the voyage shall be accomplished, shall be paid to the freighter in such productions as are hereafter named, and at the prices for which the Co. sell them to individuals at the present day, viz :

Coffee, either of Cheribon or Jacatra, at the choice of the letter,

Sugar, 1st or 2d quality, at the choice of the letter,

Black Pepper,  
Cloves,

Indigo, } provided the Co. can spare them.  
Tin, }

Cinnamon, nutmegs, provided as above : the letter, however, reserves for himself the privilege of receiving at his choice, for the amount of his freight, either all coffee, all sugar, or all pepper.

5th.—In case the letter should not choose to ship the above-mentioned articles himself, he shall be at liberty to dispose of them to oth-

ers, on condition that they shall be exported from Batavia.

6th.—That the letter shall furnish the said ship staunch and strong, capable of performing the above voyage, and loading the articles above-mentioned both here and at Japan.

7th.—That the ship shall be ready, and the cargo on board, by the middle of June, so that by that day she may be able to leave this Road, the freighter assisting on his part in all that concerns him.

8th.—That the number of persons on board shall amount to 17, the Captain included.

9th.—That the Captain and officers shall comply during the present voyage with the tenor of this Charter party, and the other instructions which shall be delivered to the Captain.

10th.—That the Capt., James Devereux, as soon as the Cargo shall be on board, and his ship's company in a proper situation, shall proceed with his said ship to the port of her destination, and there being discharged and reloaded, shall continue his voyage with the utmost diligence towards this metropolis, and that he shall not under any pretext whatever, approach or enter into any other port, either on his passage to Japan, or on his return, unless he is forced by urgent necessity, which he must justify on his return in a satisfactory manner.

11th.—The ship shall not be detained at Japan longer than until the 1st of Dec., 1799, after which time the Capt. shall be at liberty to leave that port for his return here, with whatever he may have on board.

12th.—If by any event whatsoever, the agents of the Co. should be unable to comply with the orders they may receive with respect to the loading of said ship, and that the Capt. from the time above-mentioned being expired, should be under the necessity of returning without having taken on board the articles agreed upon, the Co. is held to pay the sum of thirty thousand piastres, as if the voyage had been accomplished according to the intentions of the freighters, and as if the articles men-

tioned in the 3d article had been loaded on board the said ship: it is, however, well understood that the failure must not arise from any fault or neglect of the Capt'n or his officers, or by their means.

13th.—If by any unforeseen circumstance the ship should not be allowed to enter the port of Japan, and by that reason the Capt. should be obliged to return with the cargo he took from here, then after his arrival here, after having discharged the cargo he took away, the freighter shall pay the freight agreed upon, thirty thousand piastres in produce as mentioned in article 4th, the same as if the cargo had been landed at Japan, and the return cargo, mentioned in art. 3d, had been brought here.

14th.—If after the return of said ship to this road, by any misfortune, such as storm or fire, she should perish before having discharged her loading, or during her discharge the freighter will pay the letter the sum of thirty thousand piastres in produce, according to the 4th Article.

15th.—The freighter shall have liberty to put on board four or five persons to make the voyage to Japan, or from thence here, free of charge for their passage, and they shall be lodged in the cabin of the ship, the freighter furnishing everything necessary for their subsistence on board.

16th.—The invoices of the merchandise that the Co. loads on board said ship, as well here as at Japan, shall be signed by the supercargo, Walter Burling, and by the Captain, James Devereux, or by their representatives, but they are only bound to produce a number of packages, bales, &c., without being answerable for their contents;—they are, however, bound not to receive on board any casks, bales, &c., which are not in good order without making mention of it at the foot of the invoices that they sign.

17th.—The freighter engages to put on board and receive from the ship whatever goods they may ship either here or at Japan.



t their own charge and risque, and free of any expence to the letter.

18th.—That the ship, after her arrival at Japan, shall be unloaded and reloaded with all possible diligence, so that she may be enabled to depart in proper time, agreeable to the season, and customs at Japan.

19th.—The freighter shall furnish every assistance both here and at Japan in loading and unloading the ship.

20th.—In case the letter should be in want of any necessaries, they will be furnished him here at the current price, provided he cannot procure them from individuals, and if he should want any repairs at Japan, he will be assisted, but the expenses will be for his own account.

21st.—If any of the ship's company should be sick at Japan, they may be received in the Hospital, on condition that they shall be taken on board the ship at the time of her departure, and the expense incurred will be for account of the letter.

22d.—For the expenses stipulated in the 20th and 21st articles, the Captain must sign duplicate accounts, and repay the amount on his return here, or it may be retained on the amount of his freights.

23d.—That the said ship shall be free from paying any port charges, either here or at Japan.

24th.—That the freighters shall commence the discharge of the ship the day after her arrival in this road, and shall complete it in 4 days, not counting those in which they may be prevented working by the weather, and in case of failure on their parts, they shall pay one hundred rix dollars per day for every day after the expiration of the above time.

For the execution and accomplishment of the above, we ratify the present by our seals and ordinary signature, and have signed three contracts of the same tenour.

Batavia, May 31st, 1799."

"Instructions from the Dutch East India

Company for Captain Devereux on his arrival at Japan :

When you get to the latitude of 26 or 27, it will be necessary to have everything in readiness to comply with the ceremonies which the Japanese are accustomed to see performed by the ships of the Company.

1st—You will have all your colours in order to dress the ship on her entrance into port.

2d—There must be a table prepared on the quarter-deck, which must be covered with a piece of cloth and two cushions for the officers to sit upon, when they come on board.

3d—It is indispensably necessary to have a list of all the people on board, passengers and officers, their stations and age.

4th—All the books of the people and officers, particularly religious books, must be put in a cask and headed up; the officers from the shore will put their seals upon the cask, and take it on shore, and on the departure of the ship, will bring it on board without having opened it.

5th—Before your arrival at Japan, you must make the people deliver you their money, and keep it until your departure; this will not be attended with inconvenience, as at Japan nothing is bought for cash, but they may change their specie for Cambang money, and then make their trade, but this must be done by the Captain.

6th—When you are in sight of Japan, you must hoist a Dutch pendant, and ensign, in their proper places, as if you were a Dutch ship.

7th—When the Cavalles are on your starboard hand, and the Island of Japan on your larboard, you must salute the guard on the Cavalles with nine guns.

8th.—After that you pass on the larboard side of Papenburg, and salute with 9 guns.

9th.—You then pass the guards of the Emperor on the starboard and larboard, nearly at the same time, and salute with 7 or 9 guns

the first all starboard guns, the second all larboard.

10th.—You then advance into the Road of Nangazacky, and after anchoring salute with 13 guns.

11th.—When you enter the Cavalles, the Commissaries of the Chief will come on board, and you must salute them with 9 guns; at the same time, if it is practicable, hoist some colors to the yards, as a compliment to them; it is immaterial what colours you dress your ship with, except Spanish, or Portuguese,—it is, however, necessary to recollect that the Dutch colours must be always in their proper place, as if the ship was of that nation.

12th.—When the Commissaries return on shore, you must salute them with 9 guns.

13th.—You must be very particular in letting the boats which are around the ship know when you are going to fire, as if you were to hurt any of them the consequences would be very important.

14th.—After you have anchored, and saluted the harbour, the officers examine the list of your people and compare them with the number on board,—after having received them, those who wish it can go on shore, but before the Japanese land, all the arms and ammunition must be sent on shore, and it will be proper that everything of the kind should be landed, as they search the ship after she is unloaded. On your departure they will return it all on board. If there should by any mistake be any powder or fire-arms left on board, you must be very careful that not so much as a pistol be fired until the return of the ammunition which was landed.

The agents of the Company will instruct you respecting the other ceremonies to be observed."

The currency of New England has, from its first settlement, consisted almost exclusively of them. They became our money unit, and also furnished the principal supply of specie for the coinage of the Massachusetts Mint, during a period of nearly thirty years.

Spanish coins are the only ones mentioned on the Court Records of Massachusetts, in connection with its mint, during the whole period of its existence. The Spanish dollar was finally adopted by our national mint, as the unit of its coinage, and the coins of Spain have been legally current, and passing with our own, almost to the present time. The ancient coins of Spain, for four hundred years after the Christian era, were of Roman mintage; after that period to seven hundred and eleven a beautiful series of gold coins, bezants, were issued by her Gothic Princes.

The coins of her Arab conquerors follow after, and continue to the fall of their last stronghold in Spain, Granada, in 1492. Their principal mint was in that city.

Ferdinand and Isabella having demanded tribute of it, Abul Hasein haughtily replied, "That in the same place where they coined money, at Granada, they forged arms, also, to defend it."

Their coins were chiefly gold, of excellent workmanship and purity, but they are not an interesting series, as the Mahomedan religion allowed only an inscription, the name of the reigning sovereign, a sentence of the Koran, and a date in figures of their own invention, now used by most nations.

They reckoned from the flight of Mahomet or Hygeria, 622 years after Christ. That period added to theirs, and one year in every thirty-three, their year being lunar, eleven days shorter than ours, gives the Christian date of their coins.

Other Mahomedan coins are dated, but with entirely different figures. Ten years after the conquest of Granada, 1502, the Spanish Arabs, or Moors, were expelled from Spain; they established themselves on the adjacent

## NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY--No. 7.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

One of the most interesting series of coins, to an American, are those of Spain.

coast of Africa, and long maintained a piratical warfare on the commerce of Spain, and all other nations who refused to pay them tribute. The rich prizes they captured enabled them to coin a large amount of gold, frequently mentioned by the early writers of New England as Barbary coins, current here and in England.

When Spain was overrun by the Arabs, the mountainous districts of Asturias, Galicia, and Biscay afforded a shelter to the miserable remains of the Goths; they being places of great natural strength, were never fully conquered. The Goths gradually recovered a considerable part of Spain from the Arabs, and founded many petty kingdoms, but no coins were struck by them till the reign of Ferdinand I. He united Leon with Castile, and quartered their arms together, on the same shield, being the first instance of the kind (as Camden notes) known. It was followed by Edward III, who quartered the arms of France with those of England. The greatest and most fertile parts of Spain were governed by Ferdinand I and his brothers. It was during his prosperous reign that the Real Vellon was issued. It was a small silver coin, of the penny size, called Vellon, from its being originally a copper coin, but when they came afterwards to strike it in silver, they still retained the old name, and it is supposed that the original of their computation by Reals of Vellon, was derived from Rome, the Roman sestertius, and the Real Vellon being nearly of the same value. This coin presents a remarkable instance of maintaining almost its original value, one sixteenth of a dollar, to the present time, whereas the English penny, coined at that period, of about the same value, has since dwindled down to a copper coin, of less value than two cents of our currency.— They also borrowed from the Arabs a copper coin, the Maravedi, thirty-four being equal to the Real Vellon. In this diminutive coin, all the revenues of Spain and the wealth brought from Peru and Mexico were computed, by an integer of copper, of three times less value than our half cent. We took only the calcu-

lating cyphers from the Arabs, but the Spaniards took the Arabic numerals, and their manner of computation. Early Spanish historians mention Maravedi's of silver and gold, but none are now known to exist.

The first mention of gold, Maravedis, is of a tax being laid, of five Maravedis of gold a head. In 1176 and in 1274, the King of Granada paid Alonzo X, 300,000 Maravedis of gold, yearly tribute.

On the death of Ferdinand I, 1065, Leon became separated from Castile, he in his will assigning to his children the different provinces of his dominions. If such frequent and unwise divisions had not taken place on the death of their Kings, the Spaniards might have freed themselves from the Arabs long before the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and have become a powerful nation. The continual wars they were engaged in with each other, and the Arabs, caused great distress, and impeded their advancement in the arts and sciences, and the accumulation of wealth to a sufficient extent to coin but little money, and that frequently debased. All large payments were made in gold and silver, by weight\* or florins, and ducats. Gold coins of Italy, where they were first struck long before other nations attempted such a coinage. Commercial enterprise had there built up cities and States, governed by merchant Princes, whose prosperity and opulence were shown by their coins.† Alonzo V, King of Arragon, added Naples and Sardinia to his dominions, and is supposed to have made the first modern collection of ancient coins.

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\* The marriage portion of Blanch, wife of James II, King of Arragon, was, in 1295, 70,000 pounds weight of silver.

† It is from the examination of a series of coins of any nation, without turning to the pages of history, that their rise and decline can be traced. The coins of Rome, for instance, show her days of prosperity and glory by their beauty and purity, while those struck in her decline were debased, and finally closed with coins so poorly executed, that they are almost unintelligible.



The ivory cabinet which contained them was always carried with him, he considering the presence of the images of so many illustrious men as an excitement to great actions. The first notice I have seen of any gold coins, bearing a Spanish name, is the offer made to Bertrand de Gueslin, of 200,000 Castilian Doubles, by Henry II, 1369, for assistance rendered him in the Battle of Montiel, and effecting the death of Peter the cruel, whom he succeeded on the throne of Castile. Henry not finding sufficient amount of treasure left by Peter in Castile to pay the large sum he had promised to Bertrand de Gueslin, caused two new sets of coins to be invented, one called Crusados, bearing a cross on its obverse, the badge of the Crusaders, and the other Royals, from having his head on them, to supply this want. These pieces, being of twice the value of the Real Vellon, were called Real Plate, and continued to be struck, and so reckoned, by his successors.

John II, King of Castile, and Leon, died 1450, after a long and disastrous reign. He left three children, Henry, Alonzo, and Elizabeth. Henry, his eldest son, succeeded him, and coined the Real Plate. On its obverse appears the profile head of Henry, crowned, facing the right, Legend, ENRICVS QVARTVS REX \* CAST \* -|- (Henry IV, King of Castile,); reverse, a cross, enclosed in a waving circle, the four quarters, containing the Arms of Castile and Leon, Legend, ENRICVS DEI GRACIA REX, -|- (Henry by the grace of God, King,) weighing 61 grains. His reign presents one of the darkest periods of Spanish History. No permanent mints existed; his treasures were generally kept in some strong city, Burgos, Segovia, or Seville; adulterated coins were struck, and instead of confining the coinage, as it had been in former reigns, to five Royal mints, his nobles, like sovereign princes, coined money in one hundred and fifty mints of their own; coins were debased to such an extent as to cause all the articles of life to be raised in value nearly six fold. This state of things at last became in-

sufferable; many of his nobles and subject rose in a body, and, on the Plains of Avila, erected an image, representing King Henry on a throne, clad in his royal robes, with a crown on his head, a sceptre in his hand, and the sword of justice by his side. The accusations against him were read, and the sentence of deposition was announced; they then tumbled the image from the throne, and proclaimed Don Alonzo, his brother, King of Castile and Leon. Alonzo, in the short interval of his reign, struck also the Real Plate: obverse, instead of his head a large Anglo Norman A, crowned, Legend, DOMINVS MICH ADIVTOR ET NON -|- (the Lord is my helper, and not man,); reverse, a cross, Arms of Castile and Leon, in its quarters, Legend, ALPHONSAS DEI GRACIA REX, CASTELLE -|- (Alphonso by the grace of God, King of Castile,) weighing 59 grains. Alphonzo's death soon followed, 1468, supposed to be by poison, when his adherents offered the crown to Isabella, which she then refused to accept. But fearing she should be forced by Henry (whose feeble reign continued) into an alliance disagreeable to her, she accepted the offered hand of Ferdinand of Arragon, and compelled Henry to acknowledge her as heiress to the crown of Castile, 1474. But not satisfied with that, she took immediate measures to secure the crown by seizing King Henry's treasures in Segovia, but the timely death of Henry saved her the disgrace of usurping the throne of her brother, on whose death she caused herself to be proclaimed Queen in Segovia, and proceeded to coin the treasure of Henry, which she had before secured. Henry left by will his crown to Joanna, a supposed daughter, but in a meeting of the Cortes, it was decided to set aside his will, and that Isabella, in connection with her husband, should reign, and that in all charters, patents, and upon the coin, King Ferdinand should be named before Queen Elizabeth, and that the Arms of Castile should be on the right of Arragon. The rights of Castile were carefully guarded; Ferdinand was so dissatisfied with their settle-

ment of the crown, that he would have left for Arragon if Isabella had not prevailed upon him to stay.

John, King of Arragon, died 1479. His son Ferdinand succeeded him, and the crowns of Arragon and Castile were again united, and by the conquest of Granada, 1492, the whole of Spain became consolidated into one kingdom. One of the wisest and most beneficial measures of their reign, was the reformation of the coins, which were called in, and their recoinage confined to five Royal mints, where skilful artists from Italy were employed to execute coins of singular beauty, which have not since been excelled.

They had but three effective gold coins, the  $\frac{1}{2}$  do'blon,  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$ . The do'blon which they computed by, being then, like the English pound, an imaginary coin, it was also called the piece of eight, from its being worth eight gold crowns, or gold half pistoles, it being exactly the equal and direct divisions of an ounce of gold, and was frequently called ounce. The earliest gold coin in my collection is the half do'blon.

On the obverse of this beautiful and interesting gold coin, Ferdinand and Elizabeth are seen, seated side by side,—Ferdinand on the right and Elizabeth on the left,—nearly a front view. He holds in his right hand a naked sword, his left grasping its blade. Elizabeth holds between them, in her right hand, a sceptre, and behind them appear three castles, the Arms of Castile. Their dress is plain and gracefully arranged, covering their feet, their hair long, and each wearing a crown; their countenances are youthful and living portraits, such as Del Ricon, the father of the Spanish school, painted, and it is not improbable that they might have set to him for it; Legend,—FERDINANDVS ET — ELISABET — DEI GRACIA. R. ET R. (Ferdinand and Elizabeth by the grace of God, King and Queen.) Reverse, Legend, SVBVMبرا ALARVM. TVARVM. PROTE. NOS — (Protect us under the shadow of thy wing,)

☩ dove, the emblem of that Power whose protection they sought, sustained on its breast, and guarded with its wings, a crowned shield, bearing the united arms of Castile and Arragon.

The Real gold, no less fine, has on its obverse, profile heads of Ferdinand and Elizabeth, crowned and facing each other. Legend—QVOS. DEVS. CONIUNXIT. HOMO. N. SEP. ☩, (What God joins let no man separate.) Reverse — FERDINANDVS. ET. ELISAB. D. G. (Ferdinand and Elizabeth, by the grace of God.) A crowned shield arms of Castile and Arragon.

Their largest silver coin, the piastre, or piece of eight, was like the doblon, an imaginary coin, its value eight reals plate, weighing an exact ounce. The one-half, the one-quarter, and the one-eighth, were the only actual parts of it then issued. I omit a description of the four real's plate, or half piastre, as its type and legend are almost the same as that of the real plate, a coin I prize very highly, having found it in Salem, in fine condition, and has on its obverse, legend—FERNANDVS: ET: HIELISABET:: a shield in its first and third quarters, the arms of Castile and Leon in the second and fourth, the arms of Arragon and Naples, and a pomegranate for Granada at the base of the shield, which is crowned, and ornamented with annulets, or in heraldry rings of armor, which divide the words of the legend. On the right of the shield, is the mint mark of Seville, with a star above and below it. On the left of the shield there are two figures, one for the value of the coin, one Real Plate, and eight made over it, signifying that eight of the one Real made a piece of eight or Piastre. The Piastre was then a coin of account, and not coined till the reign of Charles V. and was called in Holland and Germany Daelder or Dollar, to distinguish this coin of eight Reals, good Plate, from other coins,\* this old sign of value was used, and

\* Very little can be learnt of the value of old coins by their names, as they bore several where

it is the origin and meaning of the sign now used in the United States for dollars. No good reason can be given for the additional mark, not on the Spanish coin, or on a similar sign, anciently used by the Romans for semis, a weight or coin. Reverse, Legend,—REX : ET : REGINA : CAST : LEGIO : AREGO : —|— (King and Queen of Castile, Leon and Arragon) in its field, an F. and I., thus, F, crowned their initials.

On the right a bundle of arrows, and on the left a yoke. According to Oviedo, these devices of a yoke and arrows were taken on account of their bearing the initials of the names of each, she taking flechus, or arrows, and he jugo, or yoke.\* Two very fine beaded circles enclose the legend and type of the coin. It will be seen that the spelling in the above legends differ, and that of Elizabeth in particular, commencing sometimes with an H.†

they were coined; and also in other countries, the same named coin in one nation was of a very different value in another. Neither will their weights, which I have omitted.

\*This device has also another meaning—the yoke and arrows being signs of the subjection of Granada; the yoke, of servitude, which they were now made to pass under; and the arrows they had used in their defence are bound, signifying they are no longer to be used by them as a weight of defence.

On the coins of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are frequently seen letters and figures interwoven called Monogram, also a sufficient number of the letters of the legend enlarged, so as to give its date, called Carogram, and other curious devices now impossible to explain.

†The letters on these coins are Anglo-Norman, like those of Henry VII, of England, and no dates; but the two gold coins were coined after the union, 1479 and before 1492, as appears by the arms of Arragon and Naples on them, which were four pallets, gules, in a field Or, given to Geoffrey, first Earl of Barcelona, by Lewis of France, 884. The Earl being wounded and bleeding, fighting for him, against the Normans, desired a Coat of Arms; the Emperor dipping his four fingers in the blood of the Earl, drew them across his shield, which was of plain gold, without device, saying, "This shall be your

It is singular that the last described coin should have been found circulating in Salem, as all their coins are very rare, and only obtained abroad at great cost. It was passed to me by the late Deacon Benj. Blanchard, as a Pistareen, it being about the size of that coin, once so common here. Deacon Blanchard informed me that he took it in payment of water rent, of the Salem Aqueduct Company. When I first saw it, I knew, from its arms, that it was a Spanish coin; but who the Elizabeth on it was, I could not then tell, but I found by an examination of my books, that Elizabeth was the name Isabella was known by on all her coins and public documents.

Isabella, the friend and patron of Columbus, died in 1504. We have here to see and handle a contemporary relic of her reign, coined in her own mint, at Seville, which, after a circulation of more than 300 years, makes its appearance in the birthplace of her gifted historian.\* What associations cluster around this coin! It might have formed part of the treasure she offered to raise by pledging her jewels, so that Columbus† might sail on that voyage which discovered the New World and gave to Spain and the rest of Europe untold treasures of gold and silver, which still yield an undiminished supply to the world.

arms, hereafter." The Arms of Naples and Sicily were quartered with them, four pallets, between two flanches and two eagles. The silver coins were struck after 1492, and out of the spoils of Granada, its arms being on it, and before 1505.

\* Wm. H. Prescott, author of the History of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was born in Salem, May 4, 1796, and died in Boston, 1859.

† The arms of Granada, on this coin, show that it was struck after its surrender, Jan. 2, 1492, of the Hygeria, 897, and it might have been before Columbus sailed, Aug. 3, 1492.



EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF  
BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS,  
OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Continued from Vol. II, page 258.

William Marstone, his da Sara bo by Sarah his wife, 12th 12th mo.; da'r Hana bo 1 7th mo., '55; da'r Sarah dyed July, '65.

John Marsh, his da'r Susana, bo by Susana his wife ye 22d 3d mo., '54; theire son Jacob borne ye 6th 6th mo., '58.

John Massy maryed unto Sara Wells, by Mr Symonds ye 27th 2d mo., '58—theire Son Jeffry borne 14th May, '64—son John borne 6th October, '65—Danll Massey borne March 6th, dyed October 16, 1702.

Jane ye wife of Elyas Mason, Dyed ye 9th 9th mo., 1661.

Nicholas Manning and Eliza Gray, widow, were maryd ye 23d 4th mo., '63—theire son Thomas was born ye 2d of May, 1664, and died 6 months after—son Nicholas borne 15th 4th mo., 1665, and died 16th 4th mo., '67, da Margaret, 25th 12th mo., '66 and dyed 14 days after—son Jon bo 28th 3d mo., '68.

John Marston, Jr., son of John Marston 2d, married to Mary Chichester by Majr Hathorne ye 5th 7th mo., '64—theire son Jon Borne 26th 9th mo., '66, and deceased 7 weeks after—theire 2d son John ye 2d September, 1667—dau Mary borne 14th 11 mo., '69—son James borne the 28th 9th mo., 1672—daughter Sarah borne 8th 8th mo., 1675—theire son Manaseth borne ye 25th 10th mo., 1677.

William Marston his daughter Mary by Sara his wife bo 2d 2d mo., '61—da Deliverance 15th July, '63—son William borne ye 9th Sepr, '65—dau Sarah died 19th 5th '65.

Jon Marston, Senr, his da Abigaile borne y Alis his wife, 19th 12th '58—his da Mary y Alis his wife bo 23d March, '61.

Joseph Miles, married to Mary Whelan by Mr Ralph Whelan, 18th 11th mo., '61, and died in ye year '63—ye sd Joseph married to

Exercise Felton by Majr Hathorne 7th 9th mo., '64—theire dau Mary borne 1st 2d mo 1660—Susana bo the 7th 8th mo., 1667—dau Abigaile borne ye 5th of July, 1669—daughter Mary borne ye 27th of March, 1671.

Edward Mould, his son Edward borne by Willmud his wife ye 30th 8th mo., '62.

Zachery Marsh & Mary Silsby maryd 15th 6th mo., '64—theire son John borne ye 26th September, ('65,) da Mary borne ye 8th December, 1666—son Zachariah borne the —Elizabeth borne son Jonathan the 14th day of Aprill, 1672—Ebenezer borne May, 1674, (the 28th).

John, son of Robert Moulton, borne by Abigaile, his wife, 25th 4th mo., '5—theire son Joseph Borne 3d January, '56—Mirriam theire daughter, borne January '58—dau Mary borne 15th June '61.

John Marsh son of John Marsh married by Majr Hathorne ye 20th March, 1631, to Sara Younge—theire dafter Sara born 1st 10th '6—theire daughter Ruth borne in August, 1668. John Marsh dyed in Barbadoes, August, 1668.

Hen Moses his son John by Remember, his wife, 19th November, 166—Remember borne 14th 9th mo., 1668—Edward borne 10th 9th mo., '70—Eleazer borne the 23d March, '72—3—son Samuell borne the 24th June, 1677.

John Mascall and Ellen Long were married the month March, 1649—theire son John born 25 December, 1650—Stephen 15th 12th '52—da Hittabell bor 15th May, '55—son Thos 14th August '57—son James 16th March '61—son Nicholas 14th April '64.

John Massey, his son Thomas borne by Sara his wife, ye 5th 10th mo., 1667, and dyed 19th 10th mo., 1667, dau Sara borne 25th July, 1669,—dau Abigaile borne the 26th 10th mo., 1671—son Thomas Borne the 22d March 1673—4—and deceased the 21st 9th mo., 1676.

Jeffery Masseye deceased 9th 9th mo., 1676.

Francis Moore & Elizabeth Woodberye were married by Capt. Thomas Marshall ye last of August, 1666, theire son William borne 9th June 1667, and deceased 2d 7th mo., following

—their dau Mary borne ye 5th 7th mo., 1668  
 —theire daughter Sara borne the 20th 12th  
 mo, 1670—son Thomas 20th Aprill 1673—son  
 Jonathan borne the 7th 6th mo., 1678—son  
 Francis borne the

John Milk & Sara Weston were married the  
 3d 2d mo., 1665—theire son John borne the  
 8th 11th mo., 1668—Mary borne 22d 9th mo.,  
 '70.

Manasses Marstone & Mercye Pearce were  
 married 23d August, 1667—theire daughter  
 Mercy borne 23d 4th mo., '69, and died the  
 11th 7th mo., '69—theire son Benjamin borne  
 30th July, 1670—theire son Samucl borne ye  
 20th 10th mo., 1674 & deceased 9 weeks after  
 —theire 2d son Samucl the 17th March, 1675,  
 and deceased 21st July, 1676—daughter Marsy  
 borne ye 7th August 1677—Mehitabell born  
 14th May ('82.)

Isaac Meachum & Debora Perkins, widow,  
 were married the 28th of December, 1669—  
 theire dau Debora born 15th 10th mo., '70, &  
 deceased 10th mo., '71—theire son Isaack born  
 the 13th 9th mo., 1672—son Jeremiah borne  
 13th 9th mo., 1674—son Isaack borne the 28th  
 7th mo., 1676—son Ebenezer borne the 21st  
 February, 1677—their son Icabod, alies Icha-  
 bod, borne 11th 6th mo., 1679.

Thomas Maule & Nancy Lynsey were mar-  
 ried by Majr William Hathorne the 22d of  
 July, 1670—theire daughter Susana borne the  
 15th 7th mo., 1671—daughter Elizabeth borne  
 11th 7th mo., '73—their sonn Deliverance born  
 21st 8th mo., '75, and dyed 28th 7th mo., '76  
 —daughter Sarah borne 17th 7th mo '77  
 —daughter Margaret borne the 20th March,  
 1679—80—son Peleth born the 10th May 1682  
 —his sonn Jon born 9th 8th mo., 1684—son  
 Joseph born 16th 12th, 1686, and dyed ye 14th  
 1st 1687.

Abigaile ye daughter of Paule Mansfield by  
 Dameris his wife borne ye 28th June, 1668.  
 Rebecca borne ye 5th March, '73-4.

Laurance Mazure & Mary Kebbin were mar-  
 ied the 25th 8th mo., 1670—theire daughter  
 Mary borne the 15th 12 mo., '72.

Thomas Meade & Mary Day, widdow, w  
 married the last day of January, 1672.

Robert Moulton & Mary Cook were marry  
 by Majo — the 17th July, 1672—the  
 daughter Mary borne ye 2d June, 1673—s  
 Robert borne 3d 7th mo., 1675—son Ebene  
 borne 28th Aprill, 1678—daughter Abiga  
 borne the 28th 12th mo., 1681.

Jeremiah Meachum, son of Jeremiah Me  
 achum & Mary Trask, daughter of Her  
 Traske were married ye 3d 11th mo., 1672  
 theire son Jeremiah borne the 21st 10th m  
 1673.

Richard Maber & Mary Alien were mary  
 the 21st 9th mo., 1670—theire daughter D  
 eas was borne ye 29th July, 1672—theire s  
 John borne the 1st March, 1674-5—son Jo  
 2d born 15th 8th mo., 1679.

John Mascall Jun'r & Hester Babbadg w  
 married ye 6th of October, 1674—their s  
 John Borne the 5th August, 1675—son St  
 phen borne the 21st of May, 1677—Sar  
 Mascoll borne ye 20th day of Aprill, 1687  
 there son Benjamin born Aug't 15th, 1699.

Ephraim Marstone, his son Ephraim bor  
 by Elizabeth his wife the 24th May, 1673  
 theire son Samucl borne 2d 10th mo., 1676.

Peeter Morrall & Mary Batier, both late  
 Jersey were married the 27th 7th mo , 1675.

Walter Mountjoy & Elizabeth Owen, w  
 dow, were married 18th 11 mo., 1671.

Benjamin Mazure & Margaret Row w  
 married 23d 8 mo., 1676—theire son Ben  
 min borne the 6th July, 1679.

John Mearter & Rebecka Meachum w  
 married the 27th of January, 1674—theire s  
 John borne the 13th January, 1675—daug  
 ter Rebecka borne 4th 12 mo., 1677. Je  
 miah borne 9th 7th mo., '79—Peter borne  
 9th mo., '81—Andrew born 6th June, '84  
 James born 17th 9th mo., 1686—Isaac bo  
 3d June, 1689, Rebecka 'born, the secd  
 daughter, 6th Feb'y, 1690.

John Marsey, his son Thomas borne by  
 rah his wife the 8th March, 1672.

Benjamin Marstone & Abigaile Veren w

carried ye 25th 9th mo., 1678—theire daugh-  
Abigaile borne the 28th 6th mo., 1679.

Benjamin Marston, son of Benjamin Mars-  
a & Patience his wife, was borne at Salem,  
bruary 24th, 1696-7.

Lidia Marston, daught'r of Manasseh Mars-  
a, borne by Mary his wife, January 7th,  
84. Susannah born 29th Aprill, 1687.

Isaac Meachum, his daughter Deborah borne  
Deborah his wife the 8th Aprill, 1681—his  
a John borne the 11th June, 1682.

John Mare & Joanna Brunson were married  
e 18th July, 1682, by the worshipfull Bar'w  
dney, Esq.

John Masters & Elizabeth Ormes were mar-  
ed the 17th July, 1678—theire son John  
rne the 24th 7th mo., 1681—the said Eliza-  
th the wife deceased the 29th 7th mo., '82  
the said John theire son deceased the 27th  
mo., 1682. Jno. Masters his daughter Eliz'a  
rn by his wife Does last July, 1684—  
son John, borne 15th Feb., 1687—Jona-  
an born 10th Novemb'r, 1689—Sam'll borne  
t Octob'r, '93.

Jno. Macknallen was married to Mary Gil-  
a ye 11th of Decemb., 1684—his son John  
rn 5th Sep'r '85, by Mary his wife—his son  
seph borne 24th Sep'r, 1687.

Samuell Marsh married to Prissillah Tomp-  
as, 14 August, 1679—theire daughter Su-  
nah born 12 May, 1680—John borne ye 1st  
ptemb'r, 1681—their Hanah born 18th Sep-  
mber, 1683—theire daughter Sarah born  
th July, 1685—Margaret born 8th day of  
prill, 1688.

Edw'd Maul dyed ye 15th Novemb'r, 1686.

Wife of Capt. Rich'd More dyed Octob'r  
h, 1686.

Joseph Mazurye married to Sara Peckworth  
th March, 1679-80—their son Joseph borne  
th March, 1680—Abigail borne in June,  
83—son Nath'll, borne 23d Feb'y, 1686-7—  
anja. borne 10th 9th mo., 1689.

Oliver Manering, his daughter Elizabeth  
rn 10th May, 1685—his daughter Sarah  
rne 25th July, 1687.

Tho's Makintire & Mary Moulton married—

theire son Thomas born Aprill 1701—theire  
son Nathan bo March 5th, 1703.

Susannah daught'r of Thomas Mason, borne  
by Chrestran his wife 23d August, 1687.

The widow Neare died the 1st June, 1658.

Sara, da'r of John Neale dyed 22d 5th mo.,  
'58—his da'r Mary by Mary his wife borne  
14th 1st mo., '55 & dyed ye 6th 5th mo., 58—  
Jonathan borne ye 6th 7th, '57.

Nicholas Nelling & Mary Hibbert were mar-  
yed by Majo'r William Hathorne the 8th 9th  
mo., 1660.

Francis Nurse, son of Francis Nurse bo by  
Rebecca his wife, 3d 12th, '60—son Benjamin  
borne 26th January, 1665.

Mr. Edward Norice, deceased ye 23d 10th,  
1659.

John Neale, his son Joseph bo by Mary his  
wife 14th 1st, '59—the said John Neale the  
elder deceased the 12th May, 1672.

Anthony Needham, his da'r Eliza bo by An-  
na his wife ye 1st 10th, '59—yr da Ann bo  
30th 6th, '58—son Anthony bo 11th 2d, 63—  
da'r Provided, bo 12th 2d, '61.

John Norton & Mary Sharp maryed by Ma-  
jo'r Denison 3d Aprill, 1660—da'r Mary bor  
4th 11th mo., '61, & deceased 4th 12th '61—  
da'r Mary borne 26 Aprill '64—dau'r Hanna  
17th 8th mo., 1668—daughter Abigaile borne  
30th 11th mo., '70—son George borne the  
20th Aprill, 1672—Elizabeth borne 30th Au-  
gust, 1674.

Robert Nowell & Mary Tatchell were mar-  
yed 1st 11th mo., 1667—theire sons William  
& Robert, twins, borne 28th 8th mo., 1668, &  
William deceased 4 daies after—dau'r Mary  
borne 27th 12th, '69—theire son Robert borne  
the 5th 9 mo., 1672.

Jon Norman & Mary Ropes 17th 9th mo.,  
1663—theire son Jo'n b 19th 9, '64, & died  
ye 22d same month. 2d son John borne 12th  
10th mo., 1666—theire daughter Mary borne  
the 14th of February, 1668—son Richard  
borne the 20th February, 1673—dau'r Abi-  
gaile borne ye 10th July, 1677.

Jeremiah Neale & Sarah Hart were married  
15th June, 1668—theire son John borne the



16th April, 1669—Mary Neale borne 11th 3 mo., 1670—daughter Sara borne the 1st 9, '71—Sara the wife deceased 28th 7th mo., '72—the said Jeremiah Neale and Marye Bufum were married the 22d 7 mo., 1673—their son Jeremiah borne the 25th 7 mo., 1674.

Sam'l Neale son of Jno. Neale, his son Jno borne 1st Novemb'r, 1689

Mary Norman, Daughter of Timothy Norman, borne 10th 9 mo., 1694.

John Nurs & Elizabeth Smith were married 1st 9 mo., '72—their son John borne 12th 8th mo., '73, ye said Elizabeth his wife died the 22d 8th, '73—the said John Nurse & Elizabeth Verry were married ye 17th August, 1677—their daughter Elizabeth borne the 18th March, 1677—8—their son Samuell borne 20th August, 1679—daughter Sarah borne 10th 9 mo., 1680—son Jonathan borne 3d May, 1682—son Joseph borne 20th Sept., 1683—son Benja. borne 20th Feb'y, 1686—Hanah borne 22d June, 1687.

Richard Norman, son of John Norman & Elizabeth Bullock were married 13th 11 mo., 1674.

Samuell Nurse & Mary Smith were married the 5th of April, 1677—their sonne Samuel borne the 7th January, 1677—daughter Margerett borne the 24th 12 mo., 1679—their son George the 29th July, 1682, yr dater Mary born 25th Maye, 85—Daught'r Rebecka borne 15th Sept'r, '88.

John Neale & Ann Nicholls were married—their son John borne the 15th 2d mo., 1673—their son Thomas borne 14th 12th mo., 1675—son Joseph borne the 4th 10 mo., 1677—daughter Rebecka borne the 23d February, 1679.

Anthony Needham & Ann Potter were married the 10th of January, 1655—their daughter Rebeca borne the 21st December, 1656—Anna their daughter borne the 31st 6 mo., 1658—their dau'r Elizabeth borne the 1st 10th mo., 1659—their daughter Provided borne the 12th 2d mo., 1661—their son Anthony Needham, borne the 11th April, 1663—their

daughter Mary borne the 30th 2d mo., 1665—their son Georg borne the 26th March, 1667—their son Isaack borne the 15th April, 1668—their daughter Abigaile borne the 31 May, 1671—their son Thomas borne the 25th July 1673—Dorothy, their daughter borne the 25th August, 1675—their daughter Rachel borne the 17th March 1677—78.

Edw Norrice married to Mary Symonds 3 December, 1685—their Daughter Mary borne 14th April 1687.

Fras Neale Junr his daughter Sara born 4th 9th mo., 1688—their daughter Joane born 1st June, '90—1.

John Norton, son of John Norton and Mary his wife, born at Salem, 30th October, 1679.

John Ormes, his daughter Eliza borne by Mary, his wife, 24th 10th mo., '60—their daughter Mary borne 26th 8th, 1656—son John borne ye 28th 9th '5—son Joseph borne ye 15th March, '63—son Benjamin 14th July, '65—Jonathan borne a twi same time & dyed about half a yeare after—their daughter Edonie borne the 1st June 1668—son James borne ye 14th of July 1670.

Willm Odry drowned 7th 11th mo., '61.

Thomas Oliver maryd to Bridgett Wasselbe widow, this 26th July, 1666, by Major Willm Hathorne—their daughter Christian borne 8th of May, 1667.

Mr. John Osbourne & Mrs Elizabeth Ruel were married the 5th of October, 1670.

Morgan Owen & Elizabeth Dickason were married July 1670—their son John borne the 10th of March 1671.

Stephen Osgood, his son Joseph borne by Mary, his wife 1st 4th mo., 1673.

William Osborne & Hanna Burton were married 17th March, 1672—3—their son Samuell borne ye 27th April 1675—their son John borne the 27th August 1677—daughter Hanna borne 2d 10th mo., 1679—their son William borne the 3d May, 1682.

Jno Ormes, his son John borne by Ann his wife March 15th, 1686—7.

Peter Osgood & Martha Ayre, married May

9th, 1690—his daughter Mary borne by Mar-  
ha his wife, at Salem, 15th Aprill 1691—son  
Peter borne at Salem 13th March 1692-3—  
amuel Osgood, son as aforsd borne at Salem  
the 6th day of November, 1695—their son  
Peter borne the 2d June, 1697—John Osgood  
born June 16th 1700—Wm bo Deer 23d, 1702  
—James bo Aug 1, 1705.

Jo'n Putnam married to Rebecka Prints the  
d 7th, '52—there da Rebecka bo 28th May,  
'53—da Sara bo 4th 7th mo., '54—da Priscilla  
o 4th March, '57—so Jonathan bo 17th  
March, '59—James borne ye 4th Sept., '61—  
a Hana bo 2d 12 mo.—Jo'n Putnam ye elder  
father to ye abovsd John Putnam, deceased  
10th 10th mo., '62.

Christopher Phelps maryed to Eliza Sharp  
th 5th mo., 1658.

James Patch died 10th 6th mo., '53.

Thomas Putnam, son of John Putnam &  
Priscilla his wife, formerly Inhabitants of Ab-  
botson in Rockinghamshire, (England) was  
marryed to Ann Holyocke 17th 8th mo., 1643,  
who was Daughter to Mr. Edward Holyock  
Prudense his wife, formerly of Tamworth  
in Warwicksheere (England.) An Putnam,  
daughter of the above Tho's & Ann Borne  
5th 6 mo., ('45) there da'r Mary bo 17th  
mo., '49—son Thomas bo 12 1 mo., '52—  
son Edward bo 4th 5 mo., '54—da'r Deliver-  
ense bo 5th 7 mo., '56—da Elizabeth borne  
10th 6 mo., '59—da Prudense b 28 12, '61—  
is wife Ann deceased the 1st 7 mo., 1665.

Leif't Tho. Putnam & Mary Wren, widdow,  
ere married ye 14th 9 mo., 1666 - Joseph bor  
4th Sep'r, 1669.

Samuell son of Nathanyell Putnam, by  
liza his wife bo 18th 12th mo., '52—theire  
on Jo'n bo ye 26th 1st mo., 1657—son Jo-  
ph borne ye 29th 8, 1659—theire 2d son  
Nathanyell borne ye 24th 2d mo., 1655—da  
liza borne 11th August '62—son Benjamin  
o 24 10 mo., 1664—daughter Mary borne  
5th 7 mo., '68.

Alie Potter dyed being ye wife of Nicholas  
otter 26th 11th, 1658.

Nicholas Potter, his da'r Mary bo by Mary  
his wife ye 4th 11th '59, & dyed 29th 8th, '6—  
da'r Mary borne 10th 9 mo., '63—Sara bo 4th  
Octo'r, '62—Hana bor 25th 1st, '61, & dyed  
28 8, '62.

(To be Continued in Vol. III.)

## MISCELLANEA.

Answer to Query 1st, in last number, page  
260—Rev'd George Corwen, son of Hon. Jon-  
athan, was born 21st May, 1683, not 1682, as  
erroneously stated on page 229. For his mar-  
riage and other facts see same page.

And on page 230 of the last number, Capt.  
George Corwin is mentioned as being in the  
expedition against Canada, in 1690; it should  
be 1699.

G. R. C.

SIR:—I notice in the "Historical Collections  
of the Essex Institute," inquires respecting  
Rev. John Chipman, of Beverly.

He was married to Rebekah Hale, Feb. 12,  
1719—to Hannah Warren Nov. 19, 1751.

These dates I have copied from the family  
record in the possession of his granddaughter,  
who still occupies, with her brother and his  
family, the old homestead in Beverly.

Who Hannah Warren was I could not as-  
ertain. There is a tradition in the family  
that Gen. Joseph Warren dined at Mr. Chip-  
man's a few days before he fell in battle, and  
it is supposed that she was a near connection  
of his. She had no children. Yours,

A. C. P.

Salem, Oct. 15, 1860.

## ERRATA.

On page 263 (in note) for "every one of the  
parties accused," read "all the parties ac-  
cused."

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


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Journal of the Essex County Natural History. Proceedings of the Essex Institute, vol 1, and part 1 of vol. 2. Endicott's Account of Leslie's Retreat. Streeter's Account of the Newspapers and other Periodicals published in Salem. Fowler's Account of the Life, Character, &c., of Rev. Samuel Parris, and of his connection with the Witchcraft Delusion of 1692—are for sale by the Secretary, and at the Bookstore of Henry Whipple & Son.

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[Vol. II.]

April, 1860.

[No. 2.]

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
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
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